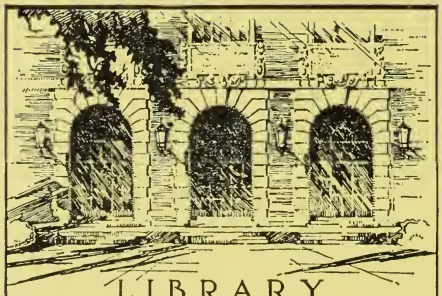

LIBRARY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY
OF ILLINOIS

052
NAT
v. 29

The person charging this material is responsible for its return to the library from which it was withdrawn on or before the **Latest Date** stamped below.

Theft, mutilation, and underlining of books are reasons for disciplinary action and may result in dismissal from the University.

To renew call Telephone Center, 333-8400

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS LIBRARY AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN

MAY 0 1 1987

APR 1 1 1987

FEB 1 8 1993

MAY 0 8 1993

JUN 2 2 1993

L161—O-1096

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2014

https://archive.org/details/nationalreview2918unse

THE

NATIONAL REVIEW.

VOL. XXIX.

MARCH TO AUGUST,

1897.

LONDON:
EDWARD ARNOLD, 37, BEDFORD STREET, STRAND, W.C.
[*All rights reserved.*]

20

052
NAT
v. 29

CONTENTS OF VOL. XXIX.

AUTHOR.		PAGE
Abercorn, The Duke of, K.G.	The Spoliation of Irish Landlords	392
American Affairs	135, 264, 433, 583, 744,	892
An Official	An Understanding between Russia and Great Britain	820
Bagwell, Richard	The Spoliation of Irish Landlords	405
Barry, Rev. William, D.D. .	Newman and Renan	557
Blake, J. Y. F.	Golden Rhodesia—a Revelation .	839
Broadfoot, Major W., R.E. .	Concerning Pugilism	867
Clark, Edward P.	Mr. Cleveland	84
Clarke, Lieut.-Colonel Sir George, K.C.M.G.	War through Peace Spectacles .	514
,, ,, ,,	War, Trade, and Food Supply .	756
Colomb, Admiral P. H. . . .	Future of Naval Warfare . . .	916
,, ,, ,, . . .	The Patriotic Editor in War . .	253
Colonial Chronicle	. . . . . 459, 615, 770,	927
Cooper, John A.	Canadian Poetry	364
Correspondence	. . . . .	478
Desart, Countess of	In Defence of Worldly Mothers .	382
,, ,, ...	Women	711
Episodes of the Month . . .	. . . . 1, 149, 301, 485, 635,	793
Fairbridge, W. E.	Some Home Truths about Rhodesia	30
Faraday, F. J.	John Bull and Silver	118
,, ,, ...	British Interests and the Wolcott Commission (An Imperial Standpoint)	676
Findlater, Jane H.	"The Other Grace"	130
Flux, A. W.	Shipping Charges and the Fall of Prices	415
Foreman, John, F.R.G.S. . .	A Recent Glance at Spain . . .	238
,, ,, ,, . .	Europe's New Invalid	721
Hadden, J. Cuthbert	Multiplication of Musicians . .	735
Helm, Elijah	British Interests and the Wolcott Commission (The Bimetallist View)	666
Holland, Bernard	The Irish Claim and Some Replies	99
,, ,, ...	Present Position of the Anglican Church	688
Johnson, R. A.	Oxford Liberalism	877
Kebbel, T. E.	A Retrospect of the Reign . . .	542

603348

AUTHOR.		PAGE
Kingsley, Miss Mary H. . .	Fishing in West Africa	213
Knox, E. F. V., M.P.	Ireland and Bimetallism . . .	577
Lincoln, The Dean of	Archbishop Benson	604
Lloyd, T.	British Interests and the Wolcott Commission (The Monometallist View)	660
Lowry, Colonel	The Spoliation of Irish Landlords	393
Low, A. Maurice	President McKinley	228
Lyttelton, Hon. Mrs. Alfred .	Sequel to Gibbon's Love Letters	904
MacColl, D. S.	The Academy	536
Magnus, Sir Philip	Trade and Training in Germany	169
Maxse, Admiral	Europe and Greece	352
Montgomery, H. de F. . . .	The Spoliation of Irish Landlords	409
Pollock, Sir Frederick, Bart. .	Hidden Dangers of Cycling—A Reply	113
Richards, O. W.	Oxford Liberalism	877
Sellers, Miss Edith	Story of a Philanthropic Pawnshop	243
Statham, H. Heathcote . . .	London as a Jubilee City . . .	594
Statham, F. Reginald	The Case for the Transvaal . .	325
,, ,, . . .	Arthur Hugh Clough	200
Stephen, Leslie	Gibbon	51
,, ,, ...	Jowett	443
Sully, Professor	The Uses of Humour	852
Traill, Dr.	The Spoliation of Irish Landlords	402
Whitmore, C. A., M.P. . . .	English Weather	421
Wilkinson, Spenser	The Defence of London . . .	42
,, ,, . . .	Helpless Europe	189
,, ,, . . .	The New Nelson	703
Wilson, H. W.	The Downfall of Greece . . .	525
Wilson, James	The Spoliation of Irish Landlords	407
Westropp, Captain O'Callaghan	The Spoliation of Irish Landlords	406

MECHANICS' INSTITUTION

THE

NATIONAL REVIEW.

No. 169.—MARCH, 1897.

EPISODES OF THE MONTH.

CRETE.

It will be remembered that some months ago under British pressure, the European Concert consented to adopt a more forward policy on the Cretan Question than towards other parts of the Ottoman Dominions, to which end a series of reforms were drawn up and the Sultan, as in all cases when the Powers are united, had no alternative but to accept them. Crete suffers from chronic anarchy, due to the religious animosities of her inhabitants, two-thirds of whom are Christian Cretans, while the remaining third are Mahommedan Cretans. The main purpose of any Government amid such conditions should be the preservation of order, and this Turkey has always been powerless to effect, the Sultan's only idea of maintaining order being to let loose his ruffianly soldiery among the Christian population. One of the principal reforms recently introduced into Crete under the auspices of the Powers was the organization of an international *gendarmerie* under a European officer who would deal out even-handed treatment to the hereditary enemies who divide the island. Owing to some considerable delay in executing the reforms—and creating the *gendarmerie*—the Powers of Europe being a very difficult Cabinet to keep in line, although they work under the eye of a watchful foe ready to

take advantage of any symptoms of division among them —there was a further outbreak of anarchy in that unhappy island in the opening of February. The Mahommedan Cretans of the towns who are in a majority sprang at the throats of the Christian Cretans of the towns who are in a minority, while the Christian Cretans of the villages and rural districts who greatly outnumber the Mahommedan Cretans retaliated upon the latter. The Mussulman population of the towns of Crete, Canea, Candia, Retimo, and Sitia, appear to have been the aggressors, instigated, it is said, by instructions from the Yildiz Kiosk, though that is obviously an unverifiable rumour. There appears to have ensued a considerable exodus of Christians from Canea and other places to the coast of Greece. Owing to the reduction of the Turkish garrisons under the pressure of the Powers it may be assumed that in the interior the Christians had it all their own way, and that the Mussulman population was summarily shot down. An immediate collapse of civil authority followed these disturbances, the first person to bolt being the Christian Governor, the creation of the Powers, who took refuge in the Greek Consulate. The Consuls and the hastily improvised *gendarmerie* under Major Bor did what they could to protect life, but the general fighting soon reached dimensions altogether beyond their control. There is very little evidence as to the part played by the Sultan's troops in these early days, but Englishmen would find it hard to believe that they played a creditable part, and the refusal of the Ambassadors to allow the Sovereign of Crete to strengthen his troops may be regarded as a measure of their performances.

GREECE.

While the cumbrous Concert was deliberating as to what steps should be taken to restore order in a country for which by their interference they had made themselves responsible, Greece, being tumultuously excited at the news of the massacre of the Christians at Canea, details of which were filled in by the refugees arriving on her shores, decided to plunge into the fray at all costs. There has not been so spontaneous a national uprising in our generation, and the King of Greece, who would naturally be inclined towards prudence, had no alternative but to put himself at the head of his people. He could not have kept his throne and have kept out of Crete at the same time—that is recognized on all hands. The Greek fleet was immediately sent to Crete (7th February), while a torpedo squadron was fitted out under the command of Prince George of Greece (who saved the Czar's life in Japan some years ago). A few days later (13th February), the King's aide-de-camp, Colonel Vassos, at the

head of 2,000 troops landed near Canea without opposition from the squadrons of the Powers. He was at once joined by a large force of the Christian insurgents, estimated at 10,000 men, and he took possession of the island in the King's name. He has since received reinforcements from Greece, and has captured a fort from the Turks after defeating them with considerable loss. The Turks in the meantime have not been allowed to reinforce their garrisons, so the King of Greece has been *de facto* master of interior Crete. As soon as they could take council together, the Powers unanimously addressed a remonstrance to King George on his "ill-advised" conduct, as Lord Salisbury termed it in the House of Lords, and he was warned not to declare war on Turkey, which would start a general Eastern and European conflagration. At the same time his naval son was informed that he would not be permitted to fire upon Turkish vessels. Following these efforts to localize the disturbance, the Powers landed a mixed force of marines at several Cretan towns and hoisted their flags. From the moment concerted action was decided upon the Italian Admiral Carnevaro, the senior officer on the station, was put in command of the whole of the European squadrons. The effective control by the Powers was during these anxious days limited to a few towns on the coast, while the Greek force under Colonel Vassos, backed by the insurgents, roamed at will elsewhere, and their commander resolutely refused to take any orders except from his Sovereign. The European Concert was thus placed in an awkward and even humiliating position, and many Englishmen, yielding to generous if misguided impulses, declared that Great Britain should seize the occasion to withdraw from the confederacy, and pursue a policy of her own by a frank championship of Greek aspirations. This sentiment was to some extent reflected in France and Italy, but in all three countries we fancy it was overborne by that sober second thought which has been the salvation of so many international crises.

THE BOMBARDMENT.

The bombardment of an insurgent camp by the European ships in Cretan waters has caused acute hysteria in certain quarters, and highly sensational interpretations have been placed upon this inevitable incident of the previous landing of marines and bluejackets. Only a very small force of the latter could be detached to each town to protect life and property, and the whole European contingent at Canea was only 500. The Greeks had at the time considerably over 2,000 regular troops, and the insurgent army was over 10,000. These forces jointly massed themselves in the neighbourhood of Canea,

for which place the Powers had made themselves responsible by hoisting their flags, and they were repeatedly warned by the foreign admirals not to advance upon the town. These injunctions were disregarded, and the admirals foresaw a perilous position arising as the investment proceeded, not to Turkish rule, or to Mahommedan, lives which are valueless in some people's eyes, but to the handful of bluejackets and marines who were occupying Canea on behalf of the Powers. The warnings to the advancing force were renewed again and again, but were disregarded, and ultimately fire was most reluctantly opened as the only possible step to ensure the safety of the officers and men, for whom the foreign admirals were primarily responsible. The British admiral co-operated in this action with the other admirals, just as Great Britain is co-operating with the other Powers. If our stomachs are not strong enough to permit the protection of our own men, when their admiral believes their position to be imperilled, we had better withdraw our ships from the sea. The insurgent advance was checked, but it is not known what, if any, loss of life occurred. So far the many excitable accounts, depicting many killed and wounded, including nuns, have lacked confirmation, and the most authentic news varies between three deaths and none. The insurgents no doubt intended to punish the Mahommedan population of Canea for their prior attack on the Christians, and unless the foreign admirals are to connive at anarchy in any part of Turkey, we should say, quite apart from their duty to their own men, they owed something to the inhabitants of Canea, whether Christians or Mahommedans. The suggestion that British ships were employed by the British Government out of friendliness to the Sultan is almost too grotesque even for the House of Commons.

GREAT BRITAIN'S DUTY.

Great Britain has entered the European Concert for better or for worse, we will not say for eternity, but until the resources of statesmanship have been drained dry, or until some indubitably superior course can be pointed out. All the leading statesmen of Europe are convinced that the imperfect instrument they have fashioned provides the only chance of preserving what they are agreed in regarding as the paramount European interest—peace. Great Britain has entered into loyal co-operation with them, and her participation imposes on her responsibilities of which she cannot divest herself at her pleasure. We are all members of the European Commonwealth, and share in the comity of nations which are under mutual obligations to one another. It would be an act of perfidy for this country at the first convenient emergency to repudiate her under-

takings, and fall back upon her rights as a separate entity. Yet this appears to be the suggestion, or rather the demand, of a number of highly moral Englishmen. By all means let us think out our own policy and nerve ourselves to adopt that which we believe to be right, and pursue it regardless of the consequences. But, it should always be remembered that we have a peculiar responsibility towards other Powers as regards the Eastern Question, which imposes an immense load of anxiety upon our statesmen. Of this the Foreign Ministers of both parties have shown themselves to be fully conscious. It is not that a false step on our part would bring the whole of Europe about our ears, and that we should cling to the Concert for protection as though it were a life-buoy. Any nation could easily decide for or against a policy involving a general combination against her, and the British people would hardly be deterred from any object on which their hearts were set by any such menace. It would, however, in the first place, be quite impossible to form such a combination out of the discordant constituents composing Europe, as the events of the last two years have shown. The future may render such a confederacy conceivable, but it is not a possibility of the present, and need not weigh with us in our discussions of the Eastern Question. Lord Salisbury's policy is clearly based on on a different consideration, viz., that an inconsiderate move on our part might set the great military nations of Europe in motion *against one another*, and precipitate a period of general anarchy, of which no man could foresee the consequences or the end. Great Britain, it is true, might be drawn into such a conflict or she might remain a spectator. In either case, being an island, she would stand to suffer much less than the Continental combatants, the weaker of whom would hardly be able to survive such a conflict as a modern European war. The first duty of English statesmen in dealing with the Eastern Question is to labour for the avoidance of such a calamity. Peace is a great British interest, but it is, if possible, a greater European interest. It is because Lord Salisbury has identified himself with the European point of view, as a great English Minister should, that he has acquired the confidence of Foreign Governments on this question, and this explains the increasing influence of the British view of the various complications that arise. From the recent utterances of Sir William Harcourt one would gather that "Liberalism" is callous as to any catastrophes that may befall other Powers, but we recall the wise and weighty injunctions that fell from Lord Rosebery at Edinburgh in the autumn. He, at any-rate, realizes that England should not play the anarchist.

LORD SALISBURY'S SOLUTION.

Two conflicting views divided the Concert from the opening of the Greek crisis, the first being that of the German Emperor, and the second that of Lord Salisbury. The German view was, that the expulsion of the Greeks should precede any decision as to the future of Crete, while Lord Salisbury maintained that the wiser course would be to settle the fate of Crete before requesting the Greeks to withdraw. France and Italy appeared from the first to be supporting Lord Salisbury's view, while Russia and, in a very tepid manner, Austria appeared likely to acquiesce in the characteristic solution proposed by the Emperor of Germany, who was for an immediate blockade of the Piræus, though Germany at that time had not a single ship in the Mediterranean to carry out her Sovereign's policy. Greece in the meantime declared that she should remain where she was, and should annex Crete, no matter who might object. This solution is not favoured by Europe because Greece, though admittedly a great improvement on Turkey as a Suzerain, has not the means of furnishing Crete—whose inhabitants have by stress of circumstances become confirmed cut-throats—with the strong, orderly, and impartial administration which is her principal requirement. Moreover, the concession of Crete to Greece would, it is feared, start a blaze in the Balkan States, as both Bulgaria and Servia would feel the imperative need of pressing their claims upon the Turkish inheritance. Ultimately, after prolonged *pourparlers* among the Powers, Lord Salisbury's policy was agreed to, and announcements were made in the Parliaments of France, Germany, and Great Britain to the effect that Crete would be liberated from the direct rule of the Sultan and be endowed with local autonomy. This is the latest stage we are able to notice in the long and anxious crisis which monopolized the last three weeks of February. The form of that autonomy will be decided upon before these pages are in the reader's hands, and it may be assumed to involve the complete withdrawal of Turkish troops, and of the Turkish Administration, and although the Cretans will remain subjects of the Sultan, their Sovereign will never be allowed to land another soldier or an official in this part of his dominions. We are strongly in favour of maintaining such an "integrity" of the Ottoman Empire as these terms involve if this diplomatic fiction obviates any risks. Greece, one may hope, will bow to the decision of the Powers, and retire satisfied with the successful achievement of her notable errand. She is entitled to the possession of Crete when the general partition or Turkey occurs.

THE EDUCATION BILL.

The principal domestic measure introduced by the Government is the Education Bill, the second reading of which was ultimately carried, after considerable debate, by the sufficient majority of 205 (355 to 150).

Its principal provisions are: (1) A five shilling grant per child in average attendance in Voluntary Schools; (2) abolition of the 17s. 6d. limit which keeps down the grant; (3) exemption of voluntary schools from the rates; (4) the encouragement of federation among Voluntary Schools which shall be entrusted with the distribution of the grant. Such is the simple Bill which Mr. Balfour has taken charge of. It deals solely with the needy condition of Voluntary Schools, and wisely leaves all other educational difficulties on one side. None the less it has been most strenuously and bitterly opposed by the Opposition. As the Minister in charge, Mr. Balfour admitted the claim of the necessitous Board Schools to receive similar assistance, and announced the intention of the Government to deal with their case later on. He defended the scheme of "federation" or "association," on the ground that some Voluntary Schools are much poorer than others, and the poorest will need more than five shillings, while the more prosperous can do with from one shilling to three shillings. The associations will assist the Education Department in the discriminating distribution of the grant. Some disappointment was felt by the friends of Voluntary Schools at the intimation that the schools would not have the benefit of the new grant for the current financial year which ends on 31st March. It was understood when last year's Bill was withdrawn that the grant would not be lost, and that Parliament had been assembled early to vote it. However, they get five shillings per child instead of four shillings, which amply compensates for the loss of one year. The Government did not escape the observation that there was no occasion for the preternaturally early meeting of Parliament this year, or for the postponement of the consideration of the Board Schools' case. In both respects Mr. Balfour has, in our humble judgment, acted wisely, in the light of last Session's experience. He is right in keeping the Bill down, and in lengthening the Session so as to avoid all possibility of a fiasco. Mr. Balfour has been conducting the Bill with great skill and determination, and has been most ably assisted by Sir Robert Finlay, the Solicitor-General, whose great powers are becoming fully recognized by the House of Commons. The general public are sick to death of the Education controversy, but the House of Commons becomes more parochial as the people become less so, and we shall doubtless be deluged with oceans of talk before the Bill emerges from Committee. Fortunately, very little of it is reported, and none of it is read.

THE MILITARY MEASURES.

The military proposals of the Ministry take two forms. The execution of the Military Works Bill is to be effected by loan—it is consequently not a niggardly measure, and involves an expenditure of 5½ millions.

It provides for the fortification of harbours required as coaling stations, the construction of large camps, the creation of "defensive positions" and storehouses, or supplementary arsenals, round London, the establishment of ranges for the militia and volunteer regiments, and the purchase of Salisbury Plain (sixty square miles) for manœuvres. Some of these provisions, such as the establishment of further rifle ranges, the purchase of Salisbury Plain, and the strengthening of the coaling stations, are beyond criticism. But Salisbury Plain cannot be accepted as an adequate alternative to a good Military Manœuvres Bill, giving our troops the opportunity of continually breaking fresh ground, while the entire onus of justifying expenditure on fixed fortifications is on those who propose it. An amateur has no right, perhaps, to an opinion on the great controversy between mobile and fixed defences, but the more one thinks over the problem the more sceptical one becomes as to the appearance of that foreign invader. We either do or do not command the sea; in other words, we deter or invite an invader. If we are beaten at sea, would it be worth the enemy's while to invade us? If we are supreme at sea, will he walk like a rat into a trap from which he could only escape into the mouth of a terrier? Still, if a grand raid is feasible, as some of the best of our strategists seem to think, the Cabinet are wise to provide for it. The second military measure of the Government provides for an increase of the army; and as it is charged to the estimates the whole weight of the Treasury has been used to emasculate and ruin the measure. The result is a wretched Whig compromise. Lord Lansdowne told the nation most explicitly at Bristol that eleven battalions were needed to complete the present system of linked battalions, there being sixty-five battalions at home and seventy-six abroad. The nation was thus thoroughly prepared for the necessary increase of the army, and a plea for eleven battalions would have appealed with irresistible force to a taxpayer who lives in the midst of alarms and excursions. Instead of this plain, logical, and unanswerable demand we have a wretched make-shift, and a golden opportunity is lost. Two battalions are to be added to the brigade of guards, and three battalions of guards are to be sent to Malta or Gibraltar to the great detriment, if not ruin, of the whole brigade, which has been able to recruit from a better class than other regiments owing to the conditions of its service. The guards have hitherto been our most efficient troops, but that efficiency can hardly be maintained at Gibraltar. Only one battery of field artillery is to be added to the existing force. The other proposals are substantial. A battalion is to be added to the Cameron Highlanders—which will probably be composed of men who are neither Cameronians nor Highlanders.

A battalion is also to be added to the West India regiment, while the garrison artillery will be increased by 3,600 men. Another battalion of Malta militia will be created.

THE NEW COMMISSION.

We laboured last month to convince our readers that the Irish claim to be treated as "a separate financial entity"—a phrase invented by Mr. Goschen in 1890—though contemptuously repudiated by some of the British Unionist newspapers, is more arguable and less alarming than has been made out. The Government recognize this, for the reference to the New Commission which Mr. Balfour announced a few days ago runs as follows:—"To enquire and report (1) How much of the total expenditure which the State provides may properly be considered to be expenditure common to England, Scotland, and Ireland, and what share of such common expenditure each country is contributing after the amount expended on local services has been deducted from its true revenue. (2) How the expenditure on Irish local services which the State wholly or in part provides compares with the corresponding expenditure in England and in Scotland; and whether such Irish expenditure may with advantage be readjusted or reduced. (3) Whether, when regard is had to the nature of the taxes now in force, to the existing exemptions, and to the amount of expenditure by the State on local services, the provision in the Act of Union between Great Britain and Ireland with regard to particular exemptions or abatements calls for any modification in the financial system of the United Kingdom." The Irish are somewhat impatient at this postponement of the "restitution" they have been claiming, which has been rapidly rising at compound rhetorical interest. We believe, however, that the moderate men on both sides are capable of making a satisfactory readjustment, but not until the expenditure side of the account has been examined. As was pointed out in *The National Review* last month, *it is only by expenditure that "restitution" can be made*, therefore to argue that expenditure is irrelevant is to give away the Irish case; and to neglect it, as the majority of the late Commission did, is to return a fragmentary verdict.* The New Commission will complete the work so ably commenced by the old one. The main service of Mr. Childers and his colleagues was to reveal to us the disastrous character of Mr. Gladstone's raid on Ireland in the fifties, when he piled tax after tax on to a community at her lowest economic ebb.

* We regret that the epitome in last month's *National Review* failed to do justice to the valuable report of Lord Farrer, Lord Welby, and Mr. Bertram Currie, dealing with the expenditure side of the Irish account.

THE BY-ELECTIONS.

By-elections have been held in all parts of Great Britain during the past month, which have left Parties very much as they were. In Salisbury and Forfar the electors are evidently in the same mood as at the General Election of 1895; nothing has stirred them to that irritation against the Government which sways the average by-election, whatever Party may be in power. In the Romford division of Essex and the Walthamstow division of the same county, the Unionist Party suffered humiliating blows for their contemptuous temerity in inviting the electors to support candidates who had nothing to recommend them but their money-bags. At Romford a Unionist majority of 1,827 in 1895 was reduced to 125, while at Walthamstow a Unionist majority of 2,353 in 1895 was actually converted into a Gladstonian majority of 279—one of the most sensational turnovers of recent years, which naturally led to a good deal of elated Opposition talk about "the handwriting on the wall." In reality the result was due to the fact that the Opposition put a first-rate man in the field in the person of Mr. Sam Woods, one of the best type of working-class leaders, while the Conservatives were championed by an obscure distiller. (We may note, in parenthesis, that Mr. Woods is an excellent bimetallist, who made great capital out of the discovery that his opponent's whiskey is advertised on ash trays "made in Japan"—likewise that bimetallists were so anxious to see him back in the House of Commons that some of them actually forgot their Party allegiance, and wickedly worked for his election; so poisonous is the bimetallic bacillus.) A fifth contest occurred in the Bridgeton Division of Glasgow, owing to the retirement of Sir George Trevelyan to a life of letters, the fruits of which are anticipated with pleasure. For this safe Radical seat the candidates were evenly matched, Sir Charles Cameron, the leader of the Scotch Disestablishment Party, being opposed by Mr. Scott Dickson, the Solicitor-General for Scotland, a man of great ability and high character. To the amazement of everyone—at any rate, outside the constituency—the Unionist was only defeated by 125 votes in this great industrial centre which Sir George Trevelyan held in 1895 by a majority of 442 in a three-cornered fight, in which a Labour candidate took off 600 votes. As a confirmation of Mr. Balfour's view that Scotland is swinging round towards Unionism, this is a highly significant election, and Mr. Scott Dickson deserves the warm thanks of the Unionist Party for consenting to undertake an arduous contest in term time which he can hardly have expected would be crowned by victory. In the Chertsey division of Surrey, a safe Conservative seat was held by a substantially reduced

majority, but it is difficult for a Party to beat up its reserves where the attack is not considered dangerous.

THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE BILL.

The proposal to extend the political franchise to women was never a good joke, and we hope that our frivolous legislators will now recognize that it has gone far enough. On Wednesday, February 3rd, Mr. Faithfull Begg, one of the Members for Glasgow, in a maiden speech, introduced the second reading of an ill-drawn Bill, enfranchising propertied widows and propertied spinsters, but whether propertied wives is uncertain. The usual hackneyed arguments were adduced in support of the measure, which was opposed by feeble and vulgar jokes from Mr. Labouchere and others. The Government gave no guidance to the derelict assembly, partly, we believe, owing to Mr. Balfour's cooling in the only foolish cause with which he has ever been associated, and the one statesmanlike contribution to the discussion came from Sir William Harcourt, who pointed out that the Bill "is intended to assert ultimately the identical rights of women to exercise the electoral franchise with men," and that as there are 1,200,000 more women than men in this country, its adoption must inevitably result in placing the constitution of the country on "an Amazonian basis." He also stated what we believe to be emphatically true, "that the great majority of women do not desire to have the Parliamentary vote. Sir William Harcourt's wise counsel fell on an unheeding House of Commons, and the second reading of the Bill was carried by 228 to 157, a majority of seventy-one. Members of Parliament are full of contrition for their conduct, and excuse themselves on the ground that they had no conception that the measure would be carried, and that they only supported it to gratify the handful of female fanatics in their various constituencies who had been making their lives a burden to them. These explanations are not very creditable or encouraging, and make the general public thoroughly distrustful of their representatives. The Bill will be reconsidered later on in the Session, and its prospects of being placed on the Statute Book are believed to be remote. The great bulk of the community, both men and women, so far as one can judge, are dead against a proposal which inspires dismay in those who realize the ever-increasing difficulty of carrying out a robust, coherent, and intelligible national policy. We are competing for existence, and we may have to fight for existence against the virile organizations of Europe. This is no time to add to the already large hysterical element in our politics. As the late J. K. Stephen used to say, "We have enough old women on the register and in Parliament already." Curiously enough, while reference was made during the debate to the woman

suffrage experiment in some of the smaller Western States of the American Union, where women have the right to vote and sit,* no allusion was made to the fact that throughout the great Eastern States the woman suffrage movement, which was remarkably troublesome a few years ago, is now practically defunct. We agree with *The Globe* that it would "be preferable to be governed by Radical men rather than by Conservative women."

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH.

We confess that in common with other Unionists we had been getting somewhat suspicious of the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach). He was so continually complimented by Sir William Harcourt, and it was rumoured that he was popular with Treasury officials—that he had indeed become a man after their own heart His speech on the Dongola Expedition did much to dispel this cloud of suspicion. In asking the House of Commons to vote £798,802 as a grant in aid of the recent campaign, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach explained that the present vote was being asked for because the advance of the necessary funds by the Commission of the Caisse in Egypt had been set aside by the Mixed Court of Appeal, and the Egyptian Government had consequently been obliged to refund the money, receiving instead an immediate promise from Lord Salisbury that Great Britain would make the necessary advance. The Chancellor of the Exchequer further pointed out that this decision of the mixed Tribunal "is rather likely to prolong our occupation of Egypt." Turning to the future, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach renewed the recent declaration of Lord Salisbury—that Dongola is only the half-way house to Khartoum. "Egypt could never be held to be permanently secured so long as a hostile Power was in occupation of the Nile Valley up to Khartoum. We have had to consider whether that policy should still be pursued. I think there is one thing of which we and others may be quite certain. If we believe any policy to be right with reference to Egypt this country will not be worried out of it by hindrances and difficulties such as the refusal of this money. We believe that the policy is right, and we intend that it shall be still pursued." But Egypt is not to be saddled with more territory than she can properly administer and defend. So the advance will be gradual. During the coming season the immediate objective will be Abu Hamed—"in the first place to Abu Hamed and afterwards possibly beyond." Towards this Great Britain will contribute £270,000, which is the cost of a light railway to Abu Hamed. The Opposition came off

* At the November election a husband and wife competed for a local senatorship in Utah, and the wife not unnaturally beat the husband on a universal adult suffrage.

very badly in the debate which followed. Mr. Morley declared that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had issued "a most imprudent challenge" to France and Russia. Sir William Harcourt followed in the same strain, affirming that "mischievous" and "dangerous" language had been used, "language of menace and defiance" to "the great military Powers of Europe." In other words, the British Opposition issued an invitation to foreign Governments to resent the attitude of the British Government—a highly unpatriotic, and happily unusual, proceeding. Neither France nor Russia appear to have adopted the outraged attitude suggested by Mr. Morley and Sir William Harcourt. M. Hanotaux (the French Foreign Minister) made one of his skilful diplomatic replies to the effect that nothing was altered in the international situation, and that France would stand upon her rights. As *The Spectator* tersely puts it, "We have in effect told her that we are in Egypt as she is in Tunis, and she has accepted the statement. That is the situation in a nutshell."

SIR ALFRED MILNER.

Sir Alfred Milner, the Chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue, has been appointed to succeed Lord Rosmead (Sir Hercules Robinson) at the Cape as Governor of the Colony and High Commissioner of South Africa. As this is undoubtedly the most difficult and responsible post in the British Empire at this moment the chorus of congratulation on his selection is a high tribute to Sir Alfred Milner's reputation. He is one of those happy men whose abilities and character command the unstinted confidence of all who come in contact with him, and though his rise has been extraordinarily rapid—he was actually serving Mr. Stead on the *Pall Mall Gazette* in 1884—it was never met with a murmur, but on the contrary has been a source of unfailing satisfaction to all who are acquainted with his powers. Although a most learned scholar with an almost unparalleled Oxford career behind him, he has great practical sagacity and intellectual openness. He is thoroughly trusted by all parties—indeed, he is hardly a party man—and as he belongs to the "Egyptian" School of Englishmen with Lord Cromer, he will take a broad and truly Imperial *conspectus* of South African affairs. Sir Alfred Milner is in the prime of life, he has written a masterly monograph on Egypt, and, fortunately for the Empire, he is unmarried. Foreign affairs have always had a fascination for him, and he will not be unduly affected by the bogey of German interference in the Transvaal. One may feel confident that a man of the new High Commissioner's ability and antecedents will decline to be a mere cypher in the Rhodesian game. If we continue our past policy of saying ditto to Mr. Rhodes, the British Empire will inevitably be landed in discredit

and disaster. Happily there is no chance of that. We have had our lesson.

MR. RHODES'S POWER.

In the course of his graceless attempt to burke the South African enquiry (which is now sitting to some purpose), Mr. Maclean, the Member for Cardiff, bluntly stated that the House of Commons "dare not lay its little finger on Mr. Rhodes. It it were to do anything of the kind it would set the whole of South Africa in a blaze." He adduced this as his principal reason for opposing the reappointment of the Committee, and if it were founded on fact it would be a powerful, if not a conclusive, argument. When one looks at a map of South Africa, however, and notes its chief constituents it is not easy to accede to the Rhodesian view—which was originally invented by Dr. Rutherfoord Harris's paper *The Cape Times*—that there will be "a blaze in South Africa" unless we are obsequious to the Great Panjandrum. South Africa consists, principally, of the Transvaal, the Orange Free State, Natal, Cape Colony, and Rhodesia. The overwhelming bulk of the population is black, and even Mr. Stead would hardly represent Mr. Rhodes as beloved by the blacks, seeing that he has established what is hardly distinguishable from a system of slavery in Rhodesia, and is one of the only three Englishmen in the Cape Parliament who voted for the "Strop" Act, enforcing the flogging of natives for the pettiest offences. Mr. Maclean can hardly threaten us with a black blaze, and is it maintainable for a moment that the white population, Dutch or English, of the Transvaal, the Orange Free State, or Natal, regard Mr. Rhodes as their leader? We know how Johannesburg behaved when the prospect was presented to it of passing under the Rhodesian yoke. Natal, again, the most English Colony in South Africa, has been notoriously lukewarm in supporting Mr. Rhodes's schemes and has viewed many of his proceedings with suspicion. There remain Rhodesia and Cape Colony. The former has a population now reduced to 4,000, which is very much smaller than the smallest Irish constituency, but even this handful of settlers appears capable of independent opinion, if one may judge by the valuable paper contributed to this number by Mr. W. E. Fairbridge, the Editor of *The Rhodesian Herald*. Mr. Maclean's "blaze" is subject, it is thus seen, to large discounts, and its extent depends entirely on the attitude of Cape Colony with its 400,000 white inhabitants. The Dutch and English in Cape Colony are as 1½ to 1, and though a considerable sprinkling of the Dutch have been entangled in Mr. Rhodes's financial schemes, the great bulk of them have fallen away from him since he was revealed as

the prime instigator of the Raid, and their former hostility to President Kruger has been replaced by antagonism to Mr. Rhodes. The English population appears to be divided in its allegiance, though the majority of them probably side with Mr. Rhodes. The recent demonstrations have stirred up much bad blood, and Mr. Rhodes's speeches awakened all the latent race prejudices of the English, while they greatly exasperated and alarmed the Dutch. His policy is no doubt to set the two races by the ears if possible, but it is gratifying to note that the leading men of both sides, such as Mr. Rose Innes, Mr. Schreiner, Mr. Merriman, Mr. Sauer, and Mr. Hofmeyr, have been working to allay this friction. Such is briefly the position in South Africa, and Mr. Maclean's empty threats may be confidently disregarded. Mr. Rhodes's prestige in South Africa is consistently overstated.

A PLEA FOR IMPERIALISM.

Mr. S. C. Cronwright Schreiner contributed an exceedingly instructive and wholesome letter to a recent number of *The Times*, well calculated to dissipate the delusion that Mr. Rhodes's only English opponents in South Africa are Separatists who wish to "cut the painter." He is an "Englishman, believing that direct Imperial rule is generally enormously for the benefit of the territories ruled over, and that Imperial rule in Basutoland during the last twelve years has been in every way just, beneficent, and desirable." The letter continues, as follows: "Mr. Wirgman (who had written in a previous *Times*) states that Mr. Rhodes has retained the Chartered territory for England, and has developed it by means of railways, telegraphs, and the machinery of a civilized government. In 1888 the British Government declared that territory within the sphere of British influence. In 1889 Mr. Rhodes obtained the charter. For nearly seven years, backed by enormous wealth and almost unlimited power, Mr. Rhodes and his confederates have had control of one of the most fertile and desirable territories in South Africa. To-day a few miserable villages from which nearly all the English women and children have had to flee, a desolate and uncultivated land, wet with the blood of black and white alike, is the result of seven years of Chartered misrule, which, when one considers the possibilities of the country, and what might have been under a direct Imperial rule, form an appalling object lesson as to the evils which result from endowing financial companies with those rights and powers which should be preserved alone by the sovereign people. Mr. Wirgman states that Mr. Rhodes's great aim has been the preservation of this great territory for the British Empire. How comes it, if this has been his aim, that he endeavoured to give to certain squatters in British

Bechuanaland a territory, their possession of which would for ever have closed the path to the north, and was only defeated by the determined action of the Imperial authorities; and that he has continually asserted on public platforms his persistent determination to 'eliminate the Imperial factor' in South Africa? Mr. Wirgman states that Mr. Rhodes has had to work single-handed. This is a remarkable assertion when one considers the fact that Mr. Rhodes is allied with and backed by the most powerful combination of the forces which govern in the English and foreign world of speculation, and that he has had to assist him in the attainment of his objects such keen and powerful co-workers as Mr. Rutherfoord Harris and Herr Beit, the latter of whom, though a loyal German subject, has cordially co-operated with Mr. Rhodes in all his designs. As a South African Englishman, purely British by descent, who has long and consistently opposed the retrogressive Dutch organization (the Afrikander Bund) in South Africa, which Mr. Rhodes has mainly used for attaining his purposes, as one who desires to see Imperial rule extended and strengthened and British honour maintained at all costs in the highest sense, and who feels that Mr. Rhodes's conduct during the last years has struck the most serious blow at Imperial prestige and honour in South Africa, I cannot express too strongly my disapprobation of what appear to me to be Mr. Wirgman's serious misstatements of important facts."

PETER HALKET.

One of most dramatic episodes of the month was the appearance of Miss Olive Schreiner's book,* which fell like a bolt from the blue in the opening days of the South African Enquiry. Trooper Peter Halket of Mashonaland is a private in the service of the Chartered Company, who gets lost in the veldt and becomes reflective. He recalls the remote past and the early influences of his English home, and subsequently reviews his present ideals and ambitions :—

"He considered his business prospects. When he had served his time as volunteer he would have a large piece of land given him, and the Mashonas and Matabeles would have all their land taken away from them in time, and the Chartered Company would pass a law that they had to work for the white men; and he, Peter Halket, would make them work for him. He would make money.

"Then he reflected on what he should do with the land if it were no good and he could not make anything out of it.—Then, he should have to start a syndicate; called the Peter Halket Gold, or the Peter Halket Iron-mining, or some such name, Syndicate. Peter Halket was not very clear as to how it ought to be started; but he felt certain that he and some other men would have to take shares. They would not have to pay for them. And then they would get some big man in London to take shares. He need not pay for them; they would give them to

* *Trooper Peter Halket of Mashonaland.* By Olive Schreiner. T. Fisher Unwin, London. Price 6s.

him; and then the company would be floated. No one would have to pay anything; it was just the name—'The Peter Halket Gold Mining Company, Limited.' It would float in London; and people there who didn't know the country would buy the shares; *they* would have to give ready money for them, of course; perhaps fifteen pounds a share when they were up!—Peter Halket's eyes blinked as he looked into the fire.—And then, when the market was up, he, Peter Halket, would sell out all his shares. If he gave himself only six thousand and sold them each for ten pounds, then he, Peter Halket, would have sixty thousand pounds! And then he would start another company, and another."

Peter Halket subsequently indulges in ugly reminiscences of thoughtless ill-treatment inflicted on the natives, until he becomes nervous and morbid in his solitude. A footstep approaches the terrified trooper, and "a friend" is announced "in clear, slow English."

We must not infringe the valuable copyright of the author by recording the talk between Peter and the stranger, but we fancy it will make a very profound impression on the English mind, and will awaken us to the impiety of shirking our Imperial duty of governing and protecting the inhabitants of all territories that we have declared to be within our "sphere of influence." Of the literary and dramatic qualities of this new *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, it is sufficient to say that it is a book that cannot be put down until it is finished, though many readers of *The National Review* will resent the form of its preaching. We believe its daring will be forgiven for its doctrine. Every shareholder in the Chartered Company should immediately acquaint himself with its contents. What independent testimony we can acquire corroborates Miss Schreiner's view of the manner in which the Chartered Company is "civilizing" South Africa.

THE VICTORY ON THE NIGER.

A great step towards the civilization of Western Africa was accomplished by the successful expedition of the Royal Niger Company troops under the command of Sir George Goldie. The force consisted of 500 natives led by Englishmen, which was a mere handful to send against an enemy which brought from 20,000 to 30,000 into the field, but European arms and discipline are irresistible against hordes of savagery. The great fight was for the City of Bida. The British force advanced in square with guns and carriers in the centre over open ground to within 2,000 yards of the wall of the City of Bida, under a heavy but ill-directed fire. The Nupé army was repulsed and driven off, being unable to face the steady firing of the attacking force. A bombardment of the city commenced, and by the afternoon of the first day a portion of it was fired. The siege was renewed on the following morning, a breech was effected, and notwithstanding 20,000 horse and foot, the city was carried. The Emir and all the Fulah princes fled to the north towards Sokoto.

Sir George Goldie entered and befittingly occupied the Emir's Palace, while the troops were encamped in the market-place. Three days later Sir George Goldie met a vast concourse of natives. We wonder how many interpreters he had! Major Darwin tells us that fifteen languages are spoken in the market of one town. The crowd was said to be formed largely of traders who came from Lake Chad and far distances. To these people Sir George Goldie managed to make known that henceforth their lives were safe, and they would be protected from ill-treatment. The Emir Abu Bekri was proclaimed an outlaw, and Muhammed, the heir-apparent, was installed in his place. The Niger Company is to administer Southern Nupé, as well as a slip of territory three miles wide on the northern bank of the river. Muhammed is to administer the remainder of the country under the direction of the Company. Altogether, this has been a successful expedition, and the fruits of it will be considerable. The region over which we have acquired dominion is the most densely populated part of Africa—there are cities in it of not less than 100,000 inhabitants—and the population improves in character as we get into the interior, the lowest type, as the unfittest, having been driven to inhabit the coast swamps. An immense area is now opened out for the enterprising traders of all nations. It is occupied by millions of people, a considerable number of whom have lived hitherto the lives of hunted hares, they only await the *pax Britannica* in order to settle down, prosper, and contribute to make the Niger the commercial exit it is so obviously intended to be. It is agreeable in these days to be able to credit a splendid piece of work to a Chartered Company.

THE CAPTURE OF BENIN.

Another satisfactory event we have to record is the capture of Benin. We mentioned in the February number of this Review how a peaceful mission of British officials had been treacherously attacked and shot down by the soldiers of the Sheik of Benin. Our acting Consul-General was among the slain; only two British officials managed to escape and tell the tale. A punitive expedition was soon mustered. It consisted of 540 men. Admiral Rawson reported that the force had captured Benin town on February 18th, after sharp fighting. The column was three miles long, and it was harassed by the enemy during the whole march. The heat was intense, and water supply had to be carried the whole way, the allowance having been two quarts per officer and man per day for all purposes. The Admiral's message said: "Men much exhausted on reaching Benin city. Getting ammunition and stores up for Protectorate force. Will then re-embark men as

quickly as possible. Place stinks of human blood. Sacrifices and corpses everywhere." Four whites, including Dr. Fyfe, were killed, and sixteen whites were wounded. The troops, both black and white, behaved splendidly, and it must be remembered that they had to keep up a sort of running fight in the bush for eight hours. There was some resistance near the city, but the defenders soon decamped, and the city or entrance was found to be deserted. Neither the Sheik nor the Ju-ju men were found. There were only the marks of their devilish practices in the shape of mutilated human sacrifices. As soon as it is found the Ju-ju men have lost their power it is probable they will be brought in as prisoners with their miserable chief. It should be easy then to ascertain, by means of an enquiry, who was responsible for the massacre of our unfortunate countrymen. The guilt being brought home, we should have no hesitation in bringing the culprits to public execution. This will be the first step towards the pacification of the country.

LORD HERSCHELL'S EVIDENCE.

In recently opening some new Technical Schools at Swindon, Lord Herschell (ex-Lord Chancellor), the Chairman of the Gold and Silver Commission, gave grudging, and consequently valuable, testimony to the active interest now being taken in bimetallism throughout Great Britain. Considering that our exports actually fell off by £1,384,113 during January, 1897, as compared with the previous January, it is hardly surprising that Englishmen should be exercising themselves as to the nation's economic position, and we recommend those to whom the persistence of "cranks," like the Editor of *The National Review* in pushing this question, is a puzzle, to read Mr. Faraday's admirable exposition—if we may be allowed to call it so—of Great Britain's interest in a settlement of the silver question further on in this number. While the subject of bimetallism is rigorously boycotted by the great bulk of the newspapers—*The Manchester Guardian* alone among the big dailies having taken it up, and having in consequence enhanced its already world-wide fame—* Lord Herschell informed his audience "there was not a single day on which he did not receive from some part of England or another, a resolution passed at a meeting in which they implored the Government as their only safety to introduce a system of international bimetallism. He knew a little about that subject, as he had sat for eighteen months as chairman of a committee enquiring

* We should regret to do injustice to any other newspaper, but we believe *The Manchester Guardian* is the only great political organ in Great Britain associated with bimetallism.

into the subject, and really it was to him a most pathetic circumstance that day after day he received from those highly-qualified people in their own calling in life resolutions of that description. And he would say that they are perfectly honestly convinced that if they got a system of international bimetallism trade would revive. This only he would say, and he said it after much study of the subject, that in his belief if they got international bimetallism to-morrow it would not do any of the things which those people who passed the resolutions expected from it. He was not going to say whether it was a good or a bad system. There was no bimetallist who could prove that he had betrayed any possible prejudice against bimetallism." It is very sad to think that Lord Herschell's "highly qualified" correspondents in all parts of the country should be suffering from softening of the brain in this pathetic manner, but one may console oneself by the reflection that if their optimistic anticipations of the effects of bimetallism are doomed to disappointment, bimetallists can hardly be regarded as "Anarchists" and "Repudiators." In support of Lord Herschell's report on the keen interest this "craze" excites, may be cited the fact that of the four winners of recent bye-elections three are in favour of international bimetallism and are pledged to promote it—the Members for Romford, Walthamstow, and Salisbury. How much longer will the fiction be cherished that the Press reflects public opinion?

SENATOR WOLCOTT'S MISSION.

Senator Wolcott has returned to the United States after a most successful and encouraging visit to Europe. He has ascertained that the leading commercial nations, France, Germany, and Great Britain, are willing to co-operate in an international settlement of the silver question, and he will report to that effect to the new Administration at Washington. Upon one thing all bimetallists are agreed, and that is that we must not have another abortive monetary conference. Europe has, however, repented of her obstructive attitude at the Brussels Conference, and now approaches the question in a very different frame of mind. Senator Wolcott has shown himself to be an able and accomplished man of affairs by his skilful and tactful conduct during his visit. His sincerity and zeal have been accepted by European bimetallists as an earnest of the Republican Party's determination to fulfil the pledge of the St. Louis Platform, while his persuasiveness has made a considerable impression upon many of our leading monometallists. Mr. McKinley has, perhaps, the greatest opportunity of benefitting the whole civilized world that has ever been presented to an American President. We look to him to utilize it.

THE DISCARDED TREATY.

The proposed Arbitration Treaty between the United States and Great Britain, which has been emasculated by the Foreign Relations Committee, and suspended by the Senate, is not a long or intricate agreement. Its ultimate fate is in the hands of the American people, and whatever that may be, the principal provisions of the Treaty are worthy of record as marking the first attempt that has ever been made to settle serious international differences by arbitration. Its terms may be epitomized as follows :—

I. All differences—subject to subsequent limitations—arising between the two countries that diplomacy cannot adjust, shall be settled by Arbitration.

II. Each nation shall nominate a jurist of repute, and these two arbitrators shall select an umpire, or, failing their agreement to do so within three months, the Supreme Court of the United States and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council shall try and make the nomination. Failing their agreement, the King of Sweden* shall appoint the umpire.

III. The award of the majority of this tribunal shall be final in deciding all pecuniary claims up to £100,000, "which do not involve the determination of territorial claims."

IV. This tribunal, *if unanimous*, shall decide all pecuniary claims exceeding £100,000 in amount, and all questions arising out of treaties, "provided that such matters in difference do not involve the determination of territorial claims."

V. Failing unanimity in the class of cases specified in IV., either side may demand a review of the award which shall be submitted to an arbitral tribunal consisting of five jurists, two nominated by each side, who shall appoint a fifth as umpire, the King of Sweden being the ultimate selector of the umpire in case of disagreement. The award of the majority of the tribunal thus constituted shall be final.

VI. The most important article of the Treaty runs as follows: "Any controversy which shall involve the determination of territorial claims shall be submitted to a tribunal composed of six members, three of whom (subject to the provisions of Article

* "Either of the high contracting parties, however, may at any time give notice to the other that, by reason of material changes in conditions as existing at the date of this Treaty, it is of opinion that a substitute for His Majesty should be chosen, either for all cases to arise under the Treaty or for a particular specified case already arisen, and thereupon the high contracting parties shall at once proceed to agree upon such substitute to act, either in all cases to arise under the Treaty or in the particular case specified, as may be indicated by said notice, provided, however, that such notice shall have no effect upon an arbitration already egun by the constitution of an arbitral tribunal under Article III."

VIII.*) shall be Judges of the British Supreme Court of Judicature or members of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, to be nominated by her Britannic Majesty, and the other three of whom (subject to the provisions of Article VIII.) shall be Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States or Justices of the Circuit Courts to be nominated by the President of the United States, whose award, by a majority of not less than five to one, shall be final. In case of an award made by less than the prescribed majority, the award shall also be final unless either Power shall, within three months after the award has been reported, protest that the same is erroneous, in which case the award shall be of no validity. In the event of an award made by less than the prescribed majority and protested as above provided, or if the members of the arbitral tribunal shall be equally divided, there shall be no recourse to hostile measures of any description until the mediation of one or more friendly powers has been invited by one or both of the high contracting parties."

VII. "This Treaty shall remain in force for five years from the date at which it shall come into operation, and further until the expiration of twelve months after either of the high contracting parties shall have given notice to the other of its wish to terminate the same." Other provisions prescribe the procedure, and contain various definitions and safeguards, but the above are the main features of the original as laboriously constructed by Mr. Olney and Sir Julian Pauncefote. The Foreign Relations Committee have killed the spirit of this Treaty by inserting the following amendment, "But no question which affects the foreign or domestic policy of either of the high contracting parties or the relations of either with any other State or Power by treaty or otherwise shall be subject to Arbitration under this Treaty, except by special agreement." The author of this destructive amendment is not "a Free Silver crank," but Senator Cabot Lodge, who sits for Massachusetts, and, as showing how mixed the American political situation is, it may be mentioned that the Massachusetts House of Representatives passed a resolution in favour of the immediate endorsement of the original draft by 141 votes to 11. The United States Senate, however, refuses to consider even the amended Treaty for the present.

"I Told You So."

It is sometimes tempting, though always irritating, to say "I told you so." Some months ago we ventured in these pages to canvass the supposed enthusiasm of the American people in the cause of Arbitration.

* Article VIII. allows the selection of a judicial officer from a British Colony or American State when the question in dispute concerns either, as an alternative member of the Tribunal.

Our readers may remember that the expression of these doubts elicited from one of the foremost papers in the United States, *The New York Sun*, an emphatic assertion that they were well-founded and that American sentiment in this matter had been greatly exaggerated by the eager votaries of Arbitration. The present Treaty appears to be constructed with extraordinary skill and care; and having attentively followed the debates in the Senate, we are unable to understand what American interests are considered to be compromised by its terms, or how it could in any way impair American National Policy. In fact, if there is to be a serious Arbitration Treaty, it is not easy to see how the original draught could be bettered, but if the Americans distrust the principle of Arbitration—which is apparent from many of the Senatorial speeches—they will elect to retain the existing system. At the same time, it is hardly rational to treat Arbitration as a British fad which is being foisted upon the United States by the sinister persistence of Lord Salisbury. On the contrary, it is of distinctively American origin, and the word Arbitration would hardly be known in Europe—in reference to International questions—were it not for the zeal with which the idea it expresses has been advocated in America by a handful of able and devoted men who persuaded themselves and others that they had the backing of the whole community. We have always admired their enthusiasm, though we have never been able to share their belief that the millennium would follow the creation of an arbitral tribunal. Still we should have been quite willing to try a five years' experience as proposed by the discarded Treaty. It would have been an interesting and possibly valuable venture, and Lord Salisbury's action in seeking to satisfy what was believed to be an ardent ambition of the American people is cordially approved by the great bulk of Englishmen, irrespective of party. On the other hand, had the Treaty been ratified, all our cranks would have commenced to attack our already insufficient naval estimates on the assumption that the moral and operative command of the sea had passed to the King of Sweden. The Senate has at any rate saved Great Britain from a Quaker campaign at a particularly critical juncture of European affairs, and has indeed strengthened the hands of the Philistines. The champions of adequate armament very forcibly point out that if the New World—the mother of Arbitration—is hostile to its adoption, it is idle to suppose that serious European differences can be composed through its instrumentality. To use a homely expression, Great Britain stands on velvet, and we shall learn the ultimate fate of this Treaty with perfect equanimity. We only ask that if the Senate is averse to Arbitration it will frankly say so by

rejecting the Treaty. The amended draught would serve no useful purpose, as it is an Arbitration Treaty with all the Arbitration taken out.

WHERE WAS THE FARMER?

The Times correspondent in New York, whose main function appears to be to blackguard the Silver Party—curiously enough the leading articles in *The Times* lose no opportunity of depreciating Mr. Balfour, the leading English bimetallist—has been making congenial capital out of the attitude of Silver Senators towards the Treaty as manifesting an unfriendly disposition towards England. This is obviously done in order to prejudice public opinion here against entertaining any invitation we may receive to take part in an international monetary conference, and if at the same time Mr. Balfour's position can be weakened by perpetual detraction, *The Times* will gain one of its fondest objects by wrecking the prospects of a settlement of the Silver question. *The Times* is a determined and unscrupulous campaigner. It may be pointed out that Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts (the author of the gold plank in the Republican Platform), has been throughout the most formidable opponent of the Olney-Pauncefote Draft, and the insertion of the destructive amendment was his handiwork. What *The Times* correspondent habitually conceals from us is the fact that the Treaty is presented for ratification by the most unpopular Administration which has ever held office since the States became United, and though no doubt the American Senate would exhibit a sublime spectacle to the world by licking the hand that has continually smitten it, its present conduct is, after all, human. Of the ninety members of the Senate, only four support the present Administration, which is hardly a working majority. What may, however, be complained of in the attitude of many of the Senators, whether Silver or Gold, is their treatment of Arbitration as a suspicious British contrivance for getting the better of America. Arbitration, as we have pointed out above, is not a European idea at all, but an American ideal, for which public opinion is evidently unripe. Further than this, it must be recognized that there is considerable soreness in the Southern and Western States at the tone of our leading newspapers—the chief offenders being *The Times* and its unconscionable correspondent—and of most of our public men in their references to the Silver movement. To be fair, one must admit that the authors of those references have given no study whatever to the Silver question, but have condemned its supporters as "cranks," "anarchists," and "repudiators." At the recent election these "anarchists" polled one million more votes than Mr. Cleveland obtained in 1892, and their total vote was actually $6\frac{1}{2}$ millions representing nearly half the American people. Mr. Bryan owed

his strength to the support of that most conservative of all classes —the American farmer—and among his most ardent followers were the great mass of Englishmen who have gone out West during the last thirty years. They have grounds for believing—almost all economic authority is on their side—that their creditors are levying almost double their due through the fall of prices. They regard themselves as robbed, and they are, in a moral sense, being robbed (just as our docile landowners are being systematically robbed by means of "fixed charges," &c.); but resistance to robbery does not make a man a "repudiator," or an "anarchist," and you cannot fairly indict either a whole nation, or a half nation, in such terms. Americans, strange as it may seem, are very sensitive to English opinion, and they resent English criticism keenly. One cannot but regard this as a tribute to the old country, but it should make us careful in our criticism. The English papers and politicians, following the Eastern papers and politicians with a few honourable exceptions, have poured scorn and contumely upon the grievances of the American farmer, and the iron has entered into his soul. Within a very few months of an election which he regards as involving four more years of disaster, he is presented with an opportunity of demonstrating in favour of a Treaty which the very same politicians and newspapers pronounce to be a great blessing to mankind; but the American farmer does not feel in a demonstrative mood,* and he remains in

* *The Outlook* (one of the best papers in the United States, being a combination of *The Spectator* and *The Guardian*), which has been working splendidly for arbitration, publishes the following interesting figures:—

"The Government crop reports for 1896 show that the farmers received somewhat less for their cereals than in 1895. The price of wheat was high, but the crop was small; the crop of corn was large, but the price was low; and as to oats, the farmers suffered the evils of a short crop and low prices combined. What makes the report of peculiar value is a comparison of the crops and prices last year with those of the six years beginning in 1890, and the ten years beginning in 1880. The figures run as follows:—

WHEAT.

	Production (bushels).	Farm Price.
1896	428,000,000	72.6 cents.
1890-95	475,000,000	64.8 ,,
1880-89	450,000,000	82.7 ,,

CORN.

	Production (bushels).	Farm Price.
1896	2,284,000,000	21.5 cents.
1890-95	1,692,000,000	38.8 ,,
1880-89	1,703,000,000	39.3 ,,

OATS.

	Production (bushels).	Farm Price.
1896	707,000,000	18.7 cents.
1890-95	675,000,000	30.4 ,,
1880-89	584,000,000	30.9 ,,

It will be observed that the increase in these crops has hardly kept pace with the

his tent. Put yourself in his place—you might conceivably act as he does.

New York Spectacles.

A distinguished London editor, who is sincerely desirous of seeing an improvement in the relations between the two Anglo-Saxon countries, recently asked the present writer whence the perpetual misunderstandings arose and how they could be obviated. The reply was in substance as follows: "So long as London editors insist on deriving their American information exclusively from New York and the extreme East they will remain permanently puzzled by American events. New York is the commercial capital of the Eastern States, but it is not in touch with the West and South, and it has a wholly different set of interests, views, and prejudices. The British view of America is entirely governed by New York prejudice, because, practically speaking, the British newspaper reader is never allowed to hear from any other part of the Continent, and the further the centre of population moves westward the more unintelligible American affairs will become to Englishmen." It is believed in the States that *The Times* correspondent has never been as far West as Chicago, which is only a third of the way to San Francisco, and he certainly corresponds out of the fullness of his ignorance of everything beyond Manhattan Island. By his ferocious abuse of the Bryan movement, he has materially injured the relations between the two countries, and is a responsible factor in the failure of the Arbitration Treaty. He has done so much already to set Great Britain and the West by the ears that one sees no end to his powers of mischief. His exceedingly clever pen makes his perverseness all the more deplorable. Won't one of our enterprising editors send a correspondent on a year's tour through the States to find out whether there is anything in this "silver craze" which seems to strangely move so many millions of Anglo-Saxons? The British investor, at any rate, is entitled to some rather fuller information than he gets at present.

Colonel John Hay.

Whenever a great American post becomes vacant, whether it be the Presidency, the Secretaryship of State, or the British Embassy, the newspapers insist on appointing Mr. Chauncey Depew, thereby giving occasion for laughter. Mr. Depew is the American Sir Albert Rollit, and his fame is chiefly due to his never having shut his

increase in our population. The monometallist theory that these crops have fallen in price because of over-production is difficult to maintain. The logical conclusion is that they have fallen in price because money has risen in value."

door on a newspaper reporter either morning, noon, or night. Reporters repay him by advertisement, hence these perpetual paragraphs on his prospects. One may now hope to have heard the last of them, as the wearisome joke that he was "considering" or "accepting" the London Embassy has at last been effectually silenced by the appointment of Colonel John Hay. In several recent appointments Mr. McKinley, the incoming President, has shown himself to have a good eye for character and aptitude. The present selection is felicity itself. Colonel Hay is of the very best American type. He entered political life under the auspices of Lincoln, whom he accompanied to Washington in 1861 as a private secretary, which post he held until the President's assassination. After this calamity he entered diplomacy, where he has had a wide and varied experience. Ultimately he became Assistant-Secretary of State in President Hayes' Administration (1877-1881). In the interval he has been out of public life, and has continued his delightful literary labours, of which the chief fruits have been *The Pike County Ballads* ("Jim Bludso"), *Castilian Days*, and a great biography of his former chief Lincoln. *The Times* denies that he is the author of that mordant satire *Democracy*, with which rumour has persistently credited him. He has long lived in Washington, and has been in close touch with public affairs there. He is highly esteemed by his own countrymen, and will be warmly welcomed in London as a worthy successor of Lowell and Phelps. The times demand an able, resourceful, and clear-sighted American Ambasssador in England, who will regard diplomacy as his first and most important duty. As *The Times* delicately puts it: "Colonel Hay's appointment will signify, among other things, an intention to restore to the American Embassy in London that active share in the transaction of diplomatic business which it had when Mr. Adams was Minister, and again, much later, under Mr. Phelps. There is no rule one or the other way; it depends on circumstances. Colonel Hay is a diplomatist by natural gifts and training, with the tact, sagacity, quick perceptions, solid basis of knowledge, and high capacity essential to success." Mr. Bayard has had the best intentions in the world, but if an Ambassador is always on his legs, he is liable, like all other mortals, to become expansive and even indiscreet. We hope Colonel Hay is no orator.

THE VENEZUELA SETTLEMENT.

While the General Arbitration Treaty between the United States and Great Britain is in a state of suspended animation—more suspended perhaps than animate—the Venezuela Arbitration Treaty has been signed

by Great Britain and Venezuela. According to its terms the arbitral tribunal which shall determine the boundary line between British Guiana and Venezuela shall consist of five jurists—two representing Great Britain, Lord Herschell and Mr. Justice Henn Collins; two representing Venezuela, Chief Justice Fuller and Mr. Justice Brewer, both of the United States Supreme Court. The fifth is to be selected by these four, or failing their agreement the King of Sweden and Norway will nominate. The jurist so selected will preside over the court. The duties of the tribunal are concisely stated in the appended articles, an attentive perusal of which, by anyone familiar with the facts of the case, makes the suggestion that Lord Salisbury and Sir Julian Pauncefote have made a humiliating surrender of British interests supremely absurd. The directions to the arbitrators are the result of a fair compromise between the American demand for unrestricted arbitration on the Venezuelan claim and Lord Salisbury's "it's no affair of yours." The Treaty recognizes the *locus standi* of the United States, while the latter withdraws the extravagant claims of her *protége* Venezuela. The operative articles are as follows:—

"Article III.—The tribunal shall investigate and ascertain the extent of the territories belonging to, or that might lawfully be claimed by, the United Netherlands or by the kingdom of Spain respectively, at the time of the acquisition by Great Britain of the colony of British Guiana, and shall determine the boundary line between the colony of British Guiana and the United States of Venezuela.

"Article IV.—In deciding the matters submitted, the arbitrators shall ascertain all facts which they deem necessary to a decision of the controversy, and shall be governed by the following rules, which are agreed upon by the high contracting parties as rules to be taken as applicable to the case, and by such principles of international law, not inconsistent therewith, as the arbitrators shall determine to be applicable to the case:—

"(*a*) Adverse holding or prescription during a period of fifty years shall make a good title. The arbitrators may deem exclusive political control of a district as well as actual settlement thereof sufficient to constitute adverse holding or to make title by prescription.

"(*b*) The arbitrators may recognize and give effect to rights and claims resting on any other ground whatever, valid according to international law, and on any principles of international law which the arbitrators may deem to be applicable to the case, and which are not in contravention of the foregoing rule.

"(*c*) In determining the boundary line, if territory of one party be found by the tribunal to have been at the date of this treaty in the occupation of the subjects or citizens of the other party, such effect shall be given to such occupation as reason, justice, the principles of international law, and the equities of the case shall in the opinion of the tribunal require."

SOME HOME TRUTHS ABOUT RHODESIA.

[NOTE.—On arriving in England last January, I tendered evidence to the Committee upon the subject of the future administrative requirements of Rhodesia, stipulating, however, to be heard within a certain time, as I had to return within a few months to South Africa. The Committee intimated that the evidence on this head would not be taken at present, and therefore declined the offer. I have consequently felt at liberty to throw into the form of an article what I think may be fairly urged from the standpoint of an independent settler of the country.]

THE Parliamentary Committee now sitting to enquire into the working of the Chartered Company, regarded, that is, as an administration, not as the instrument of speculators, is engaged upon a task of more far-reaching consequences than seems generally supposed. For what really and ultimately is at stake is the fate of a territory pre-eminently adapted to be a great and invaluable British Colony. Mashonaland and Matabeleland, the north-east and south-west halves respectively of a high and healthy Zambesian plateau, are well fitted to receive a large population of British emigrants and of maintaining them and their descendants in prosperity. What is more, there is room for both the settlers and the aboriginal tribes, and under a firm government there is no reason why peace and justice between white and black should not in the future be upheld. If British Members of Parliament and Cabinet Ministers will but steadily keep before them the very simple though forcible considerations contained in these opening lines, and if they will brush aside as of altogether secondary importance the issues that may be sought to be raised by speculative interests and political wire-pullers, I do not fear that the final decision arrived at by England regarding the future handling of Rhodesia will be an unwise one. Clearly, if that territory is the heritage of Britain's surplus population, and if a satisfactory explanation can be found why the country, richly mineralized as it undoubtedly is, and blessed with broad acres and a climate as fine as any in the world, has in six years only won for itself widespread distrust and given endless trouble, surely a powerful English Ministry and a House with strong and enlightened Imperial leanings, will know how to effect

the adjustment of the Colony's affairs so that it may run its rightful and prosperous course.

In order to assist the unprejudiced enquirer into the Rhodesian problem, I had best endeavour to briefly sketch in their sequence some of the more important incidents, speaking, it must be understood, from a mere settler's point of view, taking place north of the Shashi from the founding of the province to times within the memory of every newspaper reader. Indeed, it is quite impossible to intelligently discuss the proposition as it is presented at this hour without some knowledge of the manner in which, step by step, the Chartered Government advanced itself, the country, and the people under its sway towards that cataclysm which, while falling principally on the struggling settlers of Rhodesia, at the same time created so acute a political imbroglio throughout South Africa as to force the case of the northern emigrant almost completely out of sight.

The Charter was from the start an avowed experiment to amalgamate Imperial, capitalistic, and popular requirements and desires. Very early in the day, however, came the first signs that in whatever other direction the experiment might succeed, it would not satisfy a public of Englishmen and South Africans resident within the territories. In 1890 the famous pioneer force of Messrs. Johnson, Heany, and Borrow successfully occupied Mashonaland, the region being shortly afterwards rushed by some two thousand whites. The pioneers were disbanded, and given as part of their promised pay, farms and the right to peg claims. An unusually severe rainy season caused much suffering among the 'ninety men and among the "trekkers" who followed them early in 1891, and gravely interfered with the transport of food-supplies. The first anniversary of the day when Salisbury had been established was celebrated at that place by a Pioneer dinner, which was intended, however, as a means of expressing strong disapproval of some methods of the Government. Certain officials, such as Dr. Harris and Sir John Willoughby, came in for a storm of abuse from the popular leaders, for personalities were in those days more prominent than political arguments. The Government did what it could to right itself in public favour, but without making changes within its administrative *personnel*. Dr. Jameson, however, took the reins more firmly into his hands, and an enormous quantity of provisions was ordered into the country to still the fears of those who had suffered the previous wet season. Many persons who would not be comforted, however, left the country; those who were hopeful remained.

The next year witnessed a similar demonstration on the part of this residue, but levelled now chiefly or ostensibly at the so-called

50 per cent. tax,* when again the tenor of the platform speeches then, as always since, showed that the bad feeling was created by a distrust quite as much in the Chartered *personnel* as in the form of government. Dr. Jameson, however, was almost universally excepted from the black list, and his influence did wonders for the Chartered Company. Men would follow the Doctor out of sheer liking for him, and confidence in him, and without any attempt to think out things for themselves. The agitation came to nothing, and for a time the country was magnetized by its Administrator.

In 1893 the domestic and local discords and troubles of the Mashonalanders hushed before the outbreak of native troubles at Victoria, the settlement nearest the dominions of the late "King" Lobengula. As far as my knowledge and impressions at the time go, the war which speedily followed was under the then existing circumstances unavoidable, and was entered into by the whites in a spirit of self-defence. It is altogether another matter to discuss the wisdom of the Chartered Company for dealing with the land and the cattle of the natives in precisely the way they did. Subsequent events, indeed, must have convinced even Dr. Jameson and Mr. Rhodes that the system followed was greatly at fault. I will elsewhere deal with the story of native affairs in Rhodesia during the period under review, wishing here to keep to the subject of the white settlement. With the speedy collapse of the Matabele and the consequent proclaiming of a new province and new goldfields in Matabeleland, the history of the emigrants commenced to run in two separate channels. The expeditionary force which proved so quickly victorious was made up of Mashonaland men drawn from the districts of Salisbury, Victoria, and Umtali. It is untrue to say these people went in because of disappointments as to Mashonaland and the inducements in land and claims and loot. They went in as young Englishmen and young South Africans have a habit of doing when they think a cause is just, "and the guns begin to shoot." The Matabele were looked on, and rightly, as permanently hostile to all peaceable settlement of the country; they had long threatened the whites, and what happened was inevitable.

Having gained Bulawayo and possession of the country there were inducements enough for the volunteers to stay there. The Matabele war was exceedingly popular in England, and, by steps which it would be tedious to trace, that portion of the country, or, rather, Bulawayo "stands" and Matabele farms and claims, became popular with the share-buying and share-creating world. From the Transvaal and the Cape, moreover, Matabeleland was more accessible,

* The Chartered Company, as a matter of practice, do not take 50 per cent., but between 30 and 40 per cent. of vendors' scrip in mining companies floated on Rhodesian reefs.

and therefore more popular, than Mashonaland, which, if it had its long-promised railway, would be far nearer to an eastern sea-board. What happened consequently was a boom in Matabeleland, and a considerable inrush of newcomers. Money also came in freely, far more freely than had ever been the case before the war, and went to the spot that was most fashionable. Bulawayo within a year had grown to twice the size Salisbury had in three years. The fashion carried away with it the principal development companies, who transferred their speculative and mining energy from Mashonaland to the South-West. That the Government followed suit, though for partly different motives, is indubitable. A glance at the map makes it obvious that all Rhodesia must one day be served by the Beira (East Coast) route. To construct this line was the original intention of the Company. In December, 1892, Dr. Jameson announced at Salisbury that the money had been subscribed for some 240 miles of the Beira railway, and, in October the next year at the same town, Mr. Rhodes dwelt on the superior advantages and importance of the route. The policy of 1893 became, however, all in favour of a Cape extension to Bulawayo. When the Mashonaland people therefore saw that the occupation of Matabeleland was drawing off the attention of politicians and speculators, they took little or no objection to the fact, but very properly set to thinking how they could advance the fortunes of Mashonaland by dint of her own merits. As far as I had any direction in the attitude of Mashonaland between 1891 and 1896, the people of this province played the part of Boccaccio's humble Griselda. I could feel more sure that Mr. Rhodes would yet prove her Marquis of Saluzzo if it were not for his recent speeches in the Cape Colony.

After the settlers had looked around them for some time, however, they burst into very natural indignation. Of the Beira railway in three years only seventy-five miles had been built, and Dr. Jameson, the one official of any authority or help to them, remained absent in the new province. The only printed newspaper in the country at that time, given previously to make handsome allowances for government, now swung round to the popular side, and in April, 1894, at a public meeting, in which the local leaders used strong language, the Government conceded another forty-five miles of Beira railway extension and re-affirmed its former promise, at the moment much doubted, that Salisbury should remain the capital of the country. The railway did reach Chimoio, so completing 120 miles of the line, but remained there so long that towards the close of 1895 another agitation grew to a head, and culminated in the inhabitants of Salisbury signing a petition to Her Majesty the Queen. The petition was suspended on the news of the Raid and

its immediate sequelæ being known, and indefinitely hung up on Mr. Rhodes promising to continue construction, with which some further progress has since been made. The meetings known as the "Railway Meetings" of '94 and '95, were like previous agitations largely concerned with the manner of government of the Chartered Company, and deprecating of sundry directors and officials, rightly or wrongly supposed to be unfriendly to the settlers and to the real interests of the country. In this connection also I should relate that in August, 1894, a deputation of citizens, representing all interests, awaited on a director, Mr. (now Earl) Grey on the occasion of his first visit to Mashonaland, and presented to him a petition. The document asked for full municipal powers, the existing ones being of the most farcical order, reduction of the "50 per cent. tax," and of the excessive rates charged on such of the Beira railway as had been constructed. They were protests against favouritism towards the speculating friends of the directorate over the ordinary prospector, and against the unrestricted speculations permitted by the chief local officials. Elective representation of the public on the Council was also asked for. Mr. Grey in return made a graceful but evasive speech, although in some directions, and quite lately, certain reforms have taken, or have commenced to take, place. The after-history of Mashonaland, those terrible consequences of the Raid, and the absence of police, the rising of the Mashonas, and the massacre of whites, is too recent for me to need deal with it. Matters were, of course, made worse by the advent of the rinderpest, and the absence of a yard of rails within our territory, or within seventy miles of it. As regards Matabeland, and affairs of the settlers between 1894 and 1896, I have little to say. The people express themselves for the most part as satisfied with the Chartered Government, and doubtless have good reasons for their creed. They, moreover, are in agreement with the Mashonalanders as to the necessity of the Company granting elective representation to the people, and perhaps in some other essential "planks" of reform. At all events they are capable of presenting their own chronicles faithfully, and speaking for themselves.

I have given prominence to the periodical collisions between the settlers of the older part of the country and their capitalistic, oligarchic government, but the outline is incomplete without the mention at least of the specific causes of local dissatisfaction. These may be summarized under the following heads :—

(1) The want of qualified and disinterested heads of departments.

(2) The want of sufficient and efficient district police.

(3) The attempt to administer too large a territory with too little working capital and administrative caution.

These matters may be briefly disposed of—

(1) There have been no qualified, *i.e.*, experienced, independent, and disinterested heads of departments. The want of a strong native department under a first-class magistrate of Kaffir experiences, such as exist in the Cape Colony, has had its unfortunate outcome. There has been no Agricultural Department. The Department of Mines has been something worse than a failure. There is no Emigration Bureau, and not the faintest scintilla of an Educational Department. The Public Works Department is to-day innocent of a professional engineer, and always has been. (2) In 1891 the mounted police were cut down to under a hundred in number, and were not materially augmented until they were deemed necessary for federative purposes on the Transvaal border in 1895. The absence of police in sufficient numbers and of the right sort was frequently complained about by the settlers in the columns of the local papers for several years. This weakness undoubtedly helped first Matabele and then Mashona to decide on rising and trying his luck with the palpably unprotected settlers. The third point, however, I can best deal with in the course of a more general treatment of my subject.

At the risk of some repetition I will now approach the problem from a fresh starting-point. When in 1890-91 the country was first rushed, there were high expectations with regard to gold, and many openings for trading, the pursuit of one or the other absorbing for some time the attention of the incomers. As for the administration, it also had, I hope, an exalted idea of its duties, and of its excellent opportunities to set forth to all the world how a British colony could be and should be forged and wrought into being. It was indeed soon evident to thoughtful people on the spot that Mr. Rhodes' gigantic idea was being financed on far too small a scale; that, in short, the order was a big one, and to carry it out on anything like two millions of money—to put the country on a self-supporting basis with this figure—was, if not impossible, at any rate, a Herculean task. But profoundly as I have since come to differ with Mr. Rhodes and Dr. Jameson upon almost every crucial point of their policy, I readily express my unmixed admiration for the skill which the Doctor put into his daring undertaking. It was, I felt as one on the spot, magnificent—as much that has been attempted in the same quarters since—but it was hardly government. New colonies cannot be manufactured like a new pattern of bicycle; they can only grow by natural laws of economy and morality being observed, and must grow slowly. We can see even better now why Mr. Rhodes' thought and Dr. Jameson's deed have so largely failed as regards Rhodesia. The idea and the task were beyond all immediate realization, and the effect to force the natural course of

things by what I cannot help calling the method of bluff and bribe only resulted in failures which we there were the first to realize and investors and speculators afar only some while afterwards. Rapidly the practical difficulties of the attempt increased. Reef gold would not come at the call of so inexperienced and sanguine a set of men as first pegged out claims and floated mining companies. The more honest suffered for their inexperience and impetuosity; the more knowing ones took care to have a second string to their bow, and made small or large fortunes out of their scrip. I regret to say the latter included some gentlemen officially and non-officially attached to Dr. Jameson's administrative staff, and these men have done lasting harm to the Company in other quarters doubtless than merely in the sentiments of dissatisfied settlers. The tangle was of the most complicated sort. Money was badly needed not only by the Government but for the purpose of developing the mines. London and South African speculators and company-promoters saw their chance and used it. They would find some money in the shape of working capital for mines, but in return they required enormous gifts of practically freehold acreage. I do not know which of the "subsidiary companies" come within this category as popular belief in Mashonaland holds certain of them do, but at least one company has by some means or other obtained land equal in extent about to the county of Kent. My efforts to find out what that company is particularly bound to do in return for so huge a concession have not been rewarded. There may be agreements, but they would be paper ones, and the Chartered Company is not strong enough to ever enforce them. The best portions of Rhodesia were, however, soon similarly parcelled out among other development companies. As far as my recollection and experience go Dr. Jameson, regretfully no doubt, fought a retreating battle with the financial Philistines, and before very long every economic principle with which the Chartered Administration may have started out had turned into a welter of opportunist acts, among which must be reckoned the spasmodic policy followed in regard to the Beira railway. It was not their business to support a government which gave them no voice, and which had rather thrown over the residents in favour of the speculator and the Federative politician, so old hands at Salisbury grew dissatisfied, and the ill-starred government had on its hands internal in addition to external infelicities. The fresh interest excited in the occupation of Matabeleland, however, assisted the company, and some money was made off the new favourite Bulawayo, though a great deal, I fear, at the expense of hapless Mashonaland.

At length upon our long-suffering heads came the avalanche of the Jameson Raid. At the moment the issues were exceedingly

obscure. I think I am right in saying that the popular impression was something to this effect. It was supposed in our distant regions that Englishmen in the Transvaal were chafing under many wrongs, and, resolved at last to break down the ridiculous tyranny of a small, ignorant, and wholly selfish Boer minority, had well armed to effect their purpose. Dr. Jameson, the Rhodesia Horse, and the police were well known to us to be preparing for contingencies, and we supposed that the preparation was for the purpose of interfering in the name of the Suzereign from any needless bloodshed between white and white. Before this magnificent and beneficent scheme, I for one, not a politician by trade or inclination, felt local issues should be suspended for the moment. Yet the draft of our few police and many of our best volunteers southward was not allowed to go uncomplained of and was indeed bitterly criticized. The probability of a Matabeland rising, still less a revolt of the unwarlike Mashonas, was not reckoned on, but it was feared that some individual Mashona chiefs would shoot prospectors and others with impunity. Again, I and others owned to a dread that instead of the homely development of Mashonaland industry, Mr. Rhodes and Dr. Jameson—the men we looked to for our good government—were being swept off their feet with purely political ambitions, and, if successful, would court their humble first love, Mashonaland, no more. Then came the Raid, the inevitable failure, the rousing of bitter passion throughout South Africa, and for us, helped on by the scourge of rinderpest, the native risings, the frightful massacres of unsuspecting settlers, the costly and half-finished war, the famine prices, and still later the effects of pitting the English of the Cape coast towns and districts against the rural Dutch, and finally, the unrest everywhere

As a South African bred and born, and for fifteen years a frontiersman, I have my South African sympathies, and I regret to say they have been forced latterly rather towards the Boers than towards some of the equally partisan but less pardonable sentiments of certain educated and enlightened Members of Parliament, and the Press here, at Cape Town, and at Port Elizabeth. But I feel that this is not now my special province, and that I can only ask to be heard on the prospects and requirements of the part of South Africa in which I have cast my lot. Mr. Rhodes, however, has made much of the fact that he is led by a hobby, that hobby being, in a word, politics, and those politics South African federation. I admire him as I admire his great lieutenant Dr. Jameson for their allegiance to this hobby, but I think that both have overlooked the important fact that all other men have hobbies. There are the Boers, whose hobby it is to be left to themselves and in the enjoyment of their own country. To talk of Boer raids into

Zululand and Bechuanaland as similar instances to the event of December, 1895, is to show a good deal of ignorance of the typical South African. Right or wrong the Boer will raid a Kaffir country, but he will not raid a country already in possession of his own colour. If he designed anything of this sort on Rhodesia at any time, it was under a strong, if false, impression that he had been deliberately robbed of what he regarded as his natural and divinely-given Canaan.* And he was easily enough controlled by his own Government when the necessity arose. But it is not only the hobby of the Boer for his own country which seems to have been overlooked, the omission includes the hobby of those South Africans of English and of Dutch extraction alike who want to see South Africa progress without an apotheosis of the financier's morals being called to the rescue. England, with all its faults, and my stay here does not afford evidence to me to discount my previously gathered opinions as to her, is a great and lasting fact, and her host of past statesmen and publicists could never have led her to the place she holds to-day by the conceptions and methods which in South Africa have been of late years so lauded even by sections of the British public themselves. Nor in the long-run do I think such methods will or can last in South Africa itself. That they should not last is, if I may say it with due modesty, my hobby and the hobby of some other—may I also say?—compatriots, and it is this hobby which I think Mr. Rhodes and Dr. Jameson have somewhat overlooked. *The Times*, and certain other English journals, should at least be warned that what might have suited the Elizabethan age or England in the times of Hastings is not necessarily the best policy to pursue in South Africa at this end of the nineteenth century. Such a policy can be carried too far, and tread not only on the toes of natives, but on the toes of the colonists.

Far be it from me to spitefully gibe at those distinguished men to whose activity we primarily owe Rhodesia and, therefore, to whom, as a Rhodesian, I also owe much. But the best interests are served all round when, even to your early benefactor, you turn round and state as plainly as you can where you now beg to differ. Although in its vulgar interpretation the right thing to do for Rhodesians is to back up their government to a man, to work up the best boom possible, to join in pure speculation, make money, and let fools elsewhere pay for any loss which may result; it is not, to my mind, the right thing to do for the country, if you are ambitious of being loyal

* The Boer's biblical phraseology is frequently laughed at, strangely enough from quarters where the Christian religion is in form most reverenced. Canaan, however, was only a Hinterland claimed by Moses and occupied by his people, and the Boers use the expression with quite as much right, as implying a Hinterland they will now never get, as the more successful Germans and English have used the Teutonic word.

to it. Hence I will not be silent, and if I think my natural leaders or colleagues have been bent too far towards, or been dragged too deep into, a vicious course, it is only duty to plainly tell them so. I would a better, a more distinguished, an abler and more popular voice than mine there were, but with the exception of Mr. Selous, who is unpolitical, so far there has only come from Rhodesia the "Hail Cæsar" of a crowd of biassed visitors, of whom Mr. Cust is a late and typical representative, and someone must speak a little more to the point.

I am aware that the pages of *The National Review* are open to me rather to propose a scheme for the better government and development of Rhodesia than to dwell at length on past and present difficulties. But it is necessary to dwell on these difficulties if they are to be understood and surmounted. When overcome, a future programme for Rhodesia would be easy enough to put into execution. Mr. Rhodes has recently promised to extend the Beira railway to Salisbury as soon as possible, as well as the Cape system to Bulawayo. He has promised also a reform of the Civil Service, and to work with the Democratic Party to obtain elective representation on the Council.

Whether Mr. Rhodes, who is essentially not a democrat but a plutocrat, will be able to carry out these fresh promises with more success than his old ones remains to be seen, and how far Mr. Milton and Mr. Joseph Orpen, the new administrative appointments, will be improvements upon the earlier ones has also to be seen. What is very clear to my mind is that besides the election of settlers to the Council, open instead of secret sittings of that body, its extended autonomy at the expense of the powers exercised by the London Board, and improvements of this character, there must also be an Imperially appointed administrator, proof to Chartered fascination of any sort, yet not prejudiced towards the Charter. Again, an adequate and Native Department Police Force and adequate Civil Service generally cannot be maintained with the present financial means of the Chartered Company. If Great Britain would assist with annual grants in this direction and in a scheme for emigration such as it successfully carried out at the Cape in 1820, this island would not regret the outlay. No redistribution of political power would affect the Chartered Company's shareholders, though it would have a sedative effect upon our Dutch fellow-colonists across the Rhodesian border. There is a task great enough to absorb all Mr. Rhodes' strength and genius for some years to come in attending to the material requirements of the Mashonaland and Matabeleland mining industry, and should he confine himself to this long-neglected work he will meet with the most cordial co-operation of all classes in those

provinces. In pure politics Mr. Rhodes will doubtless have an opposition in Rhodesia as he has met with an opposition in the Cape Colony. That is a healthy state of things he will, I trust, be one of the first to welcome.

There however remains to say a word about the native question. I am one of those who believe it is far from satisfactorily settled. The means of the Chartered Company probably do not permit of more than a police force of much more than a thousand men being kept up, and that number is too small for so gigantic and new a territory. The solitary suggestion I can offer is that if the British Government and the Chartered Administration can be got to work in harmony together, the latter might be aided by the former to keep an effective and wisely handled body of police in the country. Rhodesians do not want at present to see the Charter taken away; they wish the Charter to be reformed. Its existence is threatened much more, however, by the hasty and impecunious handling of the native question, than by Salisbury agitations. Mrs. Cronwright Schreiner has of course overshot the mark with her Trooper Peter Halkett. Englishmen up there, I may tell her, are no worse and no better than Englishmen anywhere else. The book, however, is a caricature of tendencies in pioneer life which require a very just and very strong Government to keep within bounds, and to have the latter is the wish of the Rhodesian settlers themselves. The aim, further, of the Colonists is to justify themselves and their country to the world by peaceful prosperity. Their particular object is to win gold from the mines, and to do this successfully it is of paramount importance to them to be on good terms with the South African natives whose labour they depend on. Mere railway extension therefore will not necessarily do all that is needed. There must be in the future better government all round.

My hope is that the young and sore-stricken colony will live to gloriously survive its present disabilities and troubles, but even, before it, that South Africa will be spared the evil days which still seriously threaten. The truth and the safety will be found, I think, in this, that the Federation of South Africa, with which Mr. Rhodes has unmistakably, and, I will admit, boldly identified himself with, will come, but not in his day or ours. It is better therefore, to be patient, considerate, and unselfish. The aim at present should be to promote friendliness and confidence between the various States and widely differing interests, an aim, I think, or hope, Mr. Chamberlain has honestly and ably attempted to adhere to. There is nothing in the disposition of the Englishman, the English South African, and the Boer, to natur-

ally make them fly at one another's throats. But the ambition that would to-day or to-morrow morning attempt to unify and identify these three different characters is simply premature and bound to fail. In fact, South Africa is a good haven for the unambitious, the patient, and kindly-hearted. It is a rocky and stormy road-stead for those who are selfishly and impatiently intellectual. For even in politics there are these diverse classes of men.

W. E. Fairbridge.

THE DEFENCE OF LONDON.

A THOROUGH discussion of the defence of London involves an answer to four successive questions:—

1. Is Great Britain likely to be involved in a serious war?

2. In that case is the attempt at invasion probable, and is the landing of a foreign army in England practicable?

3. Suppose a landing to be practicable, is the preparation of a series of positions round London a prudent or necessary step?

4. If some form of fortification is desirable, do the plans of the Government meet the requirements of the case?

It is evident that if a decided negative could be given to any one of these questions, it would be superfluous to find answers to those that follow, but in fact very few of those who have thought about the subject are prepared with an unqualified "no" in any of the four cases. I shall attempt to answer them all, passing over as briefly as possible the first two, which I have examined in some detail elsewhere.*

1. If British policy were conducted upon a consistent and avowed plan there would be little danger of war. The British nation has no agressive purpose, and a policy accepted by the nation could not aim at anything but the retention by England of the territories and rights which she has, and the maintenance of the principle of a European commonwealth which underlies what is called the Concert of Europe. The danger of an attack upon England arises from the fears of the other Powers.

The raid upon the Transvaal was promptly disavowed and in no way countenanced by the British Government. The German Emperor's message, felt to be uncalled for and to imply a snub to this country, was therefore resented. No one in England for a moment dreamed of attacking Germany in consequence of that indiscretion. Our feelings were hurt and we showed it, that was all. But the German Government put such an interpretation upon the expressions of English feeling that it promptly set to work upon plans of campaign for a possible war. The French are afraid that England might join the Triple Alliance in an attack upon France, and, according to

* *The Nation's Awakening*, Book 1, Chapter VIII., and Book 3, Chapter V.

M. Clemenceau, this unfounded anxiety is the excuse for French naval preparations. The Russians are afraid that, as England keeps a strong fleet in the Levant, she has some design of her own upon Constantinople. Yet the only conceivable purpose of British action as regards Constantinople is to secure that the ultimate fate of that city shall be settled according to the will of the majority of the Powers rather than according to the will of Russia alone, and it matters less to England than to most of the Powers what the particular solution is to be.

The ambiguity of English policy arouses the apprehensions of all the Powers, and so long as it lasts there is some risk of a combination against this country. But if it were possible for a Government to lay down in clear, general terms the objects of British policy, and, still better, to obtain by a deliberate vote of both Houses of Parliament the national approval of the objects so defined, the confidence of the majority of the Powers would be secured, and peace, not only for England, but for the rest of the world, would be rendered less precarious than it is at present. A clear statement of the rights which it is intended to maintain, and to defend, if need be, by force, would not only form a sound basis for the national policy and for the defence of the Empire, but its publication would diminish if not remove the mistrust of other Powers in British policy. Such a declaration ought, it seems to me, to include the intention to act in concert with the majority of the Powers to resist by force the arbitrary initiative in international affairs of any single Power. This is what I mean by the principle of a European commonwealth.

I have said so much on what some will think a side issue, because it is the fashion to nickname alarmist anyone who discusses the chances of war. Yet, far from being an alarmist, I regard England's position as unlikely to be in any way disturbed, from the moment when the nation's course shall come to be regarded as the nation's business, and to be treated as a matter involving the deliberate expression of the national will.

2. Assuming, however, that British policy continues to be a party matter, that no steps are taken to ascertain and formulate a consistent policy, or that before this has been done some accident inflames the fears and jealousies of other Powers so that England finds herself at war, under what conditions is invasion practicable?

I think it entirely depends on the relative fighting power of the British and the hostile fleets. If a British fleet at the outbreak of war is able to seek, find, attack, and defeat the enemy's fleet there can be no invasion. If the British navy suffers a decisive defeat invasion will certainly follow. No

Continental Power at the present day will begin a war without the intention to strike down the adversary. A victory over the principal British fleet would therefore be pushed to its logical result, the assertion of the command of the sea against England, and after that there would be nothing to prevent the conveyance to England of a very large army.

The danger of a crushing defeat at sea ought to be remote. If the British Admiralty is now strategically efficient such a disaster could hardly occur except in case of a combination of several maritime Powers against England. But the peace distribution of the British fleet combined with the slowness of British mobilization, as shown by recent practice, might give a resolute and ready foreign Government the brief opportunity for a raid on a large scale. There are at present between thirty and forty British ships in the Levant, ten days from the Channel. The Channel Fleet is at Vigo on its way to Gibraltar, and might at any time be several days from the Straits of Dover. Thus a foreign Government resolved to run risks might cover the transport and landing of a force, say in Essex, by sending to the entrance of the Channel a fleet which, though comparatively small, would yet be superior to any British force that could attack it for several days. It would be necessary in some way to prevent the exit of reserve ships from the Medway. The operation would, of course, be extremely hazardous for the subsequent concentration of the British navy would cut off all retreat for the force landed in England. But if meanwhile that force had defeated the English field army and entered London the effect upon the course of events would be very great, and the prospect of such a success might induce a foreign Power to run the risks involved in the enterprise.

I hold absolutely with the naval school that the true defence of London and of England is a strong navy rightly used, and that the best preparation is to perfect the navy and its management. In case of the thorough defeat of the navy, no military force that England now possesses would be equal in efficiency to the invading army, and no works would save London.

But the navy has not the numerical force required to command the sea at the outset of war against a combination of Powers. A mistake in the peace distribution of the squadrons and a delay in the mobilization of the ships in reserve, both of which seem to me possible so long as the navy is controlled by a Cabinet in which strategy is unrepresented, would give foreign Powers the opportunity, upon which their soldiers undoubtedly build their hopes, of an invasion or great raid undertaken in the first days of a war unexpectedly declared.

3. What is the proper mode of resistance to a raid attempted by a group of army corps landed on the south or the east coast, and would the resistance be facilitated by special preparation for the defence of London?

Beyond doubt the force landed ought as soon as possible to be attacked and destroyed. The destruction of an army does not mean that all the persons composing it are killed; it means that its fighting power is broken, partly by a certain amount of killing and wounding, partly by its being thrown into confusion and losing heart, and partly by its being deprived of the means of supplying its wants. In ordinary land war an army is destroyed by a successful attack that drives it away from the roads or railways that constitute its channels of supply. An army is not like a tiger that can run all round its prey and attack from any direction. It is more like an imaginary monster composed of a snake combined with a tree, the tree containing the digestive organs, and the snake being nourished by the circulation passing through its tail from the tree. The snake's head may advance a long way from the tree, but a cut across its body at any point must be fatal. Suppose the snake's head is gliding through the grass towards an old gentleman lying asleep—its destined prey. The best way to kill the snake will be to rush at its tail with a knife. But this plan will not save the sleeper if the head has time to bite him before the knife is applied to the tail; once the knife is felt the head will come back promptly enough.

This is the principle of some of the best plans of campaign for defence. One of the most brilliant was that sketched by Moltke in 1860 for the defence of Prussia against Austria. It is worth while giving, as nearly as may be in his own words, a portion of this project, which offers a remarkable illustration of one aspect of the defence of London.

"We have to decide whether we choose the direct or an indirect defence of the capital. If we choose a position anywhere between Bohemia and Berlin with our retreat to Berlin, we can on the defensive keep the enemy at a distance from the capital only by accepting a frontal battle at some natural or artificial line of defence. If in this battle we are defeated by the enemy's superior numbers, we shall lose not only the battle but Berlin as well, and run the risk, if vigorously pursued, of being driven back to Stettin. If Berlin were fortified in the style of a great entrenched camp, it might well be assumed that the enemy's movement would there come to a standstill. But in that case we, too, should be tied to Berlin, and should have lost a considerable belt of territory.

"The conditions are quite changed if we arrange for a retreat not to Berlin but behind the Elbe.

"A flank position behind the Elbe will not hold the enemy spellbound or hinder him from advancing past it towards Berlin, but we expect this result from *an offensive based upon the Elbe.*

"It was shown that any attack from the West compels the enemy to front towards the West, to abandon the most direct road, and to look round for other

communications towards his rear, because in this new situation ours all lead us on to his left flank.

"If the offensive stroke delivered from the Elbe succeeds it drives the enemy away from Bohemia, and back upon the, as yet, unconquered Silesia. If it fails, we shall find behind the river a more complete and nearer protection than by retreating Northwards, and the strong places secure to us the possibility of again advancing across the river after the shortest respite.

"This indirect defence will last the longer the higher up the river it begins, for if we were compelled to withdraw to the left bank at Dresden or Riesa we should still be able to advance again on to the right bank at Torgau or Wittenberg. It will be the more effective the further down stream it is continued. For from Wittenberg, where our own retreat will be secured, we shall be operating directly upon the rear of the enemy who has advanced against Berlin.

"This, however, pre-supposes that Berlin itself can be protected for a few days, either by fortification or the occupation of a line of defence to the South of the city. If that were not the case, the indirect defence would end at Wittenberg; it would have then to pass into direct defence, that is, we should have to hurry to reach Berlin before the enemy.

"Here comes out clearly the importance of a protection for the capital by works of some kind, without its being decided whether this should be effected by the fortification of Berlin itself, or of some position further South.

"If the line of the Nuthe and the Notte can be so prepared that it can be held even for a short time by a comparatively weak corps, that course is strategically to be preferred even to the fortification proper of Berlin."

The Government scheme for the defence of London rests upon a plan closely resembling this project of Moltke's for the defence of Berlin. The late Sir Edward Hamley, to whom the suggestion of the present arrangements is due, considered that in the case of an enemy landed near Brighton and aiming at London there would be advantage in basing the British field army not upon London but upon some other point. Thus he wrote:—

"Based upon Portsmouth, and posted across the Brighton Downs above the river Arun, it would oblige an invader landed near Brighton to wheel round to attack it, when, if the enemy were decisively defeated, he would not regain his landing place."

It will be seen that Hamley's army starting from the Arun to attack an enemy marching from Brighton on London is, as nearly as may be, in precisely the same position as Moltke's army starting from the Elbe below Torgau to attack the Austrians marching on Berlin. Hamley's language seems to imply that he expected more than Moltke did from merely sitting still in a flank position, but this is doubtless due to the brevity of a popular exposition. In both cases the corollary is the same—the importance of some kind of protective works for the capital. Moltke preferred even to the fortification of Berlin the preparation of a line at some distance south of the city "so that it could be held for a short time even by a comparatively weak corps." That is (if I understand it rightly) precisely the idea underlying the Government scheme—which has been egregiously miscalled the fortification of London—only as London may

be approached as well from the north-east as from the south there are to be two prepared lines instead of one. It seems to me that the idea is sound, and that some force capable of delaying the assailant ought to be interposed in front of London, the more so because an invading force once landed will care little for its communications, but will attempt to carry with it its ammunition and a week's supplies, and trust, in case of success, to make a new base in London. Accordingly, an attack on its communications would not divert it from its purpose, and its advance must be delayed until the field army strikes upon its flank and rear. The raiding force would be a flying column; it would resemble the tiger rather than the snake, unless the snake had emerged from a hole such as the Channel Tunnel to which, in that case, his tail would be tied. The analogy between Moltke's scheme and Hamley's is, if this view be correct, not complete.* Moltke aimed at the Austrian communications. Hamley's plan would aim at an attack on the flank or rear of the raiding force when it was confronted by his prepared positions and had a limited space, the county of Kent, into which to retreat if beaten.

4. It remains to enquire how far the scheme adopted by the Government corresponds with the idea which prompted Sir Edward Hamley to make his proposals. Sir Edward Hamley's views were very fully and clearly set forth in a volume entitled *National Defence*, published in 1889. It struck me as very remarkable that in the debate on the Military Works Bill (February 18), five hours should have been occupied by speakers most of whom attacked the Government's proposals and yet none of whom appeared to have taken the trouble to acquaint themselves with Sir Edward Hamley's exposition of the subject. Sir Edward Hamley thought that London required to be protected from assault, from the immediate inrush of a hostile force, and that the field army should be relieved from the necessity of always directly covering it. He proposed that, after the whole country between London and the coast had been carefully reconnoitred, the positions most favourable for this purpose should be determined, and that then the movements of all the troops destined to occupy them should be arranged, and the whole scheme of defence for each position thoroughly worked out. That done, he held that the volunteers told off for these positions should substitute for some of their ordinary drill a rehearsal on the ground of what they would actually do in time of war; that they should form camps near the places where they would be posted; should occupy in order of battle the

* The two schemes are absolutely independent of one another in origin, for Moltke's project, written in 1860, remained secret until many years after the publication of Hamley's views.

line of the position; should see every outpost and every sentry posted, and should issue from the position in attack or in pursuit, until every company and every man thoroughly understood his own place and his own part in the work of defence. He proposed that these positions should be entrusted to volunteers, and that the volunteer artillery assigned to this duty should be provided with guns of position, for which purpose twelve years ago the old forty-pounders were fairly suited, and he contemplated the employment upon the protective lines of some 60,000 men of the volunteer force, half of whom would be furnished by the corps of London and its environs. The lines which he suggested were on the south from Erith, through Bromley to Kingston, and on the north from the Thames near Barking to Woodford, Tottenham, Willesden, and Acton. His language, however, shows that he did not think that these lines were necessarily the best and that he was mainly anxious that the authorities should select the positions which after full consideration seemed to them the best. The adoption of the scheme was announced in March, 1889, by Mr. Stanhope, after he had declared that there was absolute unanimity of opinion as to its principles among all the military advisers who had been consulted, in the following terms :—

"In the remote contingency of invasion some part of the battle would have to be fought by troops insufficiently drilled, and from various causes inferior, not in courage or physical strength, but in knowledge and preparation, to the troops to which they would be opposed. It is, therefore, necessary to prepare and strengthen the position they would occupy, so as at once to protect the defenders and to make up for their necessary deficiencies. There are certain strategical positions round London commanding roads and railways which are essential to its defence. These have been carefully examined by our most experienced officers, and places have been marked out, where, upon the occurrence of grave emergency, certain steps, arranged in every way beforehand, could at once be taken. Every preparation will be made for enabling the work to be executed without delay. And these are the positions on which, on London being threatened, the defenders of London would in a few days be concentrated and intrenched. . . . Almost all this work is to be left to be rapidly carried out when the emergency arises. There are, however, a few sites of specially urgent importance which we deem it essential to acquire at once. It is the intention to establish ordinary field works in the form of intrenched camps, which would form the backbone of the defensive line, and in which certain articles which would be required at the shortest notice could be stored, and where it will be possible hereafter to exercise some of the defenders in the actual place which they might have to defend. The cost of these precautions will be inconsiderable."

Thus, in 1889, the Government adopted Sir Edward Hamley's scheme; they took the plan of distributing forty-pounders to the volunteer artillery; they declared that the volunteers should be exercised upon the selected sites and they departed from his proposals only in regard to the sites chosen, a point upon which he was

not dogmatic. The Government lines are twenty miles further out than those which he proposed, running on the north-east from Tilbury by Warley to Epping, while on the south the known sites selected are at Guildford, Box Hill, Caterham, and Halstead, all on the range of the north Downs. To these positions volunteer artillery corps and volunteer brigades were told off, amounting in all to a force of 120,000 men and 233 guns.

It might seem, therefore, as though Mr. Stanhope had really made some provision for the protection of London against a raid. But the essential part of the scheme consisted in the opportunity which was to be given to the volunteers of making themselves familiar with their war duties and with the ground upon which they must be performed. This, which is the gist of the whole arrangement, has been neglected. I do not know whether any volunteer battalion or artillery corps has ever seen the position which it has to defend, but it is certain that no such general or repeated rehearsal as Sir Edward Hamley contemplated has taken place. Whatever then may be thought of the merits of the Government scheme for the protection of London it cannot at present be shielded from the reproach which affects most Government schemes for Imperial defence, that of non-execution.

Two further criticisms may be permitted. A careful perusal of Mr. Stanhope's speech suggests that he did not expect the volunteers to be in their positions in less than about nine days from the Government order to prepare. But in the case which I have contemplated of a suddenly executed raid, the invader would pass the north Downs, or the Warley-Epping line within a week of the time when the British Government became aware that hostilities were resolved upon. The contemplated delay in occupying the positions, which seems to me to be a fatal flaw, is the consequence of a peculiar blunder made by Sir Edward Hamley, and copied from him by the War Office. Sir Edward Hamley wrote:—

"In all schemes for employing the volunteers the fact must be allowed for that a great number of them are engaged in carrying on the daily business of the country. It is assumed, therefore, that at the utmost only one half of any corps could be employed at once for any length of time, to be relieved at due intervals by the other half."

Upon this assumption is based the arrangement by which 120,000 men have been told off where only 60,000 are wanted. The assumption is absurd. The Government cannot employ any volunteer—cannot give him a categorical order—until the corps to which he belongs has been called out for actual military service. From that date every man in the corps will be in receipt of Government pay at army rates, and none of them will be at liberty to

continue his share in "carrying on the daily business of the country." As a fact, moreover, the whole of the volunteers in Great Britain might be called out to-morrow without affecting in any appreciable degree the trade or industry either of the country or of any district. As a consequence of taking twice as many corps as are required for the purpose, the War Office has been obliged to count for the defence of London on volunteers from Lancashire, South Wales, and Scotland, as well as from London and the Midland counties, thereby considerably complicating the arrangements for the rapid concentration of the force and prolonging the time which must elapse before it could be ready in position. An efficient volunteer corps with proper organization ought to be ready to take the field at its headquarters on the third day, and there would be no difficulty in placing 60,000 men from London and the Midlands in their positions by the morning of the fourth day.

The one consideration which is always forgotten in Parliamentary discussions of military defence, is that of the requirements of war. Cabinet Ministers are always thinking of the effect of their proposals on the House of Commons, but the important matter for the nation is that the measures required to produce an effect upon an enemy should be carried out. Eight years have elapsed since, at the end of four years argument, a plan was adopted which was to provide promptly for the protection of London in a given contingency. The total expenditure contemplated was very small, not a quarter of the cost of an ironclad, but no practical progress has yet been made. Paper plans have been matured and money has been sunk in bricks and mortar. The training of the volunteers remains precisely what it was. The artillery, indeed, has learnt to shoot, though the forty-pounder gun has passed out of date, but the infantry cannot shoot and is not at this moment regarded by any competent soldier as of effective value for modern fighting.

SPENSER WILKINSON.

GIBBON'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

We are all grateful to Lord Sheffield for the publication of the original documents out of which Gibbon's *Memoirs of my Life and Writings* was constructed. It is curious to see a great work in its early stages, and the new letters now published help to fill out and complete a picture sufficiently familiar in outline. The first Lord Sheffield had indeed done his work of editing and piecing together so well that there is little that amounts to a fresh revelation of character. The new volumes rather justify or strengthen than modify in any sensible degree the impression of the familiar book. Gibbon's characteristic good fortune has followed him even now. We see that the temporary suppression of the documents was as right as their ultimate publication. What would once have been superfluous or improper for publication is now interesting material for explaining the claim of a classical biography.

All critics agree that Gibbon's autobiography is a model in its way. Every autobiography is interesting, even when it unveils a mere timeserver and hypocrite like Bubb Dodington. It is curious to know how a thoroughly mean nature is justified to itself. Other memoirs have a higher interest, because they record the aspirations of men of genius, who have yet wasted half their energy through the caprices of fortune or misjudgment of their own powers. But Gibbon's has the very rare and peculiar charm of recording complete success and what may in one sense be called perfection of character. I certainly do not attribute to Gibbon moral perfection in an absolute sense. He had his little weaknesses, and anybody who pleases may expatiate upon them for our edification. By perfection I only intend perfection relatively to a given purpose, and consequently that peculiar balance or harmony of all the faculties which enables a man to get the very greatest possible result out of given abilities. Moralists may perhaps maintain that there is properly only one ideal. I will not argue the point. But as a matter of fact, we may also say that there are many moral types, each of which has its value, and may play a useful part in the whole order of society. A career which is a systematic application of a single governing principle has at least an æsthetic, if not a

purely ethical, charm. It represents a successful experiment worth noting in the great act of life. The subject may not be a saint or a hero—Gibbon certainly was neither—but under some conditions he may achieve results of which the saint and hero would be incapable. We may prefer Chatham or Clive or Wesley to Gibbon; but if he had followed any of their examples, we should have lost something which the whole generation could not have supplied without him. The course of intellectual development would have been sensibly different. Gibbon's type, no doubt, was the epicurean. Pleasure, he would frankly admit, is the true end of life. But pleasure to him, though it did not entirely exclude the grosser elements, and might occasionally be sought even at a militia mess-table, or in the more elegant dissipation at Almack's, included a strenuous and ceaseless exertion of the intellect upon worthy ends. It included, too, if not romantic devotion, yet fidelity in friendship, and the hearty enjoyment of the society of philosophers and statesmen. A higher as well as a lower strain of moral purpose would have disqualified Gibbon for the one great work which he achieved. Had, in short, a superhuman being been required to fit such an intellect with the character best able to turn it to account or to fit the character with the most appropriate intellect, he could not have devised a better combination. Comte prefixes to his system of philosophy the motto from Alfred de Vigny: *Qu'est ce qu'une grande vie? Une pensée de la jeunesse executée l'par age mur.* Judged by that test, Gibbon's life was of the greatest. How rare is the realization of the maxim in any department of life need hardly be said. We have just been congratulating Mr. Herbert Spencer upon the conclusion of the labours of a life-time devoted to a single purpose. There cannot, I think, be too hearty a recognition of the great moral qualities implied. A retrospect of the history of philosophy would show how few are the careers to be compared to it. In poetry, Dante is of course the great instance of complete achievement; Milton too may be said to have carried out in *Paradise Lost* the purpose of his youth; but the works even of our greatest poets are mainly a collection of short flights instead of a continuous evolution of a lifelong scheme. In history Gibbon's great book stands almost alone in English literature. The one British author of his own day, whose work could in any department stand a comparison in these qualities was Adam Smith, whose *Wealth of Nations* appeared in the same year with the first volume of the *Decline and Fall*. That, too, was the product of many years' concentrated effort upon a task early taken up. At the present day, if we take for granted the conventional lamentations, the chances of such achievement are smaller than ever. We are, our sentimentalists

complain, too hurried and jaded by the excitement of modern society to devote ourselves to a single purpose. We "fluctuate idly without term or scope"; and "each half lives a hundred different lives." Our works are fragmentary because we live in a perpetual hurry. We also suffer, indeed, from the opposite evil. Modern authors often contrive to write books quite long enough; and undertake sufficiently gigantic tasks. Unfortunately, the vast accumulation of materials and the demand for exhaustive enquiry overpowers the conscientious writer, unless he be a German professor, and then is rather apt to extinguish his vivacity.

I am, I confess, rather suspicious of these lamentations, but, without suggesting possible answers or qualifications, they no doubt explain one cause of the peculiar pleasure of transporting ourselves to the middle of the eighteenth century, when political revolutions and mechanical inventions had not yet turned things topsy-turvy. When I indulge in day-dreams, I take flight with the help of Gibbon, or Boswell, or Horace Walpole, to that delightful period. I take the precaution, of course, to be born the son of a prime minister, or, at least, within the charmed circle where sinecure offices may be the reward of a judicious choice of parents. There, methinks, would be enjoyment, more than in this march of mind, as well as more than in the state of nature on the islands where one is mated with a squalid savage. I can there have philosophy enough to justify at once my self-complacency in my wisdom and acquiescence in established abuses. I make the grand tour for a year or two on the Continent, and find myself at once recognized as a philosopher and statesman, simply because I am an Englishman. I become an honorary member of the tacit cosmopolitan association of philosophers, which formed Parisian salons, or collected round Voltaire at Ferney. I bring home a sufficient number of pictures to ornament a comfortable villa on the banks of the Thames; and form a good solid library in which I write books for the upper circle, without bothering myself about the Social Question or Bimetallism, or swallowing masses of newspaper and magazine articles to keep myself up to date. I belong to a club or two in London, with Johnson and Charles Fox, the authors and the men of fashion, and in which I can "fold my legs and have my talk out," and actually hear talk which is worth writing down. If I do not aspire to be one of the great triumvirate of which Gibbon was proud to be a member, I fancy at least that I can allow my thoughts to ripen and mellow into something as neat and rounded as becomes a fine gentleman.

It is true, of course, that this plan involves certain postulates.

It might be that in the real eighteenth century I should have turned my opportunities to bad account. I might become a mere dilettante or a mere sensualist. What is remarkable in Gibbon is the felicity with which his peculiar talents and temperament fitted in with the accidents of his life, as though by a specially devised arrangement. It may be worth while to note in some detail the curious play of external circumstance and mental and moral constitution which went to produce this unique result; to observe how dexterously fortune combined all the external elements which were necessary to mould and direct a great historian. Much that looked like misfortune was an essential blessing in disguise; a fact which does not diminish Gibbon's credit for taking the hints in the right way. In his own summary he admits that he has "drawn a high prize in the lottery of life." A cheerful temper, equable, though not vigorous health, and a "golden mediocrity of fortune," are the chief advantages which he enumerates. On the last circumstance he makes an instructive comment elsewhere. Wretched, he says, is the work of the man whose daily diligence has to be stimulated by daily hunger. The author of the splendid eulogium upon Fielding, the friend of Goldsmith and associate of Johnson, should perhaps have admitted that poverty was not of necessity paralyzing. Yet it is true that no denizen of Grub Street could have produced such a work as the *Decline and Fall*, and that with Gibbon's delicacy of constitution life in that region would have been ruinous. A combination of wide research and leisurely reduction of chaotic materials into a well-ordered whole would have been impossible for him with a printer's devil always round the corner. Had he had greater wealth, on the other hand—had his grandfather not been ruined by the South Sea speculation, or his father been capable of retrieving instead of damaging his fortunes, Gibbon would have been exposed to possibly fatal temptations. He might have dissipated his powers, and become a luxurious "virtuoso," like Horace Walpole, and he still more probably might have been swept into the political vortex, the temptations of which, as it was, were almost fatal to the conclusion of the history. The class, again, to which he belonged was, with all its faults, accessible to the culture of the time; and had some excuse for considering itself to be leading the van of European civilization. England was still held on the Continent to be the model land of political and religious freedom; and the French philosophers who ruled the world of thought were still sitting at the feet of Locke and Newton. It is true that the education which a young Briton received was not exactly calculated to produce philosophers. Gibbon observes that "a finished scholar may emerge from the head of Westminster or

Eton in total ignorance of the business and conversation of English gentlemen" of the period. All that was positively done was to instil a little grammar, at the expense of "many tears and some blood." A lad of spirit got some useful knowledge, as Gibbon thinks, and some, it is to be feared, by no means useful, from the rough freedom of the public schools. Gibbon's delicacy forced him to supplement his grammatical studies, not by boxing or cricket, but by reading. The grammar at least taught a thoughtful lad the value of accurate knowledge within a very narrow sphere. Meanwhile, at twelve he knew Pope's *Homer* and *The Arabian Nights* by heart; and at fourteen the future historian was already swallowing "crude lumps" of Speed, Rapin, and many standard works on history, and travel. He tells us how, at that period, he was "immersed in the passage of the Goths over the Danube" when the dinner-bell dragged him from his intellectual feast. By the age of sixteen he had "exhausted all that could be learnt in English of the Arabs and Persians, the Tartars and the Turks": he was "guessing at the French of d'Herbelot and construing the barbarous Latin of Pocock's *Albufaragius*. A neglect which might have been fatal to others was just what Gibbon required; and the incapacity of his schoolmasters one of the first fortunate elements in his surroundings. It gives one a pang to think of the probable fate of a modern Gibbon. Even ill-health would hardly save him from the clutches of the crammer; or prevent so promising a victim from being forced upon the reflection that a knowledge of Turks and Tartars would not pay in a competitive examination.

Feeble health and the absence of all judicious training had thus enabled Gibbon to recognize, however dimly, the career for which he was predestined. At first sight it would seem that the merits of Oxford in the way of neglect would be carried to excess. Even here, such was the singular felicity of his life, the result was exactly what was required. What would have happened to Gibbon if the tutor who "remembered that he had a salary to receive and only forgot that he had a duty to perform," had put his memory to the proper use? Gibbon, who was essentially docile and placid by temperament, might easily have been made into a model pedant—a Dr. Parr or Tom Warton of monstrous erudition and inadequate performance. He might have cherished a decaying Jacobitism in comfortable, common rooms; and, as he puts it, have sunk into the "fat slumbers of the Church." The deliverance came by the most apparently unfavourable turn of fortune. Gibbon's conversion to Catholicism appeared in later life to himself and to others to be a mere boyish freak. He could only wonder how he had ever believed such nonsense. Of course the conversion of a lad just sixteen was a superficial process. His imagination had not been

swayed by the æsthetic charm of the Church, nor did he come as one wearied by sceptical wanderings and longing for spiritual slavery. He was apparently the victim of a single argument, and convictions so produced are easily modified. But the argument was also curiously characteristic. The lad had been left to wander rough in theological as other literature, guided only "by the dim light of his catechism," and his omnivorous appetite for all knowledge was stimulated by the contemporary controversy. Conyers Middleton was then making a sensation resembing that created about a century afterwards by *Essays and Reviews*. The old deistical movement in his hands was becoming mainly historical instead of metaphysical. It raised, therefore, the great problem to which Gibbon was substantially to devote his life. The freethinker held that the Church had not, and had never had, miraculous powers; the Catholic that it had such powers formerly and possessed them still; and the Protestant that the powers had disappeared at some date which it was rather difficult to fix. To Gibbon the Protestant view seemed to be illogical. So it still seemed when he wrote the fifteenth chapter of his history. As, however, he was not prepared to give up the miraculous power altogether, and as he knew enough to see that it was claimed long after some of the Catholic dogmas were current, he adopted the Church which held at least a logical position. Of the logic of this argument I say nothing; but its power over Gibbon is one more proof that he was a heaven-born historian. He tells us that his own memory convinced him of the fallacy of the opinion held by Johnson and Reynolds that a man of ability could turn his powers in any direction. His own idiosyncrasy was too unequivocal. A poet may perhaps be content to think of the past as the region of romance and wonder; the born historian is one who feels instinctively that the men of old were governed by the laws which are operative now; he takes for granted the continuity of history. Both the consummation and the start of Gibbon's career represented this instinctive conviction. He was already not only reading ecclesiastical history, but reading it as a record of real events, not as a mere compendium of dates and names. His great work was to bridge the interval between ancient and modern history; and his boyish understanding had already been impressed by the identity of the great institution which connects the two periods.

The most fortunate, perhaps, of all the turns of fate now followed. Gibbon's father was apparently not a great philosopher nor a very wise man; but he took, by a kind of dumb instinct, or through occult influence of the son's presiding star, the very best course that could have been taken. Gibbon's exile to Lausanne was meant to break off his old connections.

It succeeded, and it placed him in a frugal and industrious circle, with no such distractions as tempted luxurious youths at Oxford. He could fairly devote his whole time to intellectual employment. The father had counted, apparently, upon the dialectical skill of the Swiss tutor. The "intermixture of sects" had, as Gibbon remarks, made the Swiss clergy acute controversialists, and the worthy Pavillard pointed out to him the errors of the Church of Rome, proved that it could derive no authority from St. Peter, and that "transubstantion" (as Gibbon calls it) was a modern fiction. This may have been all very well; but Pavillard, spite of a little vanity, was also a man of excellent sense, and saw that the true remedy was to stimulate Gibbon to reflect for himself, without obtrusively guiding his thoughts. Gibbon expresses his wonder that no Catholic priest had been told off to keep the young convert. He might have been induced to make constancy to his creed a point of honour. Fortunately, he had been touched by a more stimulating influence. The clergy of the Pays de Vaud had, as Gibbon says, become liberal under the influence of Crousaz, known to Englishmen chiefly as the assailant of Pope, a ponderous writer upon logic and a disciple of Locke. Gibbon read Crousaz's logic and Locke's essay, and imbibed ideas unknown to, or dreaded by, the Jacobite dons at Oxford. At Lausanne, moreover, he had the honour of introduction to the great Voltaire. Voltaire, indeed, appeared to him chiefly in the character of dramatist and actor. Gibbon speaks with moderate enthusiasm of a man who, considered as a historian, necessarily seemed superficial and inaccurate to his critic. The names thus mentioned are enough to suggest what had really happened. Gibbon had ceased, as he tells us, to be an Englishman. French had become more natural to him than his own language; and his friends held that he had suffered "a serious and irreparable" mischief. Gibbon had, however, become not a Swiss nor a Frenchman, but a cosmopolitan. He had been initiated into the freemasonry of the most enlightened circles of Europe. "Whatever have been the fruits of his education," he says, they "must be ascribed" to his "fortunate banishment." Instead of being "steeped in port and prejudice among the monks of Oxford" he had breathed a larger air and had become familiar with the thoughts which were shaking the whole intellectual fabric of the time. He could look at history, not from an insular point of view, or in the interests of some narrow set of dogmas, but from the widest philosophical standing-ground of the period. For the present, indeed, history seems to have been rather in the background. He threw himself upon classical literature

with an appetite which never failed him in later years. He read the great authors, though his Greek still remained imperfect, not for any narrow purpose, but as one who is to make them bosom companions for life. Cicero's writings first fascinated him, and he read not only to appreciate the style, but for the "admirable lessons" of conduct "applicable to almost every situation of public and private life." Then, in twenty-seven months, he read through nearly the whole of the Latin classics: and, what is characteristic, his review "though rapid was neither hasty nor superficial." He made abstracts, worked hard at difficult passages, and followed out every subsidiary line of enquiry which suggested itself. He tells us at a later time how, before reading a new book, he took a solitary walk and reflected carefully upon the state of his knowledge, that he might judge what benefit he received from his author. So he prepared himself afterwards for his Italian journey, not by buying a Murray's handbook—the reason is obvious—but by writing a handbook for himself, in which were collected all the classical passages bearing upon the geography of the country. To have all your existing knowledge well arranged and thoroughly in hand was, he felt, the best way to add to it. Omnivorous reader as he was, he accepts the principle *non multa, sed multum,* and made his ground sure at every step. In other words, he had the true scholar's instinct, but duly controlled by the philosophic turn for meditation upon general principles. He would indulge in minute researches, but would never lose himself in the multiplicity of details. His mode of writing shows the same perception. He used, as he tells us, to "cast a long paragraph in a single mould," to "try it by his ear," and to "suspend the action of the pen till he had given the last polish to his work." Most of us, I fear, think that we have done enough when we begin a single sentence with an approximate guess at the way of getting out of it. The man who composes by paragraphs will also frame his chapters with a view to their position in an organic whole. The philosophy into which Gibbon was initiated was congenial to his method. The great writers of the day asked, above all things, for good, sweeping formulæ, and they preferred such as could be packed into an epigram. The French influence, as Mr. Cotter Morison remarks, was especially valuable. A Frenchman, whatever his faults, always recognizes the truth, too often forgotten elsewhere, that every chapter of a book should be written with reference to the whole. There should be a central, animating idea. Gibbon's own view is indicated in his very interesting though crude French essay on the study of literature, written (1718-19) at the beginning of his literary career. It was intended to defend the doctrine, less

needed, one might have supposed, then than now, that literature should not be dethroned by the mathematical and physical sciences. But he argues that a true appreciation of literature demands wide knowledge and thorough study. He insists upon the close connection of all branches of knowledge, and declares that if a philosopher is not always a historian, a historian should always be a philosopher. He should be tracing the operation of general causes. He should deal with apparent trifles; not out of mere curiosity or love of the picturesque, but because they are often the clearest indications of principles of wide application. He should enquire, for example, into the origin of grotesque mythologies, and might even, as he points out, find out valuable hints in the moral notions of an "Iroquois." Though ill-arranged and disjointed, the essay thus shows glimpses of methods which have since assumed greater importance.

So far, fate, acting upon Gibbon's idiosyncrasies, had prepared him for his great work. But his presiding genius had still to guard against various dangers. Gibbon might have rivalled the erudition of a German professor, and polished it with some of the skill of a French literary artist. But the historian wants something more; the infusion of practical instinct which comes from familiarity with actual affairs, and should give reality to his narrative. Gibbon was in a fair way to become a "book in breeches"; his detachment from his own country had made him cosmopolitan, but it had left him a secluded student. He had formed his life-long and invaluable friendship with Deyverdun, one of those rare and delightful associations which are only formed in youth and by close community of intellectual tastes. But Deyverdun hung "loose upon society"; he and his friend aspired to be members of the literary world of Europe; but only as authors of a learned journal. They had no points of contact with business. How was Gibbon to be brought into contact with the real world, the world of passion and active interests, in which literature is a mere surface phenomenon, and yet to be initiated without being absorbed? That represents a delicate problem which his fortune solved with singular felicity.

In the first place, of course, Gibbon must have the great experience of falling in love. It must be a passion strong and exalted enough to let him into the great secret of human happiness, and yet it must not be such as to entangle him too deeply in the active duties of life. A man who has never been stirred to such passion must look too much from outside upon the great drama of life: and yet the passion, if sufficiently powerful, may lead him too far from his predestined functions. Mdlle. Curchod was the appointed instrument of fate for solving

this problem. She was beautiful and intelligent enough to rouse Gibbon to an apparently genuine devotion; and yet as she was a foreigner, without a penny, it was quite clear that the elder Gibbon would never take her for a daughter-in-law. The famous "sighed as a lover and obeyed as a son" sums up the situation so far as Gibbon was concerned. It must, I fear, be granted that Gibbon did not behave very prettily; and even leaves us with a vague impression that, if the paternal interdict had been wanting, some other obstacle would have turned up at the last moment. Modern readers will probably agree with Rousseau's judgment of the case. He pitied poor Susanne, but thought that Gibbon had shown himself unworthy of her and would only have made her "rich and miserable" in England. As Mdlle. Curclod soon became Mme. Necker, and forgave the lover who had jilted her, we may forgive a misdoing which caused no permanent misery. This passing collocation of the two great men, the sentimentalist who represents the passion, and the calm, not to say cynical, historian who represents the reflection of the period, is curiously characteristic; and I leave the ethical question to be settled by my readers. Perhaps Gibbon was not of the finest human clay; but the problem, I repeat, was not how to make a perfect man, but how to make a great historian. Had Gibbon become a husband there can be little doubt as to the material consequences. He had difficulties enough in keeping up a bachelor establishment; and with a wife by his side, he would have been forced to accept an appointment—such as he actually contemplated—in the Excise and to labour five days a week in official routine. Julian and Athanasius and Justinian must have waited to be appreciated by somebody else. The effect upon Gibbon's character was exactly what was wanted from the same point of view. He made up his mind soon afterwards, as appears from his letters to his father, that he should never marry. He was to be henceforth in that attitude of "detachment" which constitutes the true historical frame of mind—an interested looker-on, not an active performer, in the great tragi-comedy. It may, perhaps, be suggested—with too much plausibility—that the tone in which Gibbon generally refers to love affairs in his history is not altogether edifying, and hardly implies that his passion had purified or ennobled his mind. The best arrangments will not work quite perfectly. In any case, however, though Gibbon for sufficient reasons treats the matter rather lightly, he had, as he intimates, gone through one of the painful crises which form epochs in the development of character. He was certainly not soured as some men have been, but he hencefor-

ward cultivated affections of a more tepid kind. No man, it must be always remembered, was a more thoroughly faithful friend; he showed very unusual generosity and good-feeling to his father, his step-mother, and the aunt who had protected his childhood. It is impossible, for example, to read his letter to Lord Sheffield upon Lady Sheffield's death, and to remember how the gouty and preposterously fat old gentleman (old in constitution if not in years) bundled himself into his carriage, and set off to travel through the midst of armies to bring such solace to his friend as was possible, without a very warm feeling of posthumous regard. Meanwhile, he had been taught by a sharp lesson enough to know himself. He was not suited to come upon the stage as a Romeo, and must be content to play Horatio, a good honest friend of more romantic and passionate characters. Henceforward it was to be his destiny to renounce the stronger impulses and to devote himself in his little circle of friends to the great work for which so many forces within and without had been moulding him.

Before his love affair was over, Gibbon had been forced into experience of a different kind. He has told us himself how the captain of Hampshire grenadiers was of some use to the historian of the Roman Empire. Later critics have told us that, in fact, his narratives of military events show that he had profited by seeing a real flesh and blood army, on however small a scale, instead of only reading about armies in books. Of that I am an incompetent judge, but on this and on his political career there is at least an obvious remark to be made. Gibbon tells us himself how his service in the militia made him an "Englishman and a soldier," and how, in spite of all the waste of time, he still travelled with a Horace "always in his pocket and often in his hand"; and, when the enforced fast from literature came to an end, fell upon the old feast with sharpened appetite and rushed off as rapidly as he could to find the inspiration for his great book in Rome. In other words, he was brought into close contact with actual affairs, and yet not diverted from the true aim of his life. The political career had the same felicity. He found himself too slow and unready to speak, and was content to be a quiet looker-on. It must, indeed, be admitted that he looked on with superlative calmness. His political career, says Mr. Morison, is the "side of his history from which a friendly biographer would most readily turn away." "I went into Parliament," he says himself, "without patriotism and without ambition, and all my views tended to the convenient and respectable place of a lord of trade." That, certainly, is not an exalted view. Moreover, Gibbon's way of referring to contemporary events shows apparent levity and even

want of penetration. He is less sagacious than Horace Walpole, whose extraordinary cleverness was wasted by frivolity. As an outside observer, he might have recognized the importance of the great issues, and shown himself at least on a level with the higher judges of his own time. He was apparently conscious of the gross blunders of George III. and Lord North, but was content to support Ministers, with a lazy indifference to the result. His letters, when they contain any reference to the American War, treat the matter almost as a jest, and plainly betray that his real interest was much more with Alaric than with Washington. He lived through the most exciting period of the century: he even took an actual, though a very subordinate part, in the military operations which involved the foundation of the British Empire in the East, and the expulsion of our rivals from the West. He supported the political course which led to the separation of our greatest colonies a few years later; and both at these periods and on the outbreak of the French Revolution afterwards, he seems to have regarded the greatest events of the time chiefly as they affected the comfort of a fat historian in his library. What defence can be made? None truly, if we are nurturing Gibbon by a lofty moral standard; but if we are asking the question now under consideration, how a great historian was to be turned out, we shall have to make a very different judgment.

The obvious reproach is summed up by the statement that Gibbon was a cynic. The name suggests the selfish indifference to human welfare, which permits a man to treat politics simply as a game played for the stakes of place and pension. It is generally added, though I hardly know whether it is regarded by way of apology, or as a proof of the offence, that all our great-grandfathers were corrupt borough-mongers, forming cliques for the distribution of plunder, and caring nothing for the welfare of the people. We ought, we are often told, to judge a man by the standard of his period. Whatever the period, it can always be plausibly added that it was the most immoral period ever known in history. The argument is familiar, and I cannot attempt to consider its precise application here. But I may try briefly to indicate how it would have struck Gibbon. What would he have said if he could have foreseen the judgment of the coming generation? You call me a cynic, he might have replied, but at least you must admit that I was an honest cynic; I never professed to believe in humbug, though I had to accept it. If you are less cynical, you have made up for it by being more hypocritical. Our party politics meant adherence to some little aristocratic ring. Yours mean servility to a caucus. You cover a real cynicism as deep as mine by shouting with the largest mob. We at least dared to despise a demagogue; you dare not openly deny his inspiration. You manage to

use fine phrases so as to cover the desertion of all your principles: you use old war cries in favour of the very doctrines which you used to condemn, and declare all the time that you are impelled by "enthusiasm" and sensibility to the voice of the people. Is it not rather subservience to their narrowest prejudices? In my day, he would add, we had examples of the genuine demagogue revealing himself without a blush. When in the militia, in 1762, I saw Col. Wilkes, the best of companions, at a drunken dinner, full of blasphemy and indecency, glorying in his profligacy, and openly declaring that he had resolved to make his fortune. You have found out that because he made it by flattering the winning side he must have been a saint in disguise. You sneer at my want of "enthusiasm." You shudder when you make the remark that enthusiasm was once actually a term of reproach. When a previous generation, however, denounced "enthusiasts," they denounced a very bad thing. They meant the false claimants of supernatural powers; fanatics who held themselves to be inspired: or the French prophets who professed to raise the dead. We thought them knaves or fools, and we ventured to say so openly. You think that even a charlatan deserves respect if his stock-in-trade is a comfortable superstition. I, too, could claim enthusiasm. It was in a moment of "enthusiasm" that I joined the Church of Rome; and though I ever scorned to affect what I did not feel, it was with true "enthusiasm" that I entered Rome, heard the barefooted friars singing vespers in the Temple of Jupiter, and conceived the first crude idea of my great work. Enthusiasm, in my version, lifted me to the regions of philosophy, and separated me from the vulgar herd. It did not mean the discovery of the *vox dei* in every platform intended to catch the votes of the majority. We did not think ignorance and poverty a sufficient guarantee for political or religious infallibility. But we were not, therefore, as you infer, indifferent to the happiness of mankind. We thought that their happiness was best secured in the ages when a benevolent despotism maintained peace and order throughout the world; when philosophers could rule and the lower orders be confined to the work for which they were really competent. We held in religion pretty much what you hold, only that you try to cover your real meaning under a cloud of words. We accepted my great maxim: To the philosopher all religions are equally false; and to the magistrate equally useful. You try to spin theories which will combine the two opinions—which will allow you to use the most edifying language, while explaining that it means nothing; and to base arguments for "faith" on the admission that nobody can possibly know anything. We were content to say that it was too much honour to the vulgar to argue as to the truth of their beliefs. We were content to belong to the upper circle of enlightenment in

which it was understood that the creeds were meaningless, but without attempting the hopeless task of enlightening the uncultivated mind.

Gibbon, no doubt, would have to confess that this view involved an important practical mistake. Philosophy, political and religious, could not be kept as an esoteric doctrine of a narrow circle; and when hot-headed Rousseaus and the like spread its tents among the vulgar, it produced an explosion which took the calm philosophers by surprise. Gibbon began to see a good side even in the superstition, the vitality of which had astonished him so much on the publication of his first volume. This suggests the obvious weakness of his position; nor do I adopt the sentiments which I have ventured to attribute to him. What I desire to indicate is the necessity of this position to the discharge of his function as a historian. We can no doubt conceive of a more excellent way; of a great thinker, who should at once be capable of philosophical detachment, of looking at passing events in their relations to the vast drama of human history on the largest scale without losing his interest in the history actually passing under his eyes. He might take not less but more interest in processes which he saw to be the continuation of the great evolution of thought and society. But the phrase indicates the conception which was necessarily obscure to Gibbon. To have reached that view would in his time have required almost superhuman attributes. Gibbon's merits were scarcely consistent with the virtues of which we regret the absence. He had to choose, one may say, between two alternatives. If he were to take an active part in the politics of the day, he would have had to be a Wilkes on condition of not being a Wilkeite, or at least, with Burke, to give up to party what was meant for mankind. To save him from such a fate, which would have been a hopeless waste of power, he required to be endowed with an excess of indifference, and a deficiency of close and spontaneous sympathy with men outside of his little inner circle. Of this, I fear, he cannot be acquitted. Indeed, his qualification in this respect went a little too far, for he appears to have been on the very point of accepting a post which would have cut short the history half-way. Even his best friends, strangely as it seems to us, pressed him to commit this semi-suicide. Here, therefore, his good genius had once more to interfere by external circumstances. The task was not difficult. A happy dulness to his claims was infused into the minds of the dispensers of patronage. And Gibbon was compelled to retire to that philosophic retirement, at Lausanne where in due time he was to take the famous stroll in the covered walk of acacias which on 27th June, 1787, succeeded the

completion of the "last lines of the last page" of his unique achievement.

We see how strangely Gibbon had been fitted for his task; how fate had first turned him out of the quiet grooves down which he might have spun to obscurity, and then applied the goad judiciously whenever he tried to bolt from the predestined course. The task itself was obviously demanded by the conditions of the time, and its importance recognized by other, and in some respects acuter or more powerful intellects. History was to emerge from the stage of mere personal memoirs and antiquarian annals. A survey from a higher point of view was wanted: a general map or panoramic view of the great field of human progress must be laid down as preparatory to further progress. Such men as Hume and Voltaire, for instance, had clearly seen the need, and had endeavoured in their way to supply it. Gibbon's superiority was, of course, due in the first place to the high standard of accuracy and research which has enabled his work to stand all the tests applied by later critics. His instinctive perception of this necessity, combined with the intellectual courage implied in his choice of so grand a subject, enabled him to combine width of view and fulness of detail with unsurpassed felicity. All this is unanimously granted. But other qualities were equally required, though from a later point of view they account rather for the limitations than the successes of his work. There must be a division of labour between generations as well as between individuals. Kepler had to describe the actual movements of the planets before Newton could determine the nature of the forces implied by the movements. In Gibbon's generation it was necessary to describe the evolutions of the puppets which move across the stage of history. His successors could then, and not till then, attempt to show what were the hidden strings that moved them. Gibbon, it has been said, "adheres to the obvious surface of events, with little attempt to place them beneath the deeper sky of social evolution." He appreciates, it is suggested, neither the great spiritual forces nor the economic conditions which lie beneath the surface. He calmly surveys the great stream of history, its mingling currents and deluges and regurgitations, the struggles of priests and warriors and legislators, without suggesting any adequate conceptions of what is called the social dynamics implied. To him history appears to be simply a "register of the crimes, follies, and misfortunes of mankind." The criticism, taking its truth for granted, amounts to saying that Gibbon had only gone as far as was in his time possible. He must be philosopher enough to sympathize with the great intellectual movement of his time. Otherwise he could not have risen above the atmosphere of Oxford common-rooms, and could only have written annals or narratives on one side or the

other of some forgotten apologetic thesis. But had the philosophic taste predominated, had his passions and his sympathies been more fervid, he must have fallen into the fallacies of his time. The enthusiastic or militant philosopher was, as I certainly think, doing an inestimable service in attacking superstition and bigotry But he was thereby disqualfied for writing not only philosophical history, but even such a record of facts as would serve for later historians. He was inclined to wish that history in general could be wiped out of human memory. From the point of view characteristic of the eighteenth century philosophers, history could be nothing but a record of tyranny of kings and the imposture of priests. Voltaire's *Essai sur les meurs* is delightful reading, but a caricature of history. Gibbon might sympathize with this sentiment so far as to look with calm impartiality upon all forms of faith and government, but not so far as to pervert his history into a series of party pamphlets. To him the American War, or the early democratic movements in England, were simply incidents in his great panorama; like the rise of the Christian Church, or the barbarian Moslems or the Crusades, they were eddies in the great confused gulf-stream of humanity. He could not believe in a sudden revelation of Reason, or the advent of a new millennium any more than in the second coming anticipated by the early Christians. To condemn his coldness may be right; but it is to condemn him for taking the only point of view from which his task could be achieved. He was philosopher enough to be impartial, not enough to be subject to the illusions, useful illusions possibly, of a sudden regeneration of mankind by philosophy. His political position was the necessary complement of his historical position. A later philosophy may have taught us how to see a process of evolution, of a gradual working out of great problems, even in the blind, instinctive aspirations and crude faiths of earlier ages. At Gibbon's time, he had to choose between rejecting them in the mass as mere encumbrances or renouncing them altogether. That is to admit that the one point of view which makes a reasonable estimate possible was practically excluded. On the other hand, his historical instinct forced him at last to set forth the material facts both impartially and so grouped and related as to bring out the great issues. It is easy now, both for positivists and unbelievers, to show, for example, that his account of the origins of Christianity was entirely insufficient. He explains, as has been remarked, the success of the Church by the zeal of the early disciples, and forgets to explain how they came to be zealous. Undoubtedly that is an omission of importance. What, however, Gibbon did was not the less effectively to bring out the real conditions of any satisfactory solution of the greatest of historical problems. Newman observed how, in a later period, "Athanasius

stands out more grandly in Gibbon than in the pages of the orthodox ecclesiastical historians." That is because he places all events in their true historical setting. In the writings of the apologists of the time, the spread of Christianity was treated as though converts had been made by producing satisfactory evidence of miracles in a court of justice. Gibbon's famous chapters, however inadequate, showed at least that the development of the new creed required for its expansion a calm consideration of all the multitudinous forces that go to building up a great ecclesiastical hierarchy and a testing by careful examination of all the entries about saints and martyrs which flowed so easily from the pens of enthusiastic historians. That his judgment should be final or even coherent was impossible; but it was an essential step towards any such judgment as could pass muster with a historian equipped with the results of later thought and enquiry.

Upon this, however, it would be idle to say more. I have only tried to point an obvious moral; to show what a rare combination of circumstances with character and intellect is required to produce a really monumental work; to show how easy it generally is even for the competent man of genius to mistake his path at starting or to be distracted from it by tempting accidents; how necessary may be not only the intervention of fortunate accidents, but even the presence of qualities which, in other relations, must be regarded as defects. Happily for us, the man came when he was wanted, and just such as he was wanted; but after studying his career, we understand better than ever why great works are so rare. We may probably have known of men—many instances might easily be suggested—who might be compared to Gibbon in natural endowments, and who have left nothing but fragments, or been confined to obscure tasks, the value of which will never be sufficiently recognized. It is only when the right player comes, and the right cards are judiciously dealt to him by fortune, that the great successes can be accomplished.

L. Stephen.

Note.—It may be worth while to explain Lord Sheffield's mode of constructing Gibbon's autobiography, as it is not explicitly set out in the recent publication. Gibbon wrote six MSS., marked A to F. A is confined to an account of previous Gibbons, and D is a brief account of his own life till 1770. Lord Sheffield only used these for the opening paragraphs. Gibbon then wrote E, giving his life till 1789; then C, a fuller redaction of E till 1770; then B, a fuller redaction of C till 1764; and finally F, a fuller redaction of B till 1753. Lord Sheffield follows the last version in each case, F to 1753, B from 1753 to 1764, C from 1764 to 1770, and E from 1770 to 1789. He prefers the shorter account of the militia, however, in C to that in B; and restores a phrase or two dropped by Gibbon. So the "sighed as a lover and obeyed as a son," and the description of Adam Smith as a "master of moral and political wisdom" come from C.

REMINISCENCES OF THE OXFORD UNION:

AN ADDRESS TO THE SYDNEY UNIVERSITY UNION.

I THINK a man must always feel awkward in speaking before strangers about persons or scenes for which he has a great attachment. For an Oxonian to speak in Sydney about Oxford is to steer between opposite difficulties. One fears on the one hand to give way to that dreamy delight in the beauties of the place and its life, which never fails to rouse the scorn and wrath of practical and well-informed persons, among whom, of course, I count all members of the University of Cambridge; while on the opposite side there are certain commonplaces about the value of University training to a young community which are not precisely true, and are apt to be flung back contemptuously in one's face. Especially is this the case in speaking of the Oxford Union. There is a personal difficulty also to such Oxonians as have enjoyed the membership of that Society and been honoured with the confidence of their fellow-members. Even if its rooms have no personal association to them as the scene of early friendships, those to whom mention of the Oxford Union recalls the vivid memory or actual presence of Cardinal Manning, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Cardwell, Archbishop Tait, Mr. Robert Lowe, Mr. Ruskin, Sir Stafford Northcote, among its earlier heroes; and (to name others of more recent fame) Mr. Asquith, Mr. Curzon, and Mr. Brodrick in the House of Commons, Sir Alfred Milner and Mr. Arthur Hardinge in the public services, in the pulpit Mr. R. F. Horton, on the press Mr. E. T. Cook and Mr. Sidney Low, and at the Bar a list too long to number, must always speak of the Society in language which to strangers will seem overstrained, although it gives but feeble utterance to their own warm feelings. Moreover, I am well aware that the vividness of one's own pleasant recollections may not always be the best qualification for entertaining other people. With this apologetic prelude, I redeem a long-standing promise to discourse to the members of the Sydney University Union about their eponymous Society in the University of Oxford.

The Oxford Union is no mere geographical shadowy expression,

but an exceedingly well-appointed club, lying back from the noisiest street in Oxford, and containing, in addition to the usual appointments of a first-class club-house, a truly magnificent library of modern books, housed in a noble Gothic room once decorated with the famous frescoes by Morris, Rossetti and Madox Brown, which were the first expression of that æsthetic revival in arts and manners which posterity will probably consider to be the chief distinction of this half-century. The debates were held in this room until 1880, when a new hall was erected on an adjoining site, which is used as a reading-room except on Thursday evenings, when the tables and stands are cleared out, audiences assemble, sometimes to the number of a thousand, and those formal debates take place, the fame of which has overshadowed the other functions of the Society.

For it must be remembered that, although the Oxford Union was, in its beginning, a debating society, it soon became a club. The first local habitation was in Baxter's rooms, the site of which I cannot at this distance identify; but, after a sojourn there of half a term, it moved in January, 1829, to the large rooms over a shop in the High, now occupied by Vincent's Club, but then known as Wyatt's Rooms. The present premises were built, I believe, about 1860; and certainly for the last forty years the library, smoking-room, and other club advantages have been more attractive to members than the debates. Indeed, there must be many of the 3,000 members on the active list who never attend a debate during their whole University career, while very few of them take any part in these discussions. On the other hand, there is a well-known type of undergraduate for whom the sun rises and sets in the debating hall. Either he takes an absorbing interest in private business (for it must be remembered that the affairs of the Club are entirely managed by the president and the committee, and any officer may be questioned before the debate is opened about any matter pertaining to his duties), and is constantly writing rubbish in the suggestion book or dividing the house on questions of blotting-paper or quill-pens, or he is a serious politician, who is always intriguing for some office and gives elaborate breakfasts to consolidate his influence or obtain some freshman's vote.

In 1878 the talents of the present editor of a London newspaper and of a Tory wire-puller in London municipal affairs were united by just such a breakfast to secure the return as president of a present Under Secretary of State, one of whose official acts by which he deserves to be remembered in Sydney was the appointment to his committee of Mr. Consett Stephen.*

* A graduate of the University of Sydney.

Those questions too on private business! How elastic the phrase is! And what an attraction the questioning offers to idle visitors! Many a speaker has been disconcerted by seeing his audience fall away from hundreds to tens when the president's voice calls upon him to open the debate. The questions themselves range over every subject and are put for every purpose except that of gaining information.

Primarily, they are designed to amuse the audience at the expense of the officers; and as the interrogator has had weeks to prepare his shafts of wit and is sometimes played up to by another member, the officer who holds his own in such a battle is not likely to lose his head before any audience in after-life.

In private business, as in debates, one thing only is demanded of speakers—that they shall not become bores. No audience is at once more critical and more tolerant. Offences against good manners, obtrusive egotisms, mere talking for display are hooted down; while the clumsiest or most foolish speech will get a hearing if the speaker is in earnest without being ridiculous.

It is this intolerance of bores and self-assertiveness which makes the Oxford Union such an admirable Parliamentary School, and gives it that peculiar resemblance to the House of Commons which Sir Stafford Northcote called attention to in his speech at the opening of the new Hall. A man who can keep the ear of the Union will almost certainly command attention at St. Stephen's.

The management of the Union is (or perhaps I should say "was," for I speak of fifteen years ago) in the hands of a president and a standing committee. The president is elected at the end of every term and takes office at the beginning of the next. He nominates a committee of five, giving a preference to his own supporters, but being under a well-understood obligation not to exclude young speakers of ability because they belong to the opposite side. One of his committee he appoints secretary, with the duty of keeping the minutes of the debates and conducting, with the help of two paid clerks, the general correspondence of the club. The other officers of the Society, who are also *ex-officio* members of the committee, are the librarian and the treasurer, both of whom are elected annually.

The principal duty of the librarian is to bring down to every meeting a list of the books which he recommends to the Society to purchase. In preparing this, and in the performance of his general duties, he is assisted by a committee of eight, whom he appoints without reference to anyone else, and among whom are usually found several of the younger Fellows. As it is open to any member to object to a book or propose the inclusion of another, a librarian is often required to show tact and

power in getting his list adopted. The librarianship thus becomes a frequent stepping-stone to the presidency.

The treasurer is responsible for the internal management of the House. It is his part to know exactly why there is a draught in one corner of the smoking-room, why the bread is always stale and the soap bad, why somebody snored in the library, or why dogs had intruded beyond the entrance hall, and, generally, to reply to all the heterogeneous complaints, by which the crotchety or ingenious member harasses the life of a club committee. The treasurer was usually chosen rather for his social qualities than his powers of debate, and was always expected to furnish at least five minutes amusement during private business.

Private business over, the debate was always opened by a mover, whose name, together with the subject of debate, had been posted in the Club House for five days previously. Other speakers followed, as they caught the eye of the president; but I am afraid it must be confessed that presidents saw the best speakers first and failed to see the bores until the house began to empty. Indeed, I remember one occasion when a crowded and impatient house had waited until within half an hour of closing time to hear Mr. George Curzon close a debate upon the Eastern Question, and the president declared that as he saw no other member wishing to address the house he called on Mr. Curzon to reply; although all the time—so the president was told afterwards—a most worthy member with a talent for being inopportune was on his legs gesticulating. The president had failed to see him because he had fixed his gaze upon the ceiling and the man was standing on the floor! The disappointed member and his friends brought the matter up at the next week's private business, but the same president ruled them out of order for referring to a previous meeting, and the house laughed them down. I have often wished, while sitting in the Legislative Assembly, that members who complain that they are slighted by the Speaker and insist that every member has equal rights could have served a year's apprenticeship in that atmosphere of frankness, generosity, high spirits, prejudice, independence and indifference! They would then have learnt that merited distinctions are a necessary accompaniment of true equality.

The subject for debate was usually chosen from a number submitted to the committee by ambitious orators; but if none of these were suitable it became the duty of a member of the committee to support a good subject, and as a president's success depended to a considerable extent upon the quality of the debates

during his term of office, he took care in choosing his committee to select men who could be depended upon in such an emergency. Politics generally proved the most attractive subject; though all were open to discussion except theology and topics which touched upon it. So sensitive is public feeling about this exception that in December, 1887, the motion that "*Suicide is expedient and justifiable*" was protested against as "involving theology," and the adjournment of the house was moved in order to prevent its discussion. The motion for adjournment was lost by ten votes, the numbers being: Ayes, 70; Nos, 80. And how interesting the subjects are which have been chosen! To peruse the records of the Society since its foundation on February 2nd, 1826, is to obtain a view of the changing phases of English life and thought no less complete and accurate than is given by the cartoons in *Punch*. The subject of the very first debate is at once characteristic of Oxford and redolent of a past age: "*That the present system of Mechanics' Institutions for the scientific instruction of the labouring classes is not likely to prove beneficial to the country.*"

And such motions as these, "*That forgery ought not to be punished by death*"; that "*It is a less crime to steal a sheep than to hang a man for stealing one*" (which, by the way, were both lost); to what a remote age they seemed to belong, and yet how near they bring us to Romilly's successful efforts to reform our penal system! The vicissitudes of Parliamentary reform; the growing disappointment with Lord Grey's Administration; the progress of the movement against slavery (which, in the Oxford Union as elsewhere, was always supported by a Wilberforce); the growth of the Anti-Corn Law agitation; the changes in political relations on the Continent of Europe; the great developments of social energy, directed first towards an improvement of the physical surroundings of the poor, and later towards an improvement in their industrial relations—all these phases of thought and activity are brought before us by the Minute Book of the Oxford Union, together with many other echoes of distant and less interesting controversies. Who, for instance, now knows or cares whether the "Duke of Reichstadt had a better right to the crown of France than Charles X." (November 4th, 1830), or "whether Donna Maria was the legitimate successor to the Throne of Portugal" (November 18th, 1833)?

Then how decided the Society has always been in its opinions! The House of Lords might give way before the inroads of Democracy; but the temper of the Union was unbroken and its courage undismayed! The national crime of 1688 was still unatoned for, and to the usurpation of the Dutch Invader all

England's evils could be clearly traced! Others might play with reform and palter with Democracy, but the Union stood unaltered in the ancient ways—the uncompromising enemy of Liberalism; the undaunted friend of the Church; the accurate exponent of the thoughts of the British aristocracy! It rejected the Reform Bill of 1832, long after this had been passed by Parliament; and has always shown a watchful and determined opposition to attacks upon the British Constitution! It has surveyed mankind and the political affairs of mankind from China to Peru; and has always taken a particular and patronizing interest in the fortunes of the United States; having pointed out so far back as 1836, on the motion of Mr. Cardwell, "*That no remedy can be expected for the evils of American society without an entire change in the form of Government in that country*," and having further declared in 1841, by a majority of twelve, "*That the power of the United States is of a character calculated to experience a speedy decay.*" In fact, the only feature in which the discussions of the Union bear resemblance to those of less famous societies, is, that its members have been generally ready to talk the most upon those subjects about which they know the least.

But although it has been thus rigid and inexorable in its political orthodoxy, the Union has always shown an open mind on non-political subjects. Thus it was not prepared to "*disbelieve those phenomena commonly known as Ghosts.*" It has several times approved of State aid being extended to the stage; it would have opened all Museums and Galleries on Sundays very many years ago; while the motion "*That this House desires to be cremated*" was carried in 1888 by a majority of three. It refused, however, by a small majority to express the opinion "*That the time is ripe for a revolt of man against the growing ascendency of women*"* (October 18th, 1888), and, in spite of its often expressed dissatisfaction with things in general, it refused to agree with the proposition "*That this House wishes it had been born at Athens in the year 490 B.C.*" It has several times pronounced "Cheap Law" to be a "national evil," and very early in its career adopted the opinion that "*The influence of the Press, both weekly and daily, is wholly pernicious*," a declaration which was renewed in 1878 without a division, the only speaker in the negative being a Guinea Coast negro named Cole (who was of course known everywhere as King Cole), and who greatly disappointed the Missionary Society which paid for his education, by preferring the too open worship of

* So far as I am aware no woman has yet spoken in the Oxford Union, though Mr. Hare mentions in *The Story of my Life* that when the subject of ghosts was brought forward for debate in 1860, Mrs. Gaskell, the authoress of *Cranford*, wished to have spoken on the subject from the gallery, but refrained.

Bacchus and Venus to more orthodox studies. The view of the Union about public affairs has always been extremely gloomy. It has "viewed with alarm and regret" the introduction of the Caucus system. It has declared every Liberal Government "hopelessly incompetent." It has regarded the spread of Socialism as "dangerous." It has "regretted" any further extension of the Franchise on several occasions, and viewed "with concern" the tendency of modern governments towards paternal legislation; while the social condition of the country has afforded it "grave cause for alarm" since the first year of its foundation. Nevertheless, as I have already mentioned, it would rather not have been born in Athens in B.C. 490.

After the enumeration of the subjects of debate you will not perhaps be surprised to hear that the Society had the candour on June 6th, 1889, to vote by a majority of three "*That this House deplores its past history as recorded in the minutes of public business.*"

The earlier days of the Union have always excited special interest on account of the distinction of the men who were then its leading spirits. Cardinal Manning, Mr. Gladstone, Robert Lowe, Sidney Herbert, Lord Cardwell, Lord Lincoln, Gaskell, Archbishop Tait, Roundell Palmer (afterwards Lord Selborne), Rogers, who became Lord Blatchford, and is known to Australian history as "the man named Rogers" of Chief Justice Higinbotham's invective,* Samuel Wilberforce (afterwards Bishop of Winchester), Sir Thomas Acland, Dean Merivale, Mr. Ruskin and many others formed an unsurpassed assemblage of talent and eloquence whose early promise has since been amply fulfilled. "I well remember," writes Lord Sherbrooke in his fascinating *Chapter of Autobiography*, "the first time I heard Gladstone speak. It was on the emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies. As far as mere elocution went he spoke just as well as he does now in 1876. He had taken just as much pains with the details of his subject as he would if he had been Secretary of State for the Colonies. He did not launch into commonplaces about the rights of men, but he proposed a well-considered and carefully-prepared scheme of gradual emancipation. It is not too much to say that even he gave full promise of all which he has since achieved."

Mr. Gladstone had been taking part in the debates† for more

* The late Chief Justice of Victoria, when a Minister of the Crown, protested many times against the interference of the Colonial Office (which he declared was merely a "*clerk named Rogers*") in Victorian affairs.

† Mr. Gladstone's first speech was on February 11th, 1830, in disapproval of "the conduct of Mr. Fox and his Party in reference to the Treason and Sedition Bills of 1795."

than a year before he made this speech, and the minutes show that Mr. Lowe had occasionally spoken on the same evening as his future chief, so that his recollection is probably at fault that this was the first occasion he had heard Mr. Gladstone speak. Mr. Gladstone's topics were usually historic or poetical; and his side was that which would be looked for in "the rising hope of the unbending Tories." It is interesting to find that his Conservative instincts were not limited by the field of politics. On May 20th, 1830, he spoke against the removal of the civil disabilities of the Jews, and a month later he condemned "the establishment of colleges in London for the education of the middle classes."

Sir Francis Doyle has given a delightful reminiscence of a debate in the Gladstonian days. "As soon as Mr. Gladstone dawned upon the Union, which was not, as I have said, in the earlier days of his undergraduateship, he took the first place. How far this pre-eminence was gained by eclipsing his predecessor Manning, and how far because Manning, whose degree time was approaching, withdrew from our debates to fall back upon his books, I do not precisely remember. My impression, at any rate, is that the two were not in full activity together. Gladstone and Gaskell became the leading Christ Church speakers. Henry Wilberforce and Hardinge, taking a tone somewhat different from this, upheld the reputation of Oriel. Henry Wilberforce in particular exhibited an easy grace and facility, such as the Wilberforces, one and all, seemed to have inherited from their distinguished father. Part of this inheritance was the wonderful Wilberforce voice, so remarkable for its melody and power. Nor was the speaking confined to the regular debates. Private matters, *e.g.*, whether we should take in *The Sporting Magazine* or not, were argued about with great earnestness, and what was said on those occasions showed now and then a life and reality which our formal harangues often wanted. Still, the great oratorical event of my time was Mr. Gladstone's speech against the first Reform Bill; I may add that the debate as a whole, being the outgrowth of genuine passion, and an excitement shared by all, was better than the average. Most of the speakers rose more or less above their ordinary level, but when Mr. Gladstone sat down, we all of us felt that an epoch in our lives had occurred. . . .

"Another incident happened in the course of this debate" —(continues Sir Francis)—"happened to me at least, which left me for a moment hardly knowing whether I stood on my head or my heels.

"For a certain number of Thursdays, the day when our debates

were held, I had watched, affectionately and respectfully, an old gentleman with snow-white hair, who seemed to have become a regular attendant. Now I am as blind as a bat, so that anything or any person a few yards off is most imperfectly discerned. I therefore pictured to myself that this unknown personage was an enthusiastic veteran who sat watching the rising generation to see if a flash of lightning here and there were visible among us. Week after week I kept saying to myself, 'There is that dear old boy again. How nice of him to come and investigate for himself what we are worth. I wish I knew who he is.' This information was soon to be vouchsafed to me. Whilst the Reform debate was going on, some earnest young Tory had denounced Lord Grey and his colleagues as a vile crew of traitors. He had hardly finished, when up jumped my patriarch (it was the summer term, with the boat races in full force), and in a bold and vigorous tone of voice took him to task thus: 'The honourable gentleman has called Her Majesty's Ministers a crew. We accept the omen, a crew they are, and with Lord Grey for stroke, Lord Brougham for steerer, and the whole people of England hallooing on the banks, I can tell the honourable gentleman they are pretty sure of winning the race.' Down he sat, deservedly applauded. But I got into a state of bewilderment that passes description. I thought my respected veteran had gone mad. On recovering myself, however, I made enquiries, and soon discovered that I had been revering as an ancient sage the white-headed boy, Bob Lowe, now flourishing as Lord Sherbrooke. He afterwards held his place till I left Oxford as one of the most effective of our young speakers."

This debate, besides being interesting to us, produced also important consequences for England, because it altered the course of Mr. Gladstone's life. He was proceeding to the Bar and would have entered an Inn in due course after leaving Oxford had not Lord Lincoln (who took part in the debate) immediately made known at Clumber the effect of his great speech. The result was that Lord Lincoln's father (the Duke of Newcastle, a stern, unbending Tory) immediately exerted himself to bring Mr. Gladstone into Parliament as Member for Newark.

Manning (Cardinal and Archbishop) was a frequent speaker and leader of the house before Mr. Gladstone joined in its debates, and even then (according to Sir Francis Doyle) showed that "omniscience" and intellectual sharp practice which Mr. Purcell's biography has made generally known. Mr. Gladstone had denounced the Government for wavering on the "barilla"

duty. This Ministry, said the impetuous orator, which wanted "the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill, as if it were a chapter out of their infallible Whig Koran," what a failure it had made in minor matters! Each of these was duly enumerated with a repetition of the galling formula. One of these was the barilla duty, "If they cannot say 'the barilla duty, the whole barilla duty, and nothing but the barilla duty,' how can they force upon the people of this country the Bill," &c. Stephen Denison, then a young undergraduate of Balliol and one of Manning's most devoted vassals, being puzzled by this expression sought out his Pope and asked him for an explanation of the unknown word. "Dear me!" replied Manning (so relates Sir Francis Doyle), "not know what barilla means? I will explain it at once. You see, in commerce" (for Manning had been intended for a commercial career) "there are two methods of proceeding. At one time you load your ship with a particular commodity, such as tea, wines, or tobacco, at other times you select a variety of articles suitable to the port of destination. And in the language of trade we denominate this latter operation 'barilla.'" Stephen Denison, thus carefully instructed, went his way, but in a week or so he found out that "barilla" meant burnt sea-weed or its equivalent, and his faith in Manning's infallibility was no longer the same.

The records of the Union furnish many pleasing indications of the early characteristics of other eminent men. Thus it is interesting to observe that those distinguished Peelites, Mr. Cardwell, Mr. Sidney Herbert, and Sir James Graham, were even in their undergraduate days free-traders and interested in economic subjects; and that Lord Blatchford, with an apparent prescience of his future, had already begun to keep a watchful eye upon the Colonies. And when we see a motion putting the blame of the Civil War upon Charles I. amended into this form, "*That the cause of the Civil War is to be sought for in the circumstances of the times*," we recognize at once that such an amendment is judicious enough to indicate an overwhelming fitness for episcopal position to the English Church, and we are not surprised that it was moved by Mr. Samuel Wilberforce! Another who attained an even higher clerical position than that of Mr. Wilberforce—to wit, Archbishop Tait—was in favour of removing all restrictions upon Jews except the right to sit on the judicial bench or enter Parliament. Tait's views on other ecclesiastical matters were less limited. In March, 1835, he supported a motion by the uncompromising Mr. Ward, the *enfant terrible* of the Oxford Movement, whose pitiless logic (as readers of Dean

Church will remember) drove Newman to Rome, "*That a legislative provision for the Roman Catholic Priesthood would be a most beneficial measure.*" Capes, a name not yet forgotten in Oxford, was a frequent speaker on the side of the Erastians, although his motion, "*That the prospects of the Established Church have been and are steadily and continuously improving*" (November 6th, 1834) found not one supporter. What a challenge such a motion must have been to the small band of Oriel men, who were just beginning a campaign to rouse all England to a sense of the Church's imminent peril.*

Newman, the leader of this movement, took no part in the debates; but his pupil, Pattison, who by his keen intellect, restrained force, and quiet energy, took Newman's place in the University as a moral influence a generation later, spoke twice, once in favour of repealing "The so-called taxes upon knowledge," and the other time in support of Anonymity in journalism. But, as the "*Memoirs*" tell us, the shy, eager, ecclesiastical student was out of place at the Union, although, as Rector of Lincoln, he followed its debates and showed such knowledge of their incidents that at least one undergraduate speaker, who owes much to the kindly wisdom of the rector, used to suspect him of clandestine visits to the Hall on Thursday evenings. The impulsive Mr. Ruskin, as might be expected, achieved greater oratorical distinction, being nominated to the committee during the presidency of Mr. Highton, of Queen's, in Michaelmas term 1838. During the preceding summer term he had joined in almost every debate. On May 17th he opposed the motion, "*That the present facilities of acquiring knowledge through the medium of the Press are on the whole productive of more harm than benefit,*" and the following week he maintained the view "*That the reading of good and well-written novels is neither prejudicial to the moral nor to the intellectual character.*" He also moved two characteristic motions, "*That intellectual education as distinguished from moral discipline is detrimental to the interest of the lower orders of a nation*"; "*That theatrical representations are upon the whole highly beneficial to the character of a nation*" (October 25th, 1838). After this Mr. Ruskin's fit of Union fever seems to have passed. At any rate, he took no further part in its debates, and after the expiry of his term on the committee, the Union knew him no more until he became one of the decorators of the famous Hall.

The frescoes in the library, which was then the debating hall,

* Another of Mr. Capes' motions was "That of all methods for promoting the substantial education of the people by the diffusion of desultory and entertaining information is the least efficient." This might be recommended as a subject for a Press essay to the University extenders of modern times.

mark a noteworthy stage in the history of English art; because they were the first attempt to apply pre-Raphaelite ideas to internal decoration. They were designed by Mr. William Morris and Mr. Ruskin, to represent scenes from the Arthurian legend; but being painted on an open timbered roof in a fugitive material, their inverted and ragged appearance formed a constant object of derision to the Philistine undergraduate. As damp and time wrought greater ruin and obscurity, debates were frequent as to what remedial treatment should be followed. In the early seventies the committee proposed at the same time to save the *amour propre* of Mr. Morris and preserve the frescoes by covering them with a pomegranate paper bought at Mr. Morris's upholstering establishment. Mr. Coplestone, now Bishop of Colombo, led the opposition in a speech which was much admired. "Mr. Morris," he said, "may have some consolation. Morris's frescoes will be concealed by Morris's pomegranate paper. But what about poor Mr. Ruskin? Are his feelings not to be consulted at all?" This appeal prevailed, in spite of the heroic declamation of Mr. (now Sir Ellis) Ashmead-Bartlett, and the frescoes gradually became an indistinguishable mass of gloom. Their influence, however, never died. They were the forerunner of that æsthetic movement which spread in the early eighties out of Oxford throughout England. Its virtues and absurdities were many and were keenly canvassed at the Union, but its power was unquestioned. The extreme "æsthetes" despised the Union and its herd of members, and, pining for a more distinctive and select society, took a room in the High, which, surrounded with divans for hashish-smokers, was otherwise to be bare of all furniture except a bust of Shelley in an alcove of flowers. The gentle youth who originated this most precious idea, and who feebly aped a brilliant genius, whose services to art it is cowardly to ignore because of his self-wrought ruin—advertised upon the walls of the Union the following notice written in early English character:—

"Members desirous of joining a new Club are requested to communicate in confidence with Mr. ——

"The object of this Club is to supply that certain something which is so conspicuously wanting in other institutions of this sort."

The president, although angrily requested to remove this notice, refused to interfere; but Mr. —— was soon afterwards ducked under his college pump and the notice came down without official action! Cambridge men boast that such things are impossible at Cambridge! But Cambridge was never the home of movements. An Oxonian, who edits a most Oxfordy weekly journal, is said to have declared that he never met

an Oxford man who could not write a leading article, or a Cambridge man who could. "On the whole," he says, "I prefer the Cambridge man." *De gustibus non est disputandum;* but who shall say how much the difference between the characteristics of the two Universities is kept alive and accentuated by the Oxford Union?

Perhaps the most memorable debate at the Union on account of the distinction of the speakers, and as marking a great change in literary taste, was that on the comparative poetical merits of Byron and Shelley. Sir Francis Doyle (then Mr. Doyle) being, as he states, under Cambridge influences, moved on November 26th, 1829, "*That Shelley was a greater poet than Lord Byron,*" and invited the Cambridge Union, which had distinguished itself by the ardour with which it had championed the cause of the poet whom Oxford had turned from its gates, to send over a deputation to maintain the claims of their favourite. Arthur Hallam (through whom the *Adonais* had for the first time been printed in England), Monckton Milnes, afterwards Lord Houghton, and Sunderland were the men chosen to speak for Shelley and their University. Years afterwards Lord Houghton, telling the story of this expedition, was wont to say that when on behalf of himself and his colleagues, he applied to Dr. Wordsworth, the Master of Trinity, for an "exeat," he did not make it quite clear to that venerable dignitary whether Shelley or Wordsworth was the poet whose intellectual character was to be defended by the deputation. "I have always," he said, "had a dim suspicion, though probably I did not do so, that I substituted the name of Wordsworth for Shelley." However this may be, the "exeat" was granted and the three young men went through the snow by the "Pluck" coach to fulfil their missionary task. Here is Lord Houghton's account, taken from a letter to his mother, of what he saw:—

"The man that took the most was the youngest Gladstone of Liverpool—I am sure a very superior person. Doyle is also clever, Gaskell is as different as possible from what I expected, very plain, completely unaffected, and simple in his manners, and good-natured even to boyishness. Sunderland spoke first after Doyle, who opened, then Hallam, then some Oxonians, and I succeeded.

"The contrast from our long, noisy, shuffling, scraping, talking, vulgar, ridiculous looking kind of assembly, to a neat, square room, with eighty or ninety young gentlemen sprucely dressed sitting on chairs or lounging about the fireplace, was enough to unnerve a more confident person than myself. Even

the brazen Sunderland was somewhat awed and became tautological, and spoke what we call an inferior speech, but which dazzled his hearers. Hallam, as being among old friends, was bold and spoke well. The Oxonian speaking is wretched."

Now let me quote the Oxford version of the same debate from a lecture on Wordsworth delivered at Oxford during his Professorship of Poetry by Sir Francis Doyle :—

"Some forty-three years ago I brought forward a motion in the Oxford Union that Shelley was a greater poet than Byron. The debate, after the fashion of non-political debates, would probably have been a languid one ; but friends of mine at Cambridge (the motion, I may say, was an echo of Cambridge thought and feeling) took the matter up and appeared suddenly on the scene of action. The first of these friends was Arthur Hallam, the Marcellus of our time. . . .

"The second was also a very remarkable man—Mr. Sunderland. By common consent he was an orator unequalled in promise, and at that moment rapidly expanding into unequalled power. His fate, alas ! was even more appalling than that of Arthur Hallam. Just as he was issuing forth into life, all the stormy hopes, all the struggling energies, all the tumultuous aspirations of his imprisoned soul, were suddenly arrested by the grasp of some mysterious brain disease. For forty years he remained dumb, torpid, and motionless, recalling to our minds that mighty image, suggesting itself to the poet among the glaciers of Switzerland, of

'A cataract
Frozen in an instant'

"The third member of the trio was Lord Houghton. . . . Sunderland spoke first, and spoke with great effect, though scarcely, I believe, with the same fire that he often put forth on more congenial subjects. Then followed Hallam with equal if not superior force. After him jumped up a gentleman from Oriel, who, in a bluff and burly manner, began to pooh-pooh the pretensions of Shelley, as to which I need hardly say he was absolutely ignorant ; when, all at once, he caught sight of Mr. Richard Milnes, since Lord Houghton, sitting in his place. He caught sight of him, as of one still competent to speak in answer—still competent to make a pounce, and tear him limb from limb. The former orators then, were the mere *velites*, the skirmishers of the expedition, the foraging parties in advance of the real army ; whilst Lord Houghton represented in his own person the *triarii* of the tenth legion, the Macedonian phalanx, the old guard of Napoleon, irresistible in the attack and inexorable to resistance. In the presence of that terrible antagonist the gentleman from Oriel lost heart and faltered. He changed his front at once, and went over to the enemy like the Saxons at Leipsic, in the very middle of the action, recording as a deserter his vote for Shelley, to the amazement and amusement of the hearers. Lord Houghton then stood up, and showed consummate skill as an advocate. In order to prove Shelley's gradual approximation out of his boyish atheism to the principles of Christian truth, he read, with great taste and feeling, that fine chorus from the *Hellas*, one of Shelley's latest works, the chorus I mean containing this stanza :

'A power from the unknown God
A Promethean conqueror came ;
Like a triumphal path, he trod
The thorns of death and shame.'

Anxious, however, perhaps over-anxious to inculcate, or, as somebody once phrased it, to tread the truth into the ignorant and unthinking multitude before him, he passed somewhat lightly over the fact that the chorus in question is a dramatic chorus, and put by the poet into the mouths of captive Christian women. After him

there was silence in the Union for several minutes, and then Mr. Manning, of Bal liol, perhaps at that particular time the actual leader of our debates, with great propriety rose. He felt that it would be a somewhat clownish and inhospitable proceeding if these bold guests went away unchallenged—if their shields were not touched with the arms of courtesy by some daring Oxford cavalier. He spoke well, exceedingly well, but the framework of his argument—the backbone of his oration—amounted just to this : Byron is a great poet, we have all of us read Byron ; but (and this is my justification for introducing the topic at all) if Shelley had been a great poet, we should have read him also ; but we none of us have done so. Therefore Shelley is not a great poet—*a fortiori* he is not so great a poet as Byron. *In hanc sententiam*, an immense majority of the Union went *pedibus:* the debate was over, and we all of us, including Mr. Gladstone, adjourned, as I have said, to supper."

And now, if I am not keeping you too long from following Mr. Gladstone and his friends to supper, I would like to chronicle the memorable schism of the Rambler.

In Michaelmas term of 1833 the Society elected as its president a Mr. Massie, of Wadham, who, being a Radical, gave great offence to Tait, Roundell Palmer, W. G. Ward, and other leading spirits.

The malcontents accordingly—without formally seceding from the Union—deserted its debates and formed a new society, called the Rambler. Under this boycott the debates of the Union languished and its benches were empty. The obnoxious president, who was really very badly used, sought the help of Mr. Robert Lowe, and on his advice decided on heroic measures. A resolution was brought forward that all the members of the new society should be expelled from the Union; but fortunately for the Society the motion was lost. The debate upon it was most furious. About 200 members were present, and while the president was speaking the greatest disorder prevailed, even threatening the dissolution of the meeting. Mr. Lowe, as librarian, had taken the chair while the president had the floor, and by his firmness saved the situation. Tait, the future Archbishop, was among the noisiest of the dissentients, and was fined by Lowe the sum of £1 for his persistent interruptions of the president. This act of decision and rigour completely restored order; and though the motion to expel the Ramblers was lost, the discontented members returned to the fold of the parent society at the beginning of the new year. The incident is now principally remembered by a mock Homeric poem called *Unionachia*, copies of which may still be met with on the bookstalls. This was the joint work of Prebendary Jackson and the Rev. Thomas Sinclair, while the *Slawkenberg* notes were by Dean Scott, the famous lexicographer. The English translation was by Archdeacon Giles.

Since this storm blew over the ways of the Union have been ways of peace. There have, it is true, been battles royal over, opening the rooms on Sunday, fierce contests over the regulations about smoking; sometimes, too, there have been personal disputes,

but the supremacy of the Union has never been seriously challenged by a rival society. It has continued, as may it always be, the representative of undergraduate Oxford, reflecting with equal accuracy the vices and the virtues of that curious medley; and if the standard of its debates has fluctuated from time to time as the better speakers have gone down before successors to them have been formed, it has nevertheless always in accordance with Oxford traditions recognized that the canons of good behaviour are founded upon the elementary laws of good sense and good feeling; so that a revolt against them is not the way to independence, but to degeneration. The Oxford Union keeps its pride of place because it is not an audience to mistake mere eccentricity for originality, or to think that a man has gained in self-respect by forgetting his manners. So may it flourish to the end of time.

B. R. Wise.

MR. CLEVELAND.

The career of Grover Cleveland is the most extraordinary in the annals of the American Republic. He is the one man who has been in three successive Presidential campaigns the leader of his party. He is the only man who, having been once elected to the Executive office and then defeated for a second term, has been afterward returned to the White House from private life. He is the first man who has given to the Democratic Party, since the championship of slavery wrought its overthrow, a fresh and winning issue, and thus restored to it the complete control of the national government, which it had forfeited a generation before. All this was the achievement, not of a veteran statesman, long familiar to the whole people, but of a man new to public life, who had never been heard of outside his own state two years before his election to the highest office in the nation.

Grover Cleveland was the son of a poor country clergyman, whose death when the youth was sixteen extinguished all hope of a college education. Thrown upon his own resources, he began work as an office-boy for a law firm in Buffalo, New York. He improved his spare time in the study of the law, rose to the position of managing clerk, and in 1859, at the age of twenty-two, was admitted to the Bar. He soon proved himself capable, industrious, and painstaking, and within four years was appointed assistant district-attorney. So satisfactory was his record as a subordinate, that, at the end of a three years' term, the Democratic Party, to which he had early attached himself, nominated him for district-attorney—a place filled by the popular vote of the county in which Buffalo is situated. This county generally goes Republican, and the year 1866 was no exception; but in 1870 the Democrats nominated him for another county office—that of sheriff—and this time the party ticket was successful. Mr. Cleveland administered his office with marked ability and fidelity for three years, and then once more returned to the practice of his profession. He won an excellent local reputation as a lawyer, but as he seldom appeared outside of the Buffalo courts, he did not become generally known, even to his profession, throughout the state.

On the 18th of March, 1881, Mr. Cleveland entered upon his forty-fifth year. His experience thus far and his standing as he reached middle life in no way distinguished him from a host of similar men scattered throughout the Union. There were thousands who, like him, had been reared in poverty, had picked up most of their education while earning a living, had conquered a respectable position by ability and industry, and had won the confidence of their fellow-citizens in local affairs; but who were never thought of by their neighbours, or even by their most partial friends, as likely to cut any figure in national history. Yet within four years Mr. Cleveland was inaugurated as President; for the twelve years since then he has been constantly one of the great political leaders of the country; and in March, 1897, he closes his second term as Executive, the man best known among living Americans throughout the world. Such are the wonderful possibilities which fortune opens in the modern politics of the Republic, —thousands of worthy citizens doing creditable work in various positions, without a thought of fame, in 1881; one of those thousands elevated to the highest office in 1885, and within a few years, recognized, both at home and abroad, as one of the great characters in his nation's history.

No such career was contemplated by the framers of the American Constitution. The "Fathers of the Republic" expected the Presidency to be filled by a succession of trained statesmen, who would find it the crown of long service in positions only less conspicuous, which had rendered them well known to the people of the whole country. This expectation was fully realized for forty years after the establishment of the new government. George Washington, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, James Monroe, John Quincy Adams—this line represented as close an approach to a lofty ideal as has ever been seen in a practical world.

The possibility of Mr. Cleveland's career is found in the revolutionary changes which have come over the method of selecting the Executive. The Constitution designed his choice by a comparatively small body of electors, themselves distinguished citizens, named by the several states solely for this purpose. Enjoying absolute freedom of action, these electors were to consider the ablest statesman in the land, and, after careful consideration, to pick out the fittest. The people were to have nothing to do with the matter directly. Alexander Hamilton recorded his firm conviction that, under this process of election, there would be "a constant probability of seeing the station filled by characters pre-eminent for stability and virtue."

But democracy would not long endure such restraints upon its freedom of action. The ingenious device of an intermediary

body, possessing absolute power, soon failed to operate as a check upon popular control, and presidential electors became mere recording machines, absolutely bound to support the candidate nominated by the party which had also named them. This nominating system is entirely of modern growth. Under it each party in every state chooses a number of delegates proportioned to the state's representation in Congress, who meet in national convention and decide upon candidates for President and Vice-President. Each party in every state also nominates a set of presidential electors, and the set which receives the larger number of votes at the polls, casts for the candidate of its party the electoral votes of the state. Practically, therefore, every man last November voted almost as directly for President as though his ballot had borne simply the name of McKinley or Bryan. It follows also that the President must be a man nominated in one or other of the two great national conventions.

The convention always seeks the man who is likely to carry most of the "doubtful states," which will decide the contest. One consequence is that an aspirant from such a state, who has manifested strength among his neighbours, has a tremendous advantage over a rival living in a "sure state," who may be far his superior in native ability or length of public service. Anybody will carry the "sure state," while one man in a "doubtful state" may be the only representative of his party in the whole country who can assure its victory there. The larger the state in which the result is uncertain, the more inclined is a national convention to accept as a candidate a man who has once carried it for the party in a local contest. New York is not only the state with the largest population, but after the Presidential Election of 1880 it came to be called the "pivotal state," because the rest of the country was divided so evenly between the parties that New York turned the scale in favour of General Garfield that year. Mr. Cleveland lived in this "pivotal state" in 1880, an inconspicuous lawyer, unknown outside of his city. The idea that four years later he would be elected to the Presidency would have seemed utterly preposterous to himself and to everybody else.

Fortune paved the way to Mr. Cleveland's sudden rise to national prominence in later life, when she inclined him as a youth to settle in a city of a "doubtful state"; but good luck alone would never have secured him the great career which he has had. Circumstances gave him the opportunity only. It was because he improved the opportunity that he rose to fame.

The slavery controversy long dominated American politics. For years before the civil war the one question was the extension of slavery. The attempt to disrupt the Union by force of arms

grew out of this controversy, and even the end of the bloody struggle did not eliminate issues born of slavery. The liberation of the Southern blacks was followed by their enfranchisement, and this in turn by bitter opposition to their exercise of the suffrage on the part of their former masters. The managers of the Republican Party in the North found it profitable to keep alive the old issues growing out of slavery, on which their organization had come into power. Meanwhile a crop of new evils had been springing up. The rapid material growth of the country after the war, during a period of irredeemable currency, promoted a speculative spirit. Vast public enterprises, like the building of the transcontinental railroads by the nation, and other works proportionately as great by states and municipalities, offered rich opportunities for plunder by faithless officials. The prostitution of the civil service enabled a class of professional politicians to convert the public offices into means of building up "rings" and "machines" for their personal enrichment, at the expense of the tax-payers. It was an era of shocking scandals in government, at Washington, in many state capitals, and in a host of cities: scandals best typified in the enormous stealings of a ring of plunderers in New York city, under the notorious "Boss" Tweed, about 1870, and the impeachment of the Secretary of War in President Grant's Cabinet in 1876 for complicity in the sale of official privileges.

At last the people came to see that reform in the methods of government was the crying necessity of the Republic. Unconsciously they looked for a leader, but none of the public men with whom they had long been familiar met the requirements. The "old public functionary"—to use a happy phrase once applied to a high official in his declining years—either did not realize the exigencies of the situation, or he was himself a part of the thing to be reformed. The time was ripe for a new man, who had courage to fight corruption, and confidence that the people would stand by him.

During the era of misrule smaller cities had often suffered as badly, in proportion to their size, as the metropolis under "Boss" Tweed. Buffalo, with about 150,000 inhabitants, had for years been governed by an odious "ring," under which weak or bad men secured office, and the tax-payers were outrageously swindled. By 1881 the better class of citizens, without distinction of party, were ready to unite in throwing off the yoke. The offending officials had been Republican, for that was the dominant party. The opposition therefore had a chance to nominate for Mayor a man, who, while a Democrat, would invite the support of Republicans as an honest administrator of municipal affairs upon a non-partisan basis. Grover Cleveland was seen to be the best man of this type

in the party. The Democratic Convention nominated him, and the people of a Republican city elected him. It was emphatically a case of the office seeking the man, for personal considerations disinclined him to leave private life. He accepted the candidacy solely from a sense of public duty, never thinking that he had taken the first of three steps which in three years would make him President.

The keynote of Mr. Cleveland's whole executive career was struck in his address to the convention which nominated him for Mayor, when he declared that "there is, or there should be, no reason why the affairs of our city should not be managed with the same care and the same economy as private interests"; and that "public officials are the trustees of the people, and hold their places and exercise their powers for the benefit of the people." The new Mayor lived up to this platform. Employés in the municipal offices had been required to serve but a few hours each day; Mr. Cleveland urged that they should work as long as men in private establishments. The city auditor had contented himself with perfunctorily approving accounts if they appeared to be correctly footed; Mr. Cleveland insisted that he should enquire into the merits of every claim presented. The City Council continued to pass loose, extravagant, and corrupt acts; Mr. Cleveland fearlessly vetoed every such measure, and sustained his action in unanswerable messages.

A few months of such an administration served to turn the attention of the state upon this unconventional Mayor of Buffalo. The election of a Governor was to occur in the autumn of 1882, and the Democrats concluded that Mayor Cleveland's record would make the best platform upon which they could appeal to the people of the commonwealth. New York has an exceptionally large number of "independent voters"—that is, men who are not permanent adherents of either party, but who incline to one or other at each election, as their conception of the public interest dictates. These independents in 1882 felt the need of a sturdy reformer at the head of the state government, and were glad to vote for him in the person of Mr. Cleveland. A bitter factional controversy had for two years raged in the Republican Party of New York. It was intensified by the triumph of one faction in the nominating convention, through methods which the other denounced as fraudulent and resented at the polls. This coincided with a general reaction of public sentiment against the Republican Party throughout the nation, because of its bad record in Congress. The result was the election of Mr. Cleveland by a majority far beyond all precedent, his Republican opponent falling 192,854 votes behind him.

As Governor of New York, Mr. Cleveland was simply Mayor of Buffalo on a larger scale. The guiding principle of his state administration was the same as of the municipal—that "public officers," to quote from his letter accepting the nomination, "are the servants and agents of the people to execute laws which the people have made"; and, again, that "the duty which public servants owe is to protect the rights of the people, to answer their needs as they arise, and to expend for their benefit the money drawn from them by taxation." In his inaugural message to the Legislature he laid down the principle—as startling to the professional politician as it seems simple and obvious to the outsider—that "the appointment of subordinates in the several state departments, and their tenure of office or employment, should be based upon fitness and efficiency," instead of upon partisan service before appointment and upon the continuance in power of their party, which had been the rule. He urged the embodiment of this principle in legislation, and secured from the law-makers the first state civil service act ever passed in the country. There had grown up a most offensive system of levying assessments for partisan purposes upon place-holders, under the thin disguise of "voluntary contributions." Governor Cleveland denounced this practice as "naked extortion, reducing the compensation which should be honestly earned, and swelling a fund used to debauch the people and defeat the popular will"; and he obtained from the Legislature a law prohibiting it.

Mr. Cleveland found repeated occasion to use the veto power at the state capital, nor did he shrink from its exercise, even when opposition to the legislative will seemed most injudicious from the standpoint of his own prospects for further advancement. His action regarding the so-called "five-cent-fare bill" illustrated his courage in the discharge of duty. The elevated railroad lines in New York City at that time charged ten cents for a ride during most of the day, as they had a clear right to do under their charters. A popular clamour arose for lower rates, through the passage of a legislative act reducing the fare to five cents during all hours, without the consent of the companies. Many of the working-men naturally supported the movement, and the law-makers of Albany yielded to the demand, chiefly from fear of offending the "labour vote" by opposing it. But Mr. Cleveland was influenced by no such considerations. He showed that the bill violated the vested rights of capital, and refused his approval, to the delight of his enemies, who felt sure that he had ruined himself, by supporting "a monoply" against "the masses."

The Governorship of New York, as the greatest and richest state in the Union, has always been a conspicuous position in the

eye of the nation. Mr. Cleveland's election to this high office by an unparalleled majority fixed public attention upon him at the start. The sturdy independence with which he discharged its duties from month to month steadily strengthened the popular impression that he was the man demanded by the exigencies of the time for the head of the Federal government. The majority by which he had carried the "pivotal state" of New York in 1882 rendered it inevitable that he should be immediately "mentioned" as a candidate of his party for the Presidential nomination in 1884. Discussion among Democrats throughout the country showed a general conviction that the new-comer would make a better run than any of the old leaders, and he was nominated upon the second ballot in the national convention.

The Republicans came into control of the Presidency with Lincoln's accession in 1861, and had now retained it for nearly a quarter of a century. A long lease of power had bred both corruption and faction. The election of 1880 had given the party the legislative department as well as the executive, and it had shamefully abused the trust. The most popular Republican leader was James G. Blaine, a born politician, whose natural endowment for public life had been supplemented by nearly twenty years of service in various offices, including Speaker in the lower branch of Congress. He was an eloquent orator, a skilful manager of party machinery, and most attractive in his manners, possessing a wonderful memory for faces and names, and a rich fund of what is called "personal magnetism," which inclined even strangers to become his warm adherents; but his leadership of a partisan faction had made him bitter rivals and enemies, and his personal integrity was doubted by a large element among the best Republicans.

The Presidential contest of 1884 was the most exciting and bitter that the country had ever seen. No contrast could be more vivid than that between the two candidates. The one was a veteran in public life, who undoubtedly knew by sight, could address by name, and commanded the support of a far larger number of Americans than any other politician in the history of the nation. The other was a new man, whose only service in office outside of his own locality was a yet unfinished term in the Governorship of New York, and who needed an introduction to almost every leader of his party beyond the bounds of that state. The one was a popular speaker, who "took the stump" in his own behalf, and delivered a long series of clever addresses to immense crowds of enthusiastic followers in many states. The other was no stump-speaker, and after accepting the nomination made only two or three brief addresses, spending his time in the faithful dis-

charge of his executive duties at Albany. The one was supported by a party which, despite its recent offences, had still a firm hold upon the public affection, as the foe of slavery and the champion of the Union. The other had been nominated by an organization which in name was the same that had sustained slavery, precipitated the rebellion, and opposed both the emancipation and the enfranchisement of the blacks. Mr. Blaine lost heavily among the most intelligent class in the Republican Party. He also suffered from the half-heartedness or open enmity of factional rivals. For these losses he sought to recoup himself by intrigues to secure the support of the worst elements among the Democrats, and with considerable success. The contest remained doubtful to the very end. New York, as had been expected, held the decision, but the state was so close that it was claimed by each party for days. The official count showed the narrow margin of 1,047 votes in favour of the Democrats.

Mr. Cleveland entered the Presidency a stranger to the men who had served long in Congress. His wonderfully rapid advancement was resented by many prominent Democrats, while Republican politicians sneered at his success as due simply to good luck. The patronizing tone affected by the opposition was illustrated in the remark with which *The New York Tribune*, the chief Republican organ, opened its leader on the 5th of March, 1885: "It would be easy to dismiss Mr. Cleveland's inaugural address with a smile." But the politicians of both parties soon found that this neophite was a master. Entering Washington almost for the first time when he went there to be inaugurated, he assumed the reins of government with as firm a grasp and as self-reliant an air as though he had guided successive administrations. Veteran leaders of his own party in the Senate, like Thomas F. Bayard, of Delaware, and L. Q. C. Lamar, of Mississippi, came into his Cabinet as subordinates rather than as mentors. The ablest representatives of the opposition, like Senator Edmunds, of Vermont, started confidently upon a contest over his prerogatives in the matter of removals from office, only to retire vanquished by his superior generalship.

At the very outset Mr. Cleveland encountered a crucial test of his firmness. Half a century before, the principle had been formulated by a great Democratic politician, that "to the victors belong the spoils of office," and all parties had accepted it. The "clean sweep" was a corollary of this proposition. If the triumph of one party meant that it should occupy all the places under the Federal Government, from President down to tide-waiter, it ought obviously to turn out of office all representatives of the defeated

party, as soon as it should assume power. This theory had been carried out, apparently with popular approval, when the Whigs twice ousted the Democrats and the Democrats twice supplanted the Whigs before the Civil War. The Republicans acted upon it when they came into control of the government in 1861. The professional politicians of both parties still believed in the spoils system, and the "clean sweep" application of it. Moreover, the "workers" among the Democrats were now "very hungry and very thirsty," as their condition was graphically described by a keen observer at the time, through their long exclusion from the Federal offices.

For some years, however, public-spirited men had combated the spoils doctrine. Civil service reformers contended that there was no more reason why the great bulk of small office-holders should change when a new President came in than that the accession of a new head in a financial or manufacturing establishment should throw out all of the subordinates. Ridiculed when they began, and denounced when their persistence showed that they could not be laughed down, the reformers made converts, at first slowly and then more rapidly, until at last they wrung from Congress the reluctant passage of the Civil Service Act of 1883, almost simultaneously with the enactment of the similar statute in New York upon Mr. Cleveland's recommendation. This was a beginning, but only a beginning. It provided that clerkships and other subordinate positions in the great executive departments at Washington, and in some other large Federal offices elsewhere, should be filled with appointees who had proved their fitness by passing a competitive examination. But nine-tenths of the places under the national government still remained outside of "the classified service," and the new administration could legally fill them immediately with personal or political favourites. A horde of office-seekers demanded the "clean sweep" as to these more than 100,000 places, but Mr. Cleveland stood firm as a rock against their onset. Conceding the propriety of removing Republican officials who had been either incompetent or offensive in their partisanship, he insisted, that, as a rule, men who were holding under a four years' term should serve out that term. He thus established a precedent that must endure, for the "clean sweep" could never be restored once it had been abolished.

Mr. Cleveland gave the nation precisely the same sort of an administration that he had previously given his city and state —straightforward, honest, business-like. He had been profoundly distrusted by a large proportion of his opponents, as the repre-

sentative of a party which they considered dangerous. Many ignorant blacks at the South lamented his election because unscrupulous Republican politicians had long assured them that the Democrats, if restored to power, would put them back into slavery. Not a few intelligent men in the North had come to think that the safety of the country depended upon the continuance of Republican rule, and believed that they were now to be ruined. Mr. Cleveland's conservative course soon restored confidence among both these classes. His courage was again demonstrated in the veto of pension bills which he considered wasteful and unjustifiable, although the politicians were sure that he would lose "the soldier vote" by opposing its demands. By the third year of his administration he had grown so strong that his renomination was certain, and the Republican managers were steadily losing hope of defeating his re-election. Then came the supreme exhibition of his boldness in doing what he had become convinced was his duty.

The tariff question had been a party issue before the Civil War, when the Whigs supported high duties and the Democrats low ones. The slavery controversy long submerged the tariff, along with other issues, and party lines were not sharply drawn upon the matter. While the Democrats generally still maintained their traditional attitude of opposition to protection for protection's sake, a strong element among them at heart accepted the Republican doctrine. The managers therefore favoured what is called a "straddling" positions in party platforms, and shrunk from making a sharp issue. With the politicians in this mood, Mr. Cleveland electrified the country at the opening of Congress in December, 1887, by sending to that body, instead of the conventional message of recommendations upon a great variety of subjects, a document devoted entirely to the national finances, and demanding a radical revision of the tariff laws—"the vicious, inequitable and illogical source of unnecessary taxation."

By this message Mr. Cleveland defined the issue of the approaching national election, and committed the Democratic Party to the support of a low tariff. No other deliverance of a President ever had so great an effect upon a pending campaign and the future of political organizations. The Republican politicians were delighted, because they now saw a chance of defeating Mr. Cleveland's re-election by raising the cry of "free trade." Many Democratic managers in states where protection sentiment was strong were indignant that he had not kept quiet, and won another term on the record of his first. Mr. Cleveland unquestionably realized the consequences of his action. He know that it threw doubt over a

contest in which—without it—the chances would be altogether in his favour. But he felt that the nation needed to be thus aroused regarding the condition of its finances, and also that his party must have a vital issue if it were to have a future.

The immediate effect of the tariff message was disastrous to the Democrats. The Republicans not only defeated Mr. Cleveland for re-election, but also secured control of both branches of Congress. They used their power to pass the McKinley law, a measure as strongly opposed to what Mr. Cleveland had advised as could be imagined. But the framing of this law had illustrated so clearly the evils which attend a high tariff policy that within a few weeks after it went into effect the people declared against it. The Congressional elections midway in the Presidential term showed a "tidal wave" of public sentiment running against the Republicans, and their representation in the popular branch of Congress sank lower than ever before since the party was formed. The result was interpreted by independent observers as vindicating Mr. Cleveland's wisdom, and as foreshadowing his return to the White House by an irresistible demand. Many hostile politicians strove desperately to stem the tide, but they could not prevent his renomination on the first ballot in the national convention of 1892.

Mr. Cleveland's first election in 1884 had been by so narrow a margin that the Republicans called his success a mere chance. In truth, it had been primarily due to the folly of his opponents in nominating a candidate who drove away Republican votes by the tens of thousands. But the Democratic victory in 1892 was overwhelming. Mr. Cleveland not only carried every doubtful state easily, but also won several states which had always before been considered certain for the Republicans. The Democrats also secured majorities in both the Senate and the House. Never before since the first half of Buchanan's administration, thirty-six years earlier, had the party simultaneously controlled the Presidency and both branches of Congress.

To the casual observer everything indicated that the Democrats were returning to power for a long period. The party seemed to have cut loose from the traditions of ante-bellum days, when its subserviency to slavery had wrought its undoing; it had taken up a new issue, and had made a successful appeal to the country upon it; it had supported enthusiastically a leader who had won a hold upon the people approached by no other Democrat since Andrew Jackson, sixty years before. But inauguration day in the next March had not come before the sky was overcast.

The burning question during the campaign had been the tariff, Now, however, the currency thrust it aside for awhile. For many

years Congress had legislated most recklessly in regard to silver. From 1878 to 1890 the Treasury Department had been required to purchase $2,000,000 worth of silver bullion every month, and to coin it into standard dollars, which were intrinsically worth only about ninety-two cents in gold at the start, and sank in value year by year. In 1890 a new Act was passed, which forced the Government to buy 4,500,000 ounces of bullion a month, in payment for which Treasury notes were issued. Such a policy must ultimately precipitate a crisis, and by the winter of 1892-3 its near approach was obvious. A few months later a panic came, and the prompt repeal of the Silver Purchase Act was seen to be essential to a restoration of confidence. Mr. Cleveland convened Congress in special session for this express purpose in the summer of 1893, and finally secured the repeal, but only after a wearisome struggle with the Senate, in which about half of the Democrats opposed their President, and repudiated the plank in their party platform which had called for the repeal.

This was surely a most inauspicious beginning, but worse was soon to follow. At the regular session of Congress, opening in December, the Democrats in the House set out to redeem the party pledges of tariff reform, and succeeded reasonably well; but when their Bill reached the upper branch, it found bitter enemies among the Democratic Senators, who tampered with vital sections, and extorted concessions to the protection principle, which disfigured it almost beyond recognition. So misshapen had the measure grown that Mr. Cleveland allowed it to become a law without his signature, refraining from an outright veto only because in that case no better Bill could have been obtained, and the McKinley law would have stood. The masses of the party throughout the country were thoroughly disgusted and disheartened by these unexpected developments.

Meanwhile the panic had been followed by "hard times." Every such period causes a reaction against the party in power. The Democrats had suffered thus after the panics of 1837 and 1857; and the Republicans, after the panic of 1873. When hundreds of thousands are thrown out of work, or have their incomes reduced, a large proportion do not stop to reason, but conclude that the existing administration must be to blame, and vote against it at the first opportunity. This came in the autumn of 1894, when a new Congress was to be elected, and the Democrats were overwhelmingly defeated, losing control of both Senate and House.

Although no more silver bullion was now bought, and no more silver dollars coined, the "silver craze" still continued, and a strong element demanded the passage of an Act for the free coinage of

silver dollars at the ratio of 16 to 1, though the commercial ratio of the two metals was much nearer 32 to 1. This caused apprehension as to the maintenance of the gold standard, while the general depression of business produced a growing deficiency in the revenue. Time and again the Treasury nearly reached the point where it would have to suspend the redemption of paper money in gold, and only the firmness of the President in borrowing a fresh supply of gold upon the national credit prevented the most appalling disasters. Here, again, his action in issuing bonds was taken in bitter opposition to the sentiment of most of the Democrats in Congress, and against angry protests from many.

In his second administration, as in his first, Mr. Cleveland gave the country a tremendous surprise. His Venezuelan Message of December, 1895, astounded the public. The one thing concerning which people were agreed was that Mr. Cleveland was a "safe" man, and that no outbreak of Jingoism ever need be feared from him To find him advising a policy that involved the plain danger of war over a controversy in which the country had never felt much interest, was almost like finding the rector of a church leading the village loafers in a debauch. This Message has been followed by an agreement for arbitration of the Venezuelan question upon an honourable basis. "Nothing succeeds like success," and the fact that Mr. Cleveland has been instrumental in ending a tedious controversy inclines most people to overlook the question whether the methods which he employed were right or wrong.

In his hold upon the people at the beginning of his second term, Mr. Cleveland rivalled the greatest political leaders of the past; yet he retires from public life repudiated by his party, and leaving it at the lowest ebb of its fortunes. He himself must bear part of the blame for this. His qualities fitted him better to oppose paternalism, to uncover fraud, to fight corruption, than to promote legislation and to guide the course of Congress. No public man ever gave the United States a better illustration of the *fortiter in re.* But the executive who would carry his measures through a legislative body needs no less to possess the *suaviter in modo.* Mr. Cleveland has always lacked tact in his relations with Senators and Representatives. Invited to attend an educational festival in 1893, he wrote that he could not accept because he "expected to have Congress on his hands" at the time! His brusque manners often made enemies of those whose support he should have won, and cooled the ardour of his warmest

friends. The result was that administration measures were bitterly opposed by many Congressmen simply because they came from the administration. At this writing, the permanent Arbitration Treaty—the most honourable achievement of Mr. Cleveland's career—is halted in the Senate largely from the personal animosity of Democratic Senators against the President. It is, of course, true that he has made serious blunders and incurred just criticism, but his worst enemies have been men who hated him for the zeal with which he served the country without regard to the effect upon' the fortunes of his party.

The most skilful master of diplomacy in the White House from 1893 to 1897, however, could not have made the Democratic Party carry out the policy to which it was committed by its national platform of 1892. It had pledged itself to an excellent policy regarding both the currency and the tariff. By these pledges it had attracted the support of the independent voters and carried the country. But the party had not really meant what it said. In the South, where it has always been strongest, the majority of its members favoured the silver folly. In the North, an important element sympathized with the Republican position on the tariff. In short, the organization was honeycombed with insincerity, and incapable of the straightforward action to which it was pledged.

The last chance of success for any President in Mr. Cleveland's place with such a party would have vanished with the three years of "hard times" that followed the panic of 1893. Andrew Jackson's administration was most successful, but his second term would have ended very differently if he had begun it with a panic like that which his successor, Martin Van Buren, encountered in 1837, and which contributed so powerfully to his defeat in 1840. Against stupidity the gods fight in vain. Against years of "hard times" the American President can never hope to contend successfully.

Mr. Cleveland's future is an interesting subject for speculation. In the suddenness of his rise, the sweep of his triumphs, and the extent of his reverses, he has set all rules at defiance. The value of his services to the Republic during the stormy scenes of his second term must grow in public estimation as the people look back upon them. Already it is seen that it was his financial views which the voters endorsed in the Presidential Election of 1896, and that the success of the McKinley administration depends upon the maintenance of his policy regarding the gold standard. He

has extended the scope of civil service reform until the spoils system is now plainly doomed.

Mr. Cleveland will reside in the beautiful university town of Princetown, not far from New York, and it is understood that he will take up once more the practice of his profession; but it is impossible that a man of such force of character and power of impressing the people should lapse into obscurity and insignificance. His influence is sure to be felt in the development of public opinion and of governmental policies.

EDWARD P. CLARK.

(*An Editorial Writer for the New York "Evening Post."*)

THE IRISH CLAIM AND SOME REPLIES.

It is no wonder that the British public received the Report of the Financial Relations Commission with some surprise. The questions raised are numerous and difficult, and, to the present generation, novel. It will therefore be useful to attempt to simplify the main issue. Some of the Dublin papers, notably the Conservative *Daily Express* and *The Freeman's Journal,* have set forth the Irish case very well. But here no one reads the Irish papers (it is all we can do to read our own), and, if only for the sake of fair-play, the Irish case should be properly stated. It is, indeed, almost a duty to break a lance in so reasonable a cause against the very able opponents who have taken the other side.

The Irish argument may be put, logically, thus—

1. We have a constitutional right to special relief under certain circumstances.

2. Those circumstances now exist.

3. Therefore such relief ought to be given.

Thus there is a constitutional question, an economic question, and one of policy. The constitutional question could really best be decided by a Court of Law—the economic question was properly referred to the Commission, and the question of policy must be for Government and Parliament. The full British reply is—

1. There is no excess of Irish taxation.

2. If there is, still Ireland has no more right to be separately considered than any other poor area of the United Kingdom.

3. If there is Irish over-taxation, and if Ireland has a right to distinct treatment, then we must take Irish expenditure into account.

In this paper I shall first examine the allegation that Ireland has no more right than any other "poor area" to special consideration. This question is, unfortunately, one upon which popular passions are easily aroused; yet not one which can be decided by the plain man in the streets either of London or Dublin. It is a question depending, in the first instance, upon the right construction of a great constitutional document. It is the kind of question which would, in the United States, be decided by the Supreme

Court. It might have been well if the Government had seen their way, at this stage of the matter, to appoint a small Commission of the highest judicial authorities, simply for the purpose of hearing counsel and forming an opinion upon the true meaning to be attached to the words of Article 7 of the Act of Union. It might, I think, have cleared the way if this had first been done, and a further Commission had then been appointed, if deemed necessary, to review, as a court of appeal, the economic side of the work of the late Commission.*

We have first to ascertain the exact position held by Ireland under the Act of Union, which was, be it remembered, much more than an ordinary Act of Parliament. It was a solemn treaty between the Parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland. Therefore it is right that scrupulous attention should be paid to any provisions in it which are still applicable. It is, I think, a reasonable moral doctrine that none of its provisions ought to be altered except with the consent of a majority both of British and of Irish representatives.

In the debates in the Irish Parliament which preceded the Union, a main, or perhaps *the* main, ground of opposition to the measure was that Ireland, a country very lightly-burdened by taxes and with a comparatively small debt, would come under the taxation system of Great Britain, a much more heavily-burdened country, but also much richer and therefore better able to bear taxation. To meet this objection which, being one easily understood by all, might have made the Union project miscarry, Pitt and Castlereagh had to make concessions. In the first place, they had to consent to a period during which Ireland should contribute according to a fixed ratio arrived at by an estimate of her relative wealth or taxable capacity. This system was to last until the debts of the two countries arrived at a certain proportion, either through the liquidation of the British or the increase of the Irish debt. When this happened the whole "expenditure of the United Kingdom" was (if it should appear to Parliament that the "respective circumstances of the two countries" would permit this) to be "defrayed indiscriminately by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each country."

Such taxes were to be imposed "from time to time as circumstances may require"—"subject only to such particular exemptions and abatements in Ireland, and that part of Great Britain called Scotland, as circumstances may appear from time to time to demand."

* The present article was written (in order to defend certain positions taken up by the late Mr. Childers and most of his colleagues) before the reference to the New Commission was made public on the 11th February.

All through this carefully-guarded clause runs the meaning, (1) that the *whole* expenditure of the United Kingdom should be consolidated; (2) that this expenditure should be met by taxes to be uniform *so soon as, if, and so long as* the resources of the population of each country should permit.

In 1816, the debts having arrived, through the increase of Irish debt, at the prescribed proportion, Parliament in due form terminated the proportionate contribution arrangement. Ireland, however, only gradually came under an almost uniform system of taxation. It was not until the period 1853-1860 that the process was virtually completed by the extension of the income tax to Ireland and the equalisation of spirit duties. In these seven years additional permanent taxation to the extent of about two millions was laid upon Ireland. All the members of the late Commission, except Sir Thomas Sutherland, have expressed a strong opinion that, in the circumstances of Ireland at that period, this increase of taxation was not justifiable. It also appeared to the Commission that Ireland has since that time up to the present date made no material, if any, progress in wealth, while the progress of Great Britain has been enormous.

The Irish case is, then, that the exemptions and abatements which the Irish population enjoyed in 1853 ought not to have been swept away, and, further, that they ought to be restored now, and that, if they cannot conveniently be so restored, equitable compensation ought to be made in some other way. The Financial Commission, with virtual unanimity, have declared that the present taxable capacity of Ireland is in the ratio of not more than 1 to 20 of that of Great Britain, while the Irish tax contribution to the "common expenditure of the United Kingdom" is as much as 1 to 11, or, on the last returns, 1 to 12. Applying these ratios to the figures it appears that the Irish population, as a whole, contributes to that common expenditure over two millions a year more than that which it would contribute if paying in the proportion of 1 to 20.

At this point it is desirable to examine a leading objection put forward in the very able, moderate, and fair article in the January Number of *The Edinburgh Review*. The majority of the late Commission seem to think, it is said, that Ireland has a claim to be taxed in the ratio of her relative wealth. But that system of proportionate contribution was expressly done away with in 1816. The proviso in the Act of Union as to exemptions and abatements cannot have been meant to maintain and continue a system the abolition of which, in certain events, was contemplated and provided for by the main body of the section.

It is true, no doubt, that some of the Reports of the Commissioners contain expressions implying that a system of contribution according to exact relative capacity should be continued. This is, I think, to put the Irish case too high. The Irish cannot claim, as they could before 1817, to contribute to Exchequer revenue in a definite ratio based upon an estimate of the relative wealth of Ireland looked at as a whole. It is, however, quite true that the general promise made to the Irish at the time of the Union was that, under no circumstances, even after the abolition of the definite ratio system, should they contribute *materially* in excess of their relative resources. Pitt, in 1800, said that "*the different wealth of the countries*" was one of the circumstances which made immediate unification of taxation "impracticable." But he thought that, in time, Ireland would, through the Union, become absolutely and relatively richer,* and that uniform taxes would, in that event, ensure equality of burden. Nevertheless, the Irish were to have the "exemptions and abatements," when necessary, as a "safeguard" (to use Sir David Barbour's expression) against any unequal pressure which might result from an uniform system. This *general intention* that (to use Pitt's words in 1799) "Ireland should *never* be taxed but in proportion as we tax ourselves" can, I think, be proved by various speeches made in those debates by Pitt and Castlereagh. It is, however, better to quote a speech made in 1815 by Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, the Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer (then still distinct), because this speech was made with reference to the approaching consolidation of the Exchequers, and therefore quite certainly with reference only to the period in which the system of contribution according to a specific proportion would cease. Mr. Fitzgerald, speaking solemnly and officially, on the 16th June, 1815, said: "I do not fear that Parliament will *ever* declare the competency of Ireland to bear the entire weight of that taxation which the wealth and resources of England enable her to support without reference to those considerations upon which alone Ireland should be exempted from those burthens which are laid upon all other subjects of the United Kingdom. *The power of that exemption is expressly reserved to Parliament by the Act of Union.*" Little did Mr. Fitzgerald foresee the period 1853–60, or the declaration of *The Times*, in 1897, that the exemption provisions had become "obsolete"!

* In 1799, Mr. Pitt described the Union as a measure which would, by freedom of commerce and "common use of capital," "infuse a large portion of wealth" into Ireland, "that mighty limb of the Empire." It cannot be said that this anticipation has been fulfilled. Ireland has for long been the last place to which British capital has shown itself inclined to resort, and it is doubtful whether Ireland is as rich now as it was one hundred years ago.

What are "those considerations"? What are the "circumstances" referred to in the Act of Union which would entitle Ireland to "exemptions and abatements"? Lord Castlereagh in his speech in the Irish House of Commons, 6th February, 1800, throws the best light on what was in the mind of the framers of the Act. He said: "The United Parliament will always be able to make abatements in Ireland, as the Parliament of Great Britain has always done in Scotland since the Union, when from local circumstances the high duty cannot be levied without either rendering the revenue unproductive, or *pressing too hard upon the poorer classes.*"

Now, the Irish case is (1) that the report of the Commission shows that the Irish population, as a whole, contributes to common expenditure well over two millions a year beyond that which it would contribute if taxed according to relative capacity; (2) that this finding is a summary of the whole situation; (3) that the cause of this is that the great proportion of the Irish population consists of the "poorer classes"; (4) that the *average* income of these poorer classes is shown by statistics to be lower than the *average* income of lower classes in England and Scotland. In the words used by Mr. Nassau-Senior to the Select Committee of 1864, Ireland is not so much poor because she is overtaxed as "overtaxed *because* she is poor." That is to say, the Irish population is, in a larger proportion than that of Great Britain, composed of the really poor, and that under our system of taxation, even still, taxation falls on the poor, relatively to their means, more heavily than it does on the well-to-do, especially in districts where whiskey rather than beer is the customary beverage.*

It is not always possible to agree with the economic views of Sir Robert Giffen, but he must be accepted as the best authority upon the relative earnings and wage-rates of the manual labour classes. In the memorandum which he submitted to the Commission he gave reasons for arriving at the conclusion that "the incomes of the wage-earning classes, man for man, in Ireland are little more than half those of Great Britain." Allowing a wide margin to adverse criticism of Sir Robert Giffen's method of proof, it would be difficult for any court of enquiry to refuse to attach considerable weight to his evidence.

These things being so, the Irish say that, having regard to the general promises made at the time of the Union, and to the spirit and letter of the Act of Union, they are now entitled to very con-

* Under the term "Well-to-do" I include the class having family incomes of from £80 to £160 per annum. Taxation hits them, relatively to their means, much more lightly than it does the class below or the class immediately above.

siderable relief of some kind, and that the highest possible limit of that relief is indicated by the summarized conclusion of the Commission as to relative taxable capacity. Of what kind, and of what amount, the actual relief should be is a matter for arrangement, compromise, and policy. The suggestion made by Sir Edward Clarke, in his Plymouth speech, that the relief should be assessed at at least a million a year, was accepted by a leading Irish Nationalist journal as a possible basis of compromise.

I do not think that the finding of all the late Commission as to the present relative taxable capacity of Ireland has been seriously impugned, nor is it usually denied that, on the facts disclosed by this enquiry, there is a strong *primâ facie* case for relief of some kind to the Irish population, or (one should rather perhaps say) to the poorer classes who form the great bulk of that population,* regard being had to the provisions contained in the seventh Article of the Act of Union, and repeated in the Consolidation Act of 1816. But then it is said, "We must look on both sides of the account. We must not only consider how much Ireland contributes to the Exchequer, but how much Ireland costs the Exchequer. It appears that the total tax-contribution of Ireland to the Exchequer is about an eleventh or twelfth of that of Great Britain. But if we deduct from the Irish total contribution the cost of Irish civil administration, and do the same in the case of Great Britain and compare the balances, we find that Ireland does not contribute more than two millions to the 'Imperial expenditure'—not more, that is, than about one-thirtieth of that expenditure. To this 'Imperial expenditure,' if Ireland's taxable capacity is about one-twentieth, she contributes not more, but less, than her share." So that the answer to the Irish complaint, "We are overtaxed," is, "You cost so much." It is to be observed that this answer is a quite modern invention. Irish Members of Parliament in 1853, and often subsequently, complained of over-taxation, taking their stand on the Act of Union, but the cost of Irish expenditure was not invoked as a reply, that cost having been comparatively inconsiderable till 1870. It is rather as if a landlord, having promised reductions of rent to his tenants if circumstances should require, were to say, when on account of bad times they claimed a reduction, "See how much the expenses of my establishment have increased these last few years. That is a circumstance."

The Edinburgh Review contends that when the Act of Union provides that Ireland is to have "exemptions and abatements" if

* At the Census of 1891 no less than 34·7 per cent. of the total Irish population were living on agricultural holdings not exceeding £15 in rateable value. Of the rest a great number were of the unskilled labour class.

"circumstances" demand, reference is made to all circumstances material to the case, and that this circumstance of the cost of administration in Ireland is material. This view is not, I think, in accordance with the plain and obvious meaning of the words of Article 7 of the Act of Union, nor with the speeches made at the time of the Union, nor does it consist with Lord Castlereagh's definition of "circumstances" already quoted. It is quite clear that the design of the Act of Union was that while Ireland should always have a distinctive position, or rather claim to distinct treatment, in the matter of taxation, there should be no distinction as to expenditure. It was all to be what the Act terms the "common expenditure of the United Kingdom," whether such expenditure was civil, naval, or military, and whether it took place in England, Ireland, Gibraltar, or anywhere else. "If," said Lord Castlereagh, "in the Irish Parliament, the proportion of expense shall be rightly fixed and ascertained upon just principles for every part of the Empire, *it is immaterial to Great Britain where the expenditure takes place.*" From 1800 all expenditure, except the separate debt charges, and after 1817 all expenditure including debt charge, was consolidated. Mr. Chisholm, in his great historic *Return of Public Income and Expenditure*, 1864," thus describes the intention of the Treaty of Union. "The consolidated revenues" were to be "applied indiscriminately" to the joint consolidated debt as a first charge, and then to be "in like manner *indiscriminately applied* to the other consolidated fund charges and supply services of the United Kingdom." In other words, there was to be no discrimination of any kind, after the debts had been amalgamated, between Exchequer expenditure on Irish and that on British purposes. The view taken by the majority of the late Commission is best, perhaps, summed up in these words from Mr. Childers's draft report :—

"It was, in our opinion, the clear intention of the framers of the Act of Union that, so far as related to taxation or the raising of revenue, Ireland should (whether contributing, as she did till 1817, according to a certain ratio, or whether, as subsequently, by way of indiscriminate taxation subject to exceptions) have a distinct position and separate consideration. But it was their equally clear intention that all expenditure, including no less that upon civil government in Ireland than that upon the army and navy, should be in common, or Imperial. It was never intended that the ratio of contribution or the extent of the exemptions and abatements (as the case might be) should be affected by consideration of the relative cost of administration in each of the three kingdoms."

It would be interesting to know whether, if the case of construction were argued before them, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council could, on the documents, come to a substantially different conclusion.

But a new conception came in with the Home Rule proposals of

1886. Till that famous year, no one found any difficulty in grasping the idea that two sections (and two only) of the United Kingdom, namely Ireland and Scotland, were by statute entitled to favourable treatment in the matter of taxation should their circumstances demand it, while all Exchequer expenditure was one and indivisible, and uniform and common, and quite a distinct and separate matter. When a Select Committee was appointed, in 1864, to enquire into Irish taxation, its reference tranquilly ran thus: "To consider the taxation of Ireland, and how far it is in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty of Union, or just in reference to the resources of that country." This reference is most correctly expressed. But the powerful genius of Mr. Gladstone so far impregnated the political and administrative spheres with Home Rule conceptions, that even Mr. Goschen, in the reference to his abortive Select Committee of 1890 introduced the new expression, "financial relations." This term is at once a result and a fresh source of change in ideas. It is, strictly speaking, inapplicable to the present state of things. The expression implies two countries with separate Governments and Exchequers. It is properly used of the relations between the United Kingdom and India, as to which an enquiry is now being made. Before the Union it was correctly used of relations between Great Britain and Ireland. But the Union, as completed by the amalgamation of Exchequers in 1817, made Ireland a legislatively and fiscally integral part of the United Kingdom. It ceased to be a separate fiscal entity.* Financial relations could no longer exist between the United Kingdom and an integral part of itself. Expenditure was unified at once, and it was intended that taxation should also be gradually unified; but the Irish population were for ever guaranteed distinctive treatment in the matter of taxation, if circumstances (that is relative low resources) should at any time demand such exceptional treatment. This right to exceptional treatment as to taxation, if circumstances demand it, does not constitute Ireland a distinct State, with its own Budget, making a contribution to federal expenditure, but none the less this right is an essential part of the solemn Treaty of Union.

When, however, the Home Rule Bills of 1886 and 1893 were being prepared, it was necessary to calculate the financial relations which would exist between Great Britain and Ireland on the hypothesis of a return to the system of separate Parliaments, Ex-

* The eleven Commissioners who signed the joint report concur in saying that Ireland must be considered "for the purpose of this enquiry" as a "separate entity." But, on comparing the separate reports, it will be seen that Lord Farrer uses the word "entity" in a far wider sense than the O'Conor Don or Mr. Sexton do.

chequers, and distinct fiscal organizations. On the hypothesis of separation it was, of course, necessary to calculate what, in that event, the Irish Government would derive from revenue, what they would require for internal administration, and what balance would remain for contribution to Imperial defence and other purposes external to Ireland. The new conception of the position of Ireland as a fiscal entity dates from these operations.

Although the Government to which Mr. Goschen belonged in 1890 did not contemplate Home Rule, they assented, by their appointment of a Committee to enquire into the "financial relations" of the three kingdoms, to the adoption of a new, far-reaching, and much-including expression. The result of the appointment of this Committee was the preparation of those annual Treasury returns which distinguish the true revenue derived from each of the three kingdoms, the civil expenditure in each kingdom, and show the balance contributed by each kingdom towards "Imperial" or federal expenditure. The use of words has changed. Before 1886 "Imperial revenue" or "Imperial expenditure" meant *all* Exchequer revenue or *all* Exchequer expenditure, just as "Imperial Parliament" means not a federal assembly, but the Parliament of the United Kingdom.* The opposite to "Imperial" used to be money raised and spent by local authorities. At present the word "imperial" is being used with regard to revenue and expenditure in the new sense of "federal." "Imperial revenue" is now, for the purposes of this question, employed to mean, not as formerly the whole Exchequer revenue, but the balance contributed by each of the three countries after covering their own expenses towards the maintenance of the army, navy, civil list, diplomacy, and other general services.

Mr. Morley, when he appointed the recent Royal Commission in 1894, naturally followed the same line. He directed that the Commission should enquire into the "financial relations" between Great Britain and Ireland. They were to examine, on the one side, the relative taxable capacity of the two countries; on the other, how much Ireland did contribute and what she equitably ought to contribute to Imperial, in the modern sense of federal, expenditure. Upon this last dangerous reef the late Commission broke in two, after successfully agreeing upon the main questions of history and the question of relative taxable capacity. The view that Exchequer expenditure on Irish purposes must be taken into account had been ably pressed upon the Commission, on behalf of the Treasury, by Sir Edward Hamilton. It was accepted by

* In the annual reports of the Board of Inland Revenue, the term "Imperial services, as opposed to "local services," is still used to include the cost of Irish civil administration.

Lord Farrer, Lord Welby, Mr. Bertram Currie, and Sir David Barbour. Sir Thomas Sutherland had previously gone off on a line of his own which avoided the question. All the other eight surviving Commissioners, agreeing with the view taken by Mr. Childers, refused to admit the contention that the Irish civil expenditure properly entered into the question,* though they admitted that it would be fair to take into account such expenditure as that on part of the police and part of education, paid in Ireland by the Exchequer, and in Great Britain by local rates.

It appeared to Mr. Childers, when he came to look into the question, that in so far as the Reference involved an examination into the resources and taxation of Ireland, as compared with Great Britain, it was in accordance with the terms and meaning of Article 7 of the Treaty of Union. But it seemed to him that the last words of the Reference, which imply the acknowlegment of a distinct Irish Budget of receipts and expenditure, and an Irish contribution to Imperial, in the sense of *federal*, expenditure, were based upon a misapprehension of the position actually existing under the Treaty of Union. Mr. Childers and his colleagues had therefore to choose between following, in this respect, the line dictated by the Act of Union and the line indicated by the closing words of the Reference. It appeared to most of them that it was better to obey the Act than the Reference, in the absence of any authoritative decision that the apparent and obvious meaning of the Act of Union was not the real one.

Lord Farrer and the late Mr. Bertram Currie took a different view. They thought that, *in consequence* of the proceedings in 1886 and later years, the old view of things had been "given up," and that Ireland must now be treated as a distinct fiscal entity on both sides of the account—that is, they accepted the new view of Ireland as a country with a separate budget, making a contribution to federal expenditure. It is difficult to see how, from a constitutional point of view, the Treaty Act of Union can have been altered by the introduction of two unsuccessful Home Rule Bills—a reference made to a Select Committee and another to a Royal Commission. But Lord Farrer and Mr. Currie, starting from this premise of the self-development or natural evolution of Ireland, since the year 1886, into a fiscal entity, were naturally led to the conclusion that a fiscal entity should manage its own affairs. In fact, they recommended the establishment of Home Rule, and suggested that, as Ireland is so poor,

* This view was also taken by Sir Robert Hamilton, formerly Under-Secretary in Ireland, a member of the Commission, who died, unfortunately, before the Report stage of their proceedings.

she should, for a time at least, make no contribution towards federal expenditure.

Lord Welby did not accompany Lord Farrer and Mr. Currie quite so far. He adopted the idea of Ireland as a country with a budget of its own, making a fixed contribution, but thought that this system might be worked without Home Rule. Lord Welby proposed that the sum to be contributed by Ireland towards "Imperial" expenditure should be fixed (presumably by Act of Parliament), and that part of the cost of the Irish police should be (as it was in the Home Rule proposals of 1886 and 1893) included in "Imperial" expenditure. Any economies in other Irish expenditure are then to be applied "either to relief of Irish burdens or to useful public purposes in Ireland." Lord Welby, in fact, would place Ireland much in the same position as the Provincial Government of Bengal or the Punjab holds to the Central Government of India. The revenue derived from an Indian province is divided in certain proportions between the Province and the Central Government, and every five years these proportions are revised.

In short, then, Lord Farrer proposed Home Rule *sans phrases*. Lord Welby suggested, for the present, as a half-way house, a kind of fiscal provinciality without Home Rule, and Sir David Barbour seemed to take, with less definiteness, much the same view. Mr. Childers, and other members of the Commission who agreed with him, did not think it within the sphere of their duties to suggest either Home Rule or the passing of an Act of Parliament placing Ireland, without Home Rule, in the position of a country having its own budget and making a fixed contribution to federal expenditure. They preferred to treat the question upon the basis that the Act of Union is not obsolete but, until repealed or amended, is still in force; that Exchequer expenditure, in whatever part of the United Kingdom, is still "one and indivisible," and that the only question is whether the present circumstances of the Irish population entitle them, or any large classes among them, to relief of some kind under the "exemptions and abatements" Clause of the Act of Union.

The objection has been made that Mr. Childers, while refusing to accept civil expenditure in Ireland as a set-off to over-taxation, inconsistently proposed, as one out of several possible ways of giving relief to Ireland, a further large expenditure upon Irish railways and upon a wide extension of the work of the Congested Districts Board. The intention of Mr. Childers was not, perhaps, expressed in quite the right way. His draft report (which, it must be remembered, was debarred by his death from the usual advantage of modification in consultation with colleagues) did, I think, present the idea of allocation of revenue to Ireland too much in

the disagreeable shape of payment of damages in a civil action. Yet there is a most broad and true distinction between the ordinary civil expenditure upon the usual machinery of administration, judges, officials, police, &c., and that other purely economic expenditure which might, as Mr. Childers suggested, be undertaken with the special view of "so increasing the productive powers of Ireland," not by the "fitful method of casual loans and grants hitherto pursued," but by a "steady, persevering, and well-directed application of public money by way of free annual grant," that "the revenue derived from that country might in time be no longer in excess of its relative taxable capacity." In other words, Mr. Childers proposed not to reduce the taxation of Ireland, but to raise by wise State-culture the level of its capacity for bearing taxation. How successfully this has been done in countries like Denmark and Wurtemberg we have the admirable report of the "Recess Committee" to show. In Egypt, the burdens which formerly crushed the people have been lightened not only by a reduction of taxation, but by a policy of "heroic expenditure" upon irrigation and other works calculated to make the country better able to bear its load.

Resting, as the Irish case does, in the first instance, upon the true construction of the Treaty of Union, it is not absolutely necessary for its advocates to take more general objection to the doctrine that the cost of Irish administration is a set-off to Irish taxation. But since their opponents, like *The Times* and *Spectator*, are inclined to dismiss the provisions of the Treaty of Union as either obsolete or inapplicable, or, like *The Edinburgh Review*, to put upon them a construction never for a moment dreamt of by Pitt and Castlereagh, it is well to point out that, quite apart from that Treaty, the force of this doctrine is more than doubtful. If it is really the fact that the poorest classes in Ireland—peasants in Kerry and Galway, labourers in the streets of Cork and Limerick—contribute too much to revenue relatively to their means through tobacco, tea, and whiskey, is it so certainly a perfect answer to say that large sums are spent upon the maintenance of the Viceregal Court in Dublin, the salaries of legal and civil officials, the constabulary and other branches of the Executive? To what number of poor peasants is the salary of the Irish Lord Chancellor a compensation for the price of tobacco? If, to take a simplified instance, seventy poor Irishmen pay a pound a year each in taxes and the seventy pounds maintain the seventy-first Irishman as a custom-house officer, it is all very well for that official. But if the seventy cannot afford the pound each, it would be hardly an answer to say that the official buys and consumes all that they have to produce and sell in order to earn the seventy pounds.

Taxation may (in Lord Castlereagh's words) "press too hard upon the poorer classes" of a country, even if several thousand individuals among them draw good Government pay, and it is quite possible for a country, like France before the Revolution, to be injured by too heavy taxation, even if all the money raised is spent within its borders.

It has been my leading purpose to show that the "expenditure defence" to the Irish claim implies the abandonment of the view taken by the framers of the Treaty of Union as to the unity of all the Exchequer expenditure of the United Kingdom, and the unity (subject to reductions, if and so far as necessary, in favour of Ireland and Scotland) of all contributions to Exchequer revenue. We shall, in a word, have abandoned the idea of the United Kingdom as a fiscal entity, and have accepted that of England, Scotland, and Ireland as a fiscal federation of states, each defraying its own expenditure and contributing to federal expenditure more or less in proportion to its relative resources. I will not undertake to argue that the change is a bad one. Possibly, in the end, a federal system (United Kingdoms instead of United Kingdom) may be found to work best. But I desire to insist upon the fact, usually overlooked, that it is a great change. The view taken by Mr. Childers and most of his colleagues that the fiscal system contemplated by the Treaty of Union is still in force and binding, will, in this case, have been overruled. The view taken by Lord Farrer, Lord Welby, and Mr. Currie, that by a gradual and almost unconscious change, without any express legislation, a fiscal federation of states has been substituted for a fiscal united kingdom will, in this case, have been approved and accepted.

But, if so, it should be clearly recognized that policy has in fact, with the acquiescence of the Unionist Government, moved since 1886 a great step in the direction of Provincial Home Rule in Ireland. Finance, the raising and spending money, is the essence of a State. If Ireland is to be treated no longer as an integral part of the United Kingdom having under the Treaty of Union certain privileges with regard to taxation, but *as if it were* a country having a separate budget and making a contribution towards federal expenditure, then the Irish may well say: "We ought in this case to have an effective control over our separate budget. At present you put down Irish taxation on one side of the account and expenditure on Irish administration on the other side. We quite admit that we pay the taxation, but as to the expenditure it is you, not we, who really spend and control it."

If we still stand upon the principles and meaning of the Treaty

Act of Union, then, in my opinion, the cost of Irish administration is no answer to the complaint of over-taxation. But if, on the other hand, we adopt the new principle and hold that the expense of Irish administration justifies, and more than justifies, the amount of Irish taxation, then it is a natural inference that Irish administration ought to be subject to Irish control. Can such control be effectively exercised by the Irish Members in our Parliament or in any other way except by an Irish Government responsible to an Irish Parliament? That is a question which must arise, if we accept the main defence to the Irish claim suggested in the evidence of Sir Edward Hamilton and adopted (in so far as it is an answer to a claim of right) by *The Edinburgh Review.*

BERNARD HOLLAND.

MECHANICS INSTITUTE NEW YORK

"HIDDEN DANGERS."

[A Reply.]

Dr. Shadwell concludes his exposition of the hidden dangers of cycling by saying that he expects criticism and opposition. Speaking humbly as a layman, I can hardly see that his argument is definite enough for medical men to criticize, and speaking as a cyclist—humbly before those whose experience is greater than mine, but from such experience as I have—I fail to find any assertion definite enough for cyclists to oppose, except one which I shall mention later. For what is the amount of Dr. Shadwell's warnings? I assume, as a matter of course, that everything stated as within his knowledge is correct and free from exaggeration. We find that he has professionally made the acquaintance of a certain number of persons with whom cycling disagrees. He does not say how many, but I should suppose from his language that he would vouch for about a dozen. He infers that there must be a good many others; again he does not say how many. The first obvious remark is that there is no form of work, exercise, or amusement which does not in some way disagree with somebody. Many persons of otherwise healthy and active habits cannot look down a precipice without being giddy. Mountaineering is plainly not a fit pastime for such persons. But we do not therefore go about to warn the world of the hidden dangers of mountaineering. Writers on mountaineering assume that people who have not a good head will have the common-sense to abstain from climbing. Many persons who have nothing else morbid about them are liable to sea-sickness to an extent that makes them dread the shortest sea voyage. Other people who enjoy life on board ship can only go on enjoying it and be sorry for the less fortunate ones. Many common and generally wholesome articles of food—honey, spinach, strawberries, and what not—are repugnant, for unknown reasons, to an appreciable number of persons. Well, if the people who cannot tolerate honey were the majority, it would not pay to keep bees. But then they are not.

A second obvious remark is that, inasmuch as those who are

whole need no physician, a medical man who is consulted by cyclists, mountaineers, travellers by sea, or any other class of persons whose pursuits are attended by possible drawbacks, is likely to meet with a rather abnormal proportion of cases in which the occupation or pastime does not suit the patient. The difficulty of saying anything on this ground is that Dr. Shadwell does not give us even the roughest approximation to the proportion of apparently able-bodied persons to whom he supposes that cycling is likely to be injurious. Would he say ten per cent., or five, or two, or one, or one-half? As he commits himself to no statistical proposition whatever, there seems to be nothing to argue about. For I conceive that even the most ardent cyclist would not seriously dispute that cycling—like every form of exercise I have ever heard of—is or may be, for reasons manifest or not manifest, unsuitable for some people who are not actually incapable of using it. There may be enthusiastic young cyclists who talk as if cycling must needs be good for everyone because it is good for them. This kind of inconsiderateness is surely not unknown among the devotees of other pursuits. The only practical question is whether the possible and not manifest dangers are in truth common enough to be a serious factor in the calculations of average men and women who are minded to take up cycling.

In default of any other guidance, let us take such figures as are at hand. The Cyclists' Touring Club counts by this time, in round numbers, some 35,000 members of both sexes, and of all ages from eighteen or less to sixty or more. There are young members who have been riding for several years, and middle-aged or oldish ones who have begun quite lately. Will Dr. Shadwell make a beginning of statistics by taking 500 members of the C.T.C. at random, or a like number sorted out by sex, age, and experience in any way he pleases, and enquire how many of them have suffered from nervous breakdown, or any other continuing trouble that can be reasonably attributed to cycling? I am sure the executive officers of the C.T.C., central and local, would be happy to give all the assistance in their power so far as they could spare it from their other duties. Meanwhile we are thrown back on the crude measure of individual experience; and, one man's experience in this kind being presumably about as good as another's, there is no impertinence in giving one's own. By this time I know a good many cyclists, men and women, boys and girls, old, middle-aged, and young, fast riders, moderate riders, long-distance and short-distance riders; I think I may say every sort except professional or semi-professional path riders, who no doubt resemble other professional athletes in not being always proof against the temptation of overdoing themselves. I have heard of many accidents,

of which some were, or but for luck might well have been, serious, and I have not myself wholly escaped purchasing knowledge and caution in the usual manner. But of such mischief as Dr. Shadwell has known and apprehends I have not heard in any single case. I therefore take leave to infer provisionally that, notwithstanding Dr. Shadwell's list of particular well-attested examples, it is not common. When statistics become available they may be interesting: and there we are left.

Again, it would be a real service both to the medical faculty and to lay people if Dr. Shadwell had anything positive to tell us about the anti-cycling idiosyncracy which doubtless exists in a certain—I venture to think, under correction, a pretty small—proportion of healthy persons. There must be some predisposition arising from nervous temperament, or general habits, or both; and if we knew its causes and conditions, the people who had the marks of it would know that they must use the bicycle with abundant caution, if at all. But we get only those hard-worked adjectives "cerebral" and "nervous," which tell us nothing. For it really does not take a doctor of medicine to see that the symptoms described by Dr. Shadwell are not to be accounted for by honest muscular fatigue. I may add that some of Dr. Shadwell's own faculty seem to take a directly contrary view to his, and find a "cerebral tonic" in that very sub-conscious or unconscious work of balancing and steering which tends, according to Dr. Shadwell, to alarming nervous strain. With all submission, Dr. Shadwell seems to forget that what many people want, and are all the better for, is muscular or nervous work, or both, of as different a kind as possible from what they have to take in their day's occupation. Oftentimes the rest of one part of the system can be adequately secured only by working some other part. Fencing is an admirable exercise, not merely because of the muscular motions it requires, but because its combinations of motion are peculiar to itself, and because while you are fencing it is absolutely impossible to think of anything else. The sub-conscious, or indeed unconscious, mental diversion of cycling is not nearly so strong as this, save when one is riding, for instance, in London traffic, or on a rough by-road, or down a steep hill: but I say that, except in the abnormal cases of Dr. Shadwell's "hidden dangers," it is not only harmless but, so far as it goes, all to the good. But then Dr. Shadwell waxes grave over the "bicycle face." He asks: "Has anybody ever seen persons on bicycles talking and laughing and looking *jolly*, like persons engaged in any other amusement?" and answers: "Never, I swear." Well-behaved cyclists do not swear, so I answer, on the simple faith of a lawful man: "Yes, often; in fact whenever and wherever two or three cyclists who have learnt to ride even

tolerably, and are not naturally morose, are riding in company under fairly good conditions of road and weather." One can be grave or gay, frivolous or serious, on a cycle just as much as on one's own legs. Doubtless many cyclists have had to ride on sad errands ere now, for the cycle is not a mere instrument of amusement: a fact, by the way, which Dr. Shadwell seems to ignore. But that is nothing to the purpose. It is something to have found one charge definite enough to be contradicted. The circumstance that I can positively contradict the one assertion of Dr. Shadwell's which I am able to test is not calculated to increase my confidence, beyond the specific facts for which he personally vouches, in regions where no test is available.

Perhaps it may be presuming too far to suggest that Dr. Shadwell has never learnt to ride a bicycle himself; but at any rate he writes as if he supposed the operations of balancing and steering to be an ever present and consciously felt "nervous strain." Any cyclist of a year's or even six months' standing can assure him that first the balancing, then the steering, and then the regulation of speed, become after some little practice as automatic as the corresponding actions in walking. Dr. Shadwell knows very well that walking itself is a perpetual act of balancing, and does not come all at once by nature. We have all had to learn it, at the cost of more tumbles than fall to the lot of most cyclists; and we may all forget it, wholly or partly, at moments when the proper co-ordinating nervous centres are enfeebled by sickness or accident. On Dr. Shadwell's principles, it would seem that some part of the fatigue of a long walk should have a cerebral origin. For aught I know this may be so, and, if a fact at all, it may well be a fact of some physiological interest. Only in that case there is no reason to take alarm when we find a similar element occurring in a more prominent manner in another kind of balancing motion which the present generation has not learnt in infancy. Dr. Shadwell believes that the tricycle does not involve the same dangers. If his object is to convert any appreciable number of people from the pleasure of the bicycle to the greater labour (and in many circumstances greater external risk) of the tricycle, I do not think he will succeed.

The short outcome of the whole matter is that the benefits and drawbacks of cycling can be adequately weighed only by those who have first-hand knowledge of the exercise, and not by outside observers, however ingenious and well-meaning. Cyclists are numerous enough to take to themselves without much arrogance the maxim *Securus judicat orbis terrarum.* Abnormal individuals must use abnormal caution in this as in all other things. If it be asked why one should be at the pains of setting

down these obvious reflections, I say that Dr. Shadwell's warnings appear to me not at all unlikely to flutter a certain number of people for whom they are not intended, and to whom cycling would really do nothing but good; whereas the people who ought not to cycle (or at any rate bicycle) are not told even by Dr. Shadwell how they are to find it out except by trial. And thus I venture to think that a plain cyclist with no pretensions to medical knowledge, in fact a mere man on the road, has the right to say a word when an alarmist essay of this kind is launched on the general public. Dr. Shadwell might perhaps have used his observations as the base of an instructive and fruitful study for physiologists; for anything I know he may do so yet, or be doing so in some more professional publication. At present his exposition in this Review seems hardly scientific enough to be of much use to his medical brethren, or practical enough to be acceptable to laymen.

FREDERICK POLLOCK.

P.S.—Since this article was put in type we learn that Mr. Fitz-Gerald, though successful in the main object of his expedition to Aconcagua, has failed to achieve the ascent in his own person, apparently because he was more sensitive to the effects of rarefied air at great heights than his companions. This establishes a possible "hidden danger," or at least drawback, in the case of otherwise first-rate mountaineers. But for the vast majority of mountaineers, who do not attack peaks of 20,000 feet and upwards, it plainly makes no difference. I cannot help suspecting, though it is only suspicion, that Dr. Shadwell's "hidden dangers" may be found to bear about the same ratio to cycling in general.

JOHN BULL AND SILVER.

THERE is a maxim which is not unfrequently quoted in the United States, more particularly in Protectionist circles, "Find out what John Bull wishes you to do, and don't do it," as being expressive of a perfectly definite and safe policy. The idea that national wisdom consists in not doing what one's neighbours wish one to do, and that therein lie the best guarantees of national security and prosperity, has been abandoned in this country as a general working principle since the time of Cobden. In Manchester and the district which claim Cobden as their own, at any rate, commercial men and investors have alike come to the conclusion that their own interests are better secured by the prosperity, than by the impoverishment, of their customers and debtors. But in connection with the currency controversy which has now been actively carried on in this country for a period of twenty years, there has been a very marked revival of the idea expressed in the American maxim referred to. We have been told, over and over again, that we must have nothing to do with bimetallism, or, in other words, with free trade in money, because it would enable our foreign customers to "unload" their silver in our markets; and that we must not accept silver as money, because Americans and Australians would, in that event, make enormous profits out of their silver mines. It may be pointed out as a little remarkable that no one who has been impressed by these "arguments" seems to have felt the slightest objection meanwhile to the unloading of gold in our markets, or to the enormous profits made by the producers or holders of accumulated stocks of the yellow metal, largely in consequence of the rejection of silver. Nor does anybody, in particular, seem to have perceived that precisely similar arguments were used against the repeal of the Corn Laws, the stock contention of Cobden's opponents being that foreign countries would unload their wheat upon us to the profit of their farmers.

Now, there can be no question that the doctrine of Free Trade, or, in other words, the doctrine of general well-being, is still the accepted doctrine of British policy. Even in our annexation enterprises we offer to other nations on equal terms with ourselves all

the commercial or financial advantages which we expect to derive from the spread of modern civilization under the British flag. Yet it is a matter of fact, not only that the customary arguments in defence of our monetary policy are in conflict with our commercial and fiscal creed, but that the opponents of the free coinage of silver in this country and in the United States have rallied together under the banner of the most consistent and thorough-going Protectionist the world has yet produced. They have rejoiced at the victory of Mr. McKinley in the recent American Presidential Election as a victory of "sound money," and therefore, of sound economic principles; for money being an essential element of the economic system of the world, sound monetary principles must not only be sound economic principles, but favourable to sound economics in every direction. Yet we have seen that the arguments against bimetallism are opposed to a fundamental Free Trade doctrine. Moreover, the opposition to Free Coinage has brought Free Traders and Protectionists into the same camp against the Bryanites who are advocates of both Free Trade and Free Coinage. When a Lord Farrer lies down with a McKinley, and a Lord Playfair—a chemist and, therefore, a physicist—practically denies that a natural law must necessarily be true in all its applications, the time seems particularly appropriate for an enquiry as to what are the real interests of Great Britain in the settlement of the great controversy which leads to such strange results. Such an enquiry seems the more timely, as in all protracted controversies there is a tendency for the search for truth to become subordinate to the *amour-propre* of the disputants. Since the establishment of the London Gold Standard Defence Association there has been a perceptible danger of one of the most interesting and important economic investigations of the age degenerating into a mere wrangle between the leaders of that Association and those of the Bimetallic League. The history of natural science presents not infrequent illustrations of such a tendency. Even Lord Playfair, if reminded that Liebig positively refused to look at Pasteur's experiments on fermentation, or to permit their repetition under his own control, may admit that Lord Farrer's boast in *The Times* that he has the habit of consigning information forwarded to him by his opponents to his "friend the waste-paper basket" is not without an unfortunate precedent.

That Great Britain is interested, and very deeply interested in the settlement of the Silver Question has never really been denied by the statesmen of this country, whether Liberal or Conservative. When Sir Robert Peel provided in 1844 that the Bank of England might always hold silver as a part of its metallic reserve, he practically proclaimed it to be our interest to have our monetary system

on a parity relation with the monetary systems of both gold- and silver-using countries; the real object of the provision was to ensure that the Bank should be in a position to receive or transmit either gold or silver in settlement of international accounts; and that implied placing the Bank of England in the position which the Bank of France held as an international money-changer up to the date of the closing of the French Mint to silver. It was for precisely the same reason that the far-seeing Alexander Hamilton, in his famous *Report on the Coinage to the United States' Congress*, in 1792, recommended the bimetallic system for the new Republic of the West. His words are well worth quoting at some length, as it is probable that few legislators of the present day have read them. Hamilton wrote :—

"But, upon the whole, it seems to be the most advisable, as has been observed, not to attach the unit exclusively to either of the metals, because this cannot be done effectively without destroying the office and character of one of them as money, and reducing it to the situation of a mere merchandise, which, accordingly, has been proposed from different and very respectable quarters, but which probably would be a greater evil than occasional variations from the unit from the fluctuations in the relative value of the metals, especially if care be taken to regulate the proportion between them with an eye to their average commercial value. To annul the use of either of the metals as money is to abridge the quantity of circulating medium, and is liable to all the objections which arise from a comparison of the benefits of a full with the evils of a scanty circulation. It is not a satisfactory answer to say that none but the favoured metal would in this case find its way into the country, as in that all balances must be paid. The practicability of this would, in some measure, depend on the abundance or scarcity of it in the country paying. Where there was little it would either not be procurable at all or it would cost a premium to obtain it, which, *in every case of a competition with others in a branch of trade would constitute a deduction from the profits of the party receiving.* Perhaps, too, the embarassments which such a circumstance might sometimes create in the pecuniary liquidation of balances might lead to additional efforts to find a substitute in commodities, and might so far impede the introduction of the metals. Neither could the exclusion of either of them be deemed in other respects favourable to commerce. *It is often in the course of trade as desirable to possess the kind of money as the kind of commodities best adapted to a foreign market.* It seems, however, most probable that the chief, if not the sole effect, of such a regulation would be to diminish the utility of one of the metals. It could hardly prove an obstacle to the introduction of that which was excluded in the natural course of trade, because it would always command a ready sale for the purpose of exportation to foreign markets. But such an effect, if the only one, is not to be regarded as a trivial inconvenience."

The italics in the above quotation are mine. That silver is an absolute necessity in the currency of the British Empire was fully recognized when, after various experiments, including an attempt to establish the gold standard there, silver was definitely adopted as the standard and currency of India in 1853, with results eminently beneficial to our great dependency. From that time Great Britain, India, and France formed a triumvirate which practically, though unconsciously, guaranteed bimetallism to the

world; and if only the facts had been understood and the arrangement which had thus been naturally evolved, had been based on an agreement, the world would still have enjoyed the benefits of the system. And here I may point out that even some of my bimetallic friends appear to have misunderstood the way in which the arrangement worked during the "fifties" and "sixties." In their eagerness to vindicate the quantitative theory of money—a theory which may be very well left to demonstrate itself, for it is merely the common experience of every human being—some of them have argued that it was a rise of prices in France, in consequence of the influx of new gold from the Californian and Australian mines, which, by stimulating imports, led to the exodus of silver to the East. The fact is, that it was the demand for capital, for investment in railways, irrigation works, and so on, in India, following upon the reconstruction of the Government of India after the Mutiny, with the subsequent demand for the extension of cotton planting there, and for payment of the cotton exported to feed the mills of Lancashire during the cotton famine caused by the civil war in the United States, which led to the drain of silver. The new yield of gold merely made the drain possible without a monetary crisis. In other words, it was not the gold that drove out the silver, but the export of silver to develop India which drew the gold to Europe. The silver would have been in demand for the East, even if there had been no new gold discoveries; and the only question would have been, whether it could have gone thither without creating a dearth of money in Europe, or whether India could have been developed. The case is one which strikingly illustrates the advantages of an abundant supply of the precious metals, which Alexander Hamilton had long since recognized in connection with the future of the great Republic of which he was one of the creators.

If Lord Farrer, instead of giving time to the useless and not very dignified task of gibing his opponents under the advertisement "Wanted a Ratio"—which Lord Farrer really does *not* want—in the columns of *The Times*, would frankly contrast the consequences to India of the free flow of silver thither with the consequences of the renewed attempt—for which he is largely responsible—to establish a fictitious gold standard there, the world might be further enlightened as to the interest of Great Britain in the settlement of the Silver Question. Under free silver India was rapidly developed, her people saved money, her currency flowed to Central Asia, to China and Japan, to the Straits Settlements, and even to Asiatic Turkey and the future great markets of Africa as a medium of expanding trade. All this has been changed. The silver hoards

of the natives intended for use in a time of distress like the present are no longer available for their relief, and instead of flowing away to pay for rice from Burmah and other Eastern sources of supply, and even, directly or indirectly, for the wheat and maize of America, they are hemmed in, and the Government of India is, in consequence, again being forced to consider the necessity for new gold loans which can only increase India's "loss by exchange." The general position of deadlock which has been produced in India by the short-sighted policy of sacrificing everything to gold and the gold-owners was described the other day in Calcutta itself by Mr. D. Yule, in his address at the half-yearly meeting of the shareholders of the Bank of Calcutta—of which he is the chairman,—as follows :—

"A glance at the Treasury balances returns from each of the Presidency towns is sufficient to show how deep set the trouble is which has overtaken the country. If Government is short of money it follows that the people are in a similar predicament, and commerce, which is the backbone of the empire, must consequently be fettered and restricted by the absence of credit and the difficulty of obtaining accommodation. Tight money has certainly not been an uncommon factor in Indian trade hitherto, but at no previous time has the stringency been so intense and the approach of relief so doubtful as it is at present. With the mints closed to the free coinage of silver, it seems to me periods of dear money must annually recur, and with each succeeding year their duration will become more and more prolonged. Any act of Legislature which operates to prevent the freedom of commerce—that is to say, the circulation of commodities from one part of the empire to the other, either by the imposition of duties or by a restriction of currency—must tend to lessen the amount of produce of all kinds, and in the words of David Hume, 'the workman has not the same employment from the manufacturer and merchant, though he pays the same price for everything in the market. The farmer cannot dispose of his corn and cattle, though he must pay the same rent to his landlord. The poverty, beggary, and sloth which must ensue are easily foreseen.' . . . . It is hard to believe, in view of the present confusion, that the solution of the currency problem which the Government adopted in June, 1893, is a sound one, or to be hopeful that the step then taken will yet afford relief not to the Government merely or to its employés, but to the country as a whole. I venture to assert that the hopes entertained of the success of the currency legislation have throughout been disappointed. The impediment to commerce which violent fluctuations in exchange create has not been removed, for these fluctuations are as frequent and as great as before. Exchange is to-day entirely ruled by sentiment, the supply and demand for bullion does not enter into the calculation, there is nothing to guide the trader, he might as well try to go to Europe in a ship without a rudder as attempt to say what price he will get for his bills this day week. A few drops of rain which fell in Calcutta about a month ago caused a smart decline in rates ; there is no saying what effect on quotations a wet forenoon would have had."

It was, of course, the effect on the Indian Exchequer of the breaking of the par of exchange between gold and silver, by the closing of the Latin Union mints against the latter metal and the consequent increasing divergence of their relative values, which awakened English statesmen to Great Britain's interest in the question. Mr. Goschen's declaration, about the same time, that the

value of gold was appreciating, increased their anxiety, not so much because of the embarrassments of manufacturers and merchants, but because the continued fall of prices began to bring ruin to the British farmer and to drive land out of cultivation. There has been a strange contrast between the actions and the speeches of some of these statesmen on the subject. Thus, at the Paris Monetary Conference of 1881, the British delegates were authorized by Mr. Gladstone's Government to offer to other Governments a continuance of the power to issue legal tender notes on deposits of silver bullion conferred on the Bank of England by Peel's Act of 1844. This offer was specifically put forward as an inducement to other nations to reopen their mints to "a free coinage of silver." In the debate on Mr. Chaplin's motion in the House of Commons, in 1889, Mr. Goschen declared roundly that any nation which reopened its mints to silver, or took any step in favour of that metal or towards the re-establishment of the bimetallic system, would "confer a benefit on the whole civilized world." In 1892 Mr. Gladstone's Government again authorized the British delegates to the Brussels Monetary Conference to repeat the offer of 1881; and in the debate on Mr. Herbert Whiteley's resolution—adopted without a division by the House of Commons—on March 17, 1896, even Sir Michael Hicks-Beach practically declared that the present Conservative Government is "willing and anxious" to see bimetallism restored throughout the world even at the old French ratio; for Lord Salisbury's Government, Sir Michael told the House, are ready to enter into a conference or negotiation with other Powers with this view, to consider the desirableness of increasing the silver currency of this country—which means, if it means anything, the adoption of Soetbeer's recommendation of the withdrawal of the half-sovereign—and to sanction the reopening of the Indian mints to the free coinage of silver. All these things the Government is willing to do as an inducement to other Powers to re-establish bimetallism, and if other Powers do reopen their mints with that object and on such terms, no Member of the Government, or any other person, can doubt for an instant that they would choose the old French ratio. For nearly twenty years, therefore, we have had British statesmen ever ready to offer inducements to other nations to restore the old order of things. Now, the effect on British interests of such a restoration would be exactly the same, in all respects, whether it were brought about by the full adoption of the bimetallic system of coinage in this country, or merely by the action of other Powers with the limited co-operation of Great Britain, as proposed by Mr. Gladstone and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach. Yet, in his speech in the House of Commons on Sir Henry Meysey Thompson's motion on February 28th, 1893, Mr. Gladstone, who

had a second time offered such co-operation only a couple of months before, and who expressed his willingness to again offer it, declared that it would be "an act of unparalleled generosity" on our part to re-establish bimetallism and thus deprive ourselves of the advantage which the decline of prices had enabled us to wring from our foreign and colonial creditors. I frankly admit that I do not believe that this aspect of the matter presented itself to Mr. Gladstone's mind when he used the argument; but, nevertheless, that is the practical truth of the argument. More recently we have had the spectacle of Lord Salisbury and other leading politicians—even bimetallists—publicly congratulating the United States on the victory of Mr. McKinley in the recent Presidential contest as a victory for "honesty" and "the principles at the base of human society," these authorities apparently forgetting for the time being that Mr. Bryan and the Democratic Party, in declaring boldly for Free Trade and Free Coinage, undertook to do precisely that "something for silver" which the British Government had repeatedly invited them to do, and which Mr. Goschen told us would be "a benefit to the whole civilized world." Of course, we all know that the apprehension caused in many quarters on this side the Atlantic by Mr. Bryan's free silver programme was due to the doubt as to whether such action by the United States alone would effectively establish the American coinage parity throughout the world. Amongst the really well-informed commercial classes there was little doubt on this point, but the financial classes in the City of London were disposed to panic, and were diligently encouraged to believe in the possibility of a "50-cent" dollar. When we remember, however, that Mr. Alfred de Rothschild, as a special delegate appointed by the Gladstone Government, seriously proposed to the Brussels Conference of 1892 that Great Britain should combine with other European Governments for the joint purchase of silver to the value of £5,000,000 sterling per annum, on condi- that the United States should agree to maintain the Windom-Sherman Silver Purchase Act, and find that, according to the City authorities and the statesmen who now express opinions on the subject, the particular Act referred to has been the real cause of the recent currency embarrassments of the United States and the rest of the world, we may well feel that such a tangle of contradictions makes it worth while to consider what is exactly Great Britain's interest in the solution of the silver question.

The very history of British Government action in the matter indicates clearly what those interests are. First and foremost is, of course, the re-establishment of a par of exchange with India, not only in order that British producers and merchants may carry on their trade with our great dependency on a

definite and secure, instead of a merely gambling, basis, but with a view to the financial stability and true economic progress of India herself. The injustice inflicted on the Indian tax-payers, whose produce even of food-stuffs has been drained away from a population of countless millions always largely on the verge of positive starvation, in order to pay the increasing cost of the external debt; the threat of eventual bankruptcy; and the hindrances to that investment of British capital in India which has always tended to raise India to our own level of well-being—these results of the continual divergence of the two currencies were fully recognized in the utterly unscientific and dangerous attempt to find a remedy in the closing of the Indian Mints and the adoption of a fictitious gold "standard" without a gold currency. That supposed remedy has failed and must continue to fail; for there is, as yet, no approximation to the formation of a gold reserve for purposes of remittance, and without this even the rate of exchange of a limited rupee cannot be kept steady. On the other hand, the remedy itself is a most dangerous one, even if it should succeed in its immediate purpose; in killing the disease it would not improbably kill the patient. Already it has involved India in a new series of exchange embarrassments with all the silver-using countries with which she trades, and it, proportionately, offers advantages to competitors, like Japan, free from such embarrassments. As was frankly avowed by Sir William Harcourt, the assumed remedy consists in raising the gold value of the rupee by making it "scarce." Not even the most bigoted advocate of the gold standard in the United States ventures to propose the redemption of the greenbacks or the Treasury silver notes at the cost of a contraction of the currency; all the proposals to that end yet put forward imply a large addition to the American paper currency through the agency of the banks. It is in India alone that it is seriously proposed to secure exchange by a "cast-iron" official limitation of the currency. I know that Lord Farrer has some vague idea that "elasticity" may be provided for in India by means of the Government notes. But the recent extension of the fiduciary issue in India does not touch the problem at all. It merely provides for the immediate requirements of the speculators in securities, and enables the banks to support the market for securities. Notes are not, and never can be, the money of the people of India. The ryot requires silver which he can save, as rupees or as ornaments, or barter away far beyond the limits even of the Indian Empire. The fall of exchange, by artificially stimulating exports, to the injury of British agriculture, has prevented the native of India from hoarding grain against

the time of scarcity; and the limitation of the currency through the closing of the mints puts it out of his power to hoard surplus money. He cannot save, therefore, for the possibilities of the future, unless he hoards gold; and neither the Goverment of India nor the banks of England or any other country, nor the Herschell Indian Currency Committee, nor Lord Farrer, wishes the native of India to do that.

Closely bound up with the question of falling exchange is the question of falling gold prices. It is now a well-recognized fact that falling exchange, as measured in gold, necessarily implies falling prices as measured in gold. Even in the passage from Alexander Hamilton's "Report" already quoted, this result is clearly foreshadowed. It is obvious on the one hand that if the money of the people who buy from us is depreciated in terms of our own money, then, other things remaining equal—and they do as a rule remain equal—our customers must either pay lower prices in terms of our own currency for what they buy, or reduce their purchases. On the other hand, it is equally clear that such a depreciation of a legal tender currency implies a reduction of wages and of the fixed costs of production in terms of gold, and thus enables producers on such a basis to undersell competitors who have to pay their fixed charges and wages in terms of the relatively appreciating currency. The doctrine here enunciated has been abundantly proved by the recent history of prices; and from it flow many serious consequences affecting British interests. A fall of prices due to a mere shifting of burdens implies a disturbance in the relations of classes in an old country with accumulated obligations, the end of which may be disastrous; it tends to shatter the existing basis of production, and the very foundations of the social and economic system. Reconstruction or "readjustment" may be possible; but reconstruction after an earthquake involves loss, and is not necessarily progress. An illustration of the possible consequences of such shifting of burdens has been given in the United States, where, with sixty thousand destitute people in Chicago, one wealthy citizen in New York has, it is said, just expended £50,000 in entertaining 300 guests for a single night. Similar conditions brought about the fall of Rome. Meanwhile the same relative depreciation of currency, which for the time being apparently benefits, let us say, the Indian and Argentine farmers to an extent sufficient to drive land in this country out of cultivation, diminishes the gold value of the revenues of the respective Governments, and tends to the repudiation of their engagements to British investors. If, as a consequence of such artificial lowering of prices, we receive, say, two bushels for the former gold cost of one bushel, the effect is to enforce idleness on

our own agricultural classes, to diminish their effective demand as consumers of our fabrics, to the lower buying power—in terms of gold—of the Indian or Argentine exporters, and to deprive British holders of foreign securities of the interest or dividends on their investments.

As a Free-Trading nation we suffer peculiarly in consequence of the falling exchange, and its inevitable accompaniment, falling prices. We are committed to Free Trade. Whatever speculations as to the possibilities of Imperial Federation may be indulged in, the plain fact is that our immense foreign trade, including our vast ocean-carrying trade, is so infinitely complicated, and depends upon so many nice adjustments and delicate reactions, that no fiscal change or restrictions could possibly be introduced without the danger of dislocating and shattering the whole. Now the fall of prices, by diminishing the debt-paying value of their exported produce, compels debtor countries to increase their import duties, either with the object of increasing revenue, or that of diminishing their liabilities on the merchandise account in order that they may have a larger credit balance for the discharge of interest and dividend payments abroad. This policy becomes still more imperative in such a case as that of the United States, where the par value of the currency is dependent on a precarious gold reserve which may be easily drained away for the adjustment of an adverse balance. Moreover, the economic basis of Free Trade is the theory of the division of labour, under which each nation would produce those particular elements of the general wealth which it is naturally best fitted to produce. But in order that this theory may have free play, there must be a common standard of value, and a common monetary basis of adjustment. With divided currencies, themselves relatively fluctuating in value, the natural conditions of competition are obscured and counteracted, and artificial stimuli are created under which really exotic industries are developed, on the one hand, and natural industries are extinguished on the other. Finally it is our interest, as well as the general interest, that the condition of the labouring classes in other countries should be levelled up to that of our own labouring classes. Reductions of the wages of labour, however imperative, cannot be regarded as other than retrogressive. Even though the labourer may be partially or wholly compensated by a fall in the prices of the commodities he consumes, his position relatively to that of the fixed income, or bond-holding class is deteriorated; in other words, instead of receiving his share of the increase of wealth, that increase tends to accumulate in the hands of the non-producing class, and the labourer is left without the provision which he would otherwise possess for periods when, owing to increased abundance or glutted

markets, the demand for his labour temporarily contracts or ceases. Now a decline in the exchange value of silver relatively to gold means practically a lowering of wages as measured in gold in all silver-standard countries; and, through the action of competition, that implies a levelling down rather than a levelling up. Owing to the increase of his efficiency by scientific discovery and invention, the British labourer has to some extent been protected from the full effect of this tendency; but the tendency is there, nevertheless. A divergence in the relative value of gold and silver is, in short, distinctly favourable to that condition deprecated by Goldsmith,

"Where wealth accumulates and men decay."

Such being, then, the interests of Great Britain in the settlement of the silver question, and their reality having been admitted in the very concessions which the present Government has declared its willingness to make in order to secure an international agreement, it seems illogical on our part to hesitate to take a full and equal share in the re-establishment of that international currency system which successive British Administrations have practically desired other nations to re-establish for us. But we must look facts in the face. After all, we are a nation of Philistines. Our accumulated wealth is so great that it may be long before the evils of the situation become apparent to the Empire as a whole. We have such enormous reserves to draw upon that, in the absence of such a serious catastrophe as the Baring crisis might easily have proved, local losses and insidious weakening may be obscured for a long time yet to come; indeed, in the main, the consequences of our inaction in the matter may rather be apparent as a lack of progress than as positive retrogression. Our most vulnerable point is India, and there, indeed, the outlook may well cause us grave uneasiness. But like most very rich people we are rather slaves to our prejudices than inspired by the spirit of intellectual adventure. A younger and still growing country may well show the way. Moreover, other countries, and noticeably the United States, have the problem directly on their hands in a very embarrassing form. Germany and France have to deal with an agrarian situation which is seriously affecting the national prosperity of both countries. Under these circumstances it would appear to be well worth while for the United States and other Powers named—at least France—to take into serious consideration the offers of the present British Government to increase the monetary use of silver in this country and throughout the Colonies, to arrange with the Bank of England to hold part of its reserves in silver, and, above all, to reopen the Indian mints to the free coinage of that metal. In this way the old triumvirate arrangement might be re-established, Great Britain freely coining

gold, India freely coining silver, and a third Power, or more than one Power, constituting the link between the two. I have long held that it is within the power of Great Britain, India, and the United States alone to settle the question and dictate the currency system of the world. For this reason I should have rejoiced in the victory of Mr. Bryan and the free coinage "plank," notwithstanding the windy talk about a probable 50-cent. dollar during a campaign in which the only weapons used on one side were epithets and adjectives. I made it my business to enquire from merchants most familiar with the working of the exchanges on both sides of the currency controversy, and did not find one who believed that the free coinage of silver would have involved a serious or more than a very temporary depreciation of the American dollar. Moreover, even Mr. Gladstone declared in 1893 that his Government was waiting for the United States "to do something." The reopening of the Indian mints which would have followed the adoption of free coinage by the United States would have been a decisively powerful support to the stability of the American exchange. The support of Holland, an Eastern Power like ourselves, be it remembered, has all along been assured; France, likewise, is eager to develop her Eastern possessions, and has already attempted to introduce a silver coinage of her own there; and the future of Spain, another Eastern Power, is not a matter of indifference just now to the French investor. Germany's co-operation, at least in some limited form, has been definitely promised.

For my own part, I still look to the United States to take the lead; and when the new Congress settles down to the serious consideration of the proposals for the redemption of the greenbacks and silver notes by means of enlarged issues of bank notes based on office furniture and other bank "assets," the sentiment in favour of the precious metal which, jointly with gold, has promoted the trade of the world and the spread of civilization for many centuries, will probably grow in the United States, and even within the sacred precincts of Lombard Street.

F. J. Faraday.

"THE OTHER GRACE."

> "Add but *the other grace—be good—*
> Why want what the angels vaunt."—BROWNING.

FASHIONS in clothes: fashions in manners: fashions in speech, and fashions in heroines: the law finds no exception.

The general idea of how a book comes to be written is, that the author is possessed by certain characters and incidents and has no rest until he has described them; it would be better for literature if it were so. But only to the past masters in the craft belongs this glory of creation; the great mass of writers do not create—have, that is to say, no independent conception of their characters; they merely wait until the masters have clearly created a new type, then they take possession of that type whatever it may be, dress it up anew, place it in fresh surroundings, and try to pass it off as a novel creation of their own.

The masters have indeed, in this way, a good deal to answer for; just as the High Priest of Fashion is answerable for a good deal when he thoughtlessly sends every woman in Europe into crinoline or large sleeves, as the case may be. A Zola, for instance, or a Hardy, astonishes the world with a splendid, if brutal, bit of work. The public fancy is fascinated by the type. "*We must paint life as we see it, nothing like life! passion! virility!*" cries every literary dabbler; and forthwith rushes in where even angels might well fear to tread. "*We can all do it, nothing easier!*" they say—and fearful and wonderful are the monsters they make. It is astonishing, too, how long they take to tire of them. Long after the reading public has become completely sated with the type they are hammering on at it, seized apparently with a curious blindness which keeps them from seeing that they are doing the thing that has been done perhaps a hundred times already. At last, however, there comes a breathing space. What will they be at next? asks the anxious reader, scanning the literary horizon for a sail, so to speak. Perhaps it is a Stevenson this time who comes like Hopeful to give a hand out of the Slough of Despond. His style is lucid, his types are clearly defined—again "*nothing easier*," is the cry.

and in a trice they are tricked out in doublet and hose to follow their leader. And the historical romance runs merrily on its way. Then, just as something new is wanted, comes—let us say, a Barrie. Ah, what fresh fields, what pastures new! But they are not long uninvaded. "Whence came their feet into my field and why?" he might rather appropriately enquire, for the green fields are getting all trodden and tashed nowadays. It is so easy to write about old mothers, and dominies, and ingleneuks and the shorter Catechism! One might multiply examples indefinitely. I have merely chosen these at random to illustrate what every intelligent reader must have noticed—that there is fashion in books, as in so many other things.

The master-minds are responsible for the type of hero or heroine which is for the nonce to reign in public favour; and it is a curious fact that since first novels began to be written, *heroines* have been divided into far more marked types than men. I do not pretend to account for this fact: but I think that it is one. The earlier novelists bestowed all their powers of characterization upon their male characters: there was plenty of individuality in them; but they seemed to be contented with one fixed type of heroine—the then ideal of woman—and added her as a sort of stage property to every book. Fielding, in Sophia Western, describes the type which reigned triumphantly for many a day:

"I never heard anything of pertness, or what is called repartee, out of her mouth; no pretence to wit, much less to that kind of wisdom the affectation of which in a young woman is as absurd as any of the affectations of an ape. No dictatorial sentiments, no judicial opinions, no profound criticisms. Whenever I have seen her in the company of men she hath been all attention, with the modesty of a learner, not the forwardness of a teacher. . . . I once, to try her only, desired her opinion on a point which was controverted between Mr. Thawekum and Mr. Square. To which she answered, 'You will pardon me. I am sure you cannot in earnest think me capable of deciding any point in which such gentlemen disagree.'"

Such was Sophia: and she may be recognized in almost every one of Scott's heroines, and survives even in Thackeray's Amelia Sedley—the "gentle creature" who "took her opinions from those who surrounded her, such fidelity being much too humble-minded to think for itself."

But the Sophias and Amelias of the past are indeed dead and done with now, and a new type of heroine has arisen and now rules despotically over the whole world of fiction. The new type may be divided into two classes of favourites: the Outcast woman, and those whom, for want of a better name, I shall call the Sirens: and everywhere we read of "pure women," whose special claim to that title seems to be their lack of purity.

The sad fact is that "good women," in the plain Saxon meaning

of the words, are gone out of fashion—in books at least—and until the tide of public opinion turns, we must submit to the reign of her successor as best we may.

This statement that good women have gone out of fashion will probably be received by many people with a shriek of protest; for it is quite one of the worst features of the Siren that she masquerades as an angel.

The idea has got abroad that, provided the heart is pure, the intention harmless, nothing is wrong, and the Siren is continually acting in the most unprincipled way with the best intentions in the world. But let us examine these two types of modern heroines more closely.

Two famous heroines of the Outcast order—*Tess* and *Trilby*—belong to a type now crystallized in the public imagination. And to exhibit the nobility that lies in everyone, however degraded, is now the favourite *motif* of the day. Heaven forbid we should deny the possibility of such good; but the thing may be carried a little too far, and it is coming to this nowadays, that such women are depicted as being capable of more generous action, more heroic impulse than their worthier sisters. The worst of the whole business is that no one can breathe a word against this new morality but the word Pharisee is whispered, and that dubious legend of Christ and the Magdalene adduced for argument. Moreover, so great is the cry for "Charity" just now, that it would be considered woeful harshness in any writer to describe a woman of scandalous antecedents without dowering her with such traits of nobility and generosity as wipe out the stain of sin, and melt the reader to tears of sympathy. We are becoming too lax altogether: the stern old rule "hate the sin and love the sinner" is being forgotten, and we are asked to condone the sin till there remains no more hatred of it, nor any looking for of judgment upon it. Charity is a lovely grace; but sentimentality is a weak vice. Let us take care that the one does not lapse into the other. There may be here and there in the curious annals of the human race a *Tess* or a *Trilby*—but the most charitable must admit that they are exceptions, and only prove the rule that a bad life is a tolerably clear proof of a bad heart. This is a fact there is very little use in denying, though for the purposes of making interesting character-studies the novelists are fond of doing so.

These heroines of avowedly bad character yet redeemed by traits of nobility are, however, less dangerous favourites for the public fancy than the all-conquering Siren; for the good reason that they are such manifest creations of the imagination that very few people set much store by them—they like to read about them and wonder if they are possible characters, but they are doubtful,

and possibly disapproving all the time. The Siren, on the contrary, seems to have fairly possessed the British imagination—it is scarcely possible to open a novel in which she does not appear. The Siren is a creature of wild unrestrained passions, desperate, unscrupulous, emotional yet heartless, incapable of sound judgment or of self-control, and quite without all womanly feeling. She is, in fact, a most repulsive character, yet we are asked to find her irresistible, a very Queen of Hearts to whom the whole male creation bend the knee in wonder and admiration. Now, no one doubts the reality of this character: who has not met a Siren?—they are all too common. But the curious thing is why we should be asked to admire her? Her morality is of such a hopelessly involved order—submitting as it does to none of the recognized moral codes—that we follow her devious relations with the sterner sex in disgusted perplexity. She has always (alas for him!) a husband; for the unmated heroine is as extinct as the Dodo; then she is involved in intricate connections with some other woman's husband, there is also the man who should have been her husband, and there is always the husband of her soul, sometimes even the second husband—a very carnival of husbands—till we are fain to ask the Sadducee's question, *Whose wife shall she be at the Resurrection*, &c., &c., &c.?

This is the creature round whose character a myth as unsubstantial as vapour is being raised just now. Only she, we are told, can "taste the colour of love"—less ardent natures are poor, and of necessity lead lives of foolish emptiness; only the passionate Siren is capable of the greater heroisms: passion holds the field; and the woman who does not exhibit this eminently feminine grace is not held to be worth writing about. There is no doubt that the Siren makes an effective figure in fiction: but what of the truth of the presentation? A fire of straw throws out a prodigious glare, yet who would "watch a winter's night" beside it?

None of the authors who with such enthralling art have painted these pictures of outcast women—take *Tess* and *Trilby* once again as instances—none of them ever continued the picture. Their heroines were invariably doomed to death, because the art insight capable of limning a Tess or a Trilby at the white-heat of passion knew too well to try to paint the impossible—Tess or Trilby trudging through life with the object of her ardours.

But, perhaps because her history has not often been recorded by masters of the craft, the Siren is not handled with this consistency. She is the darling of the scribbler, for her type is now so clearly defined that she is very easy to manage. She is shown to us in all her fervour, living at a white-heat as great as ever Tess or Trilby went through; but instead of being consistently killed off, we are

actually asked to believe that she lives on after the story closes. Imagination does not conjure up a very pleasant picture of the Siren's later years. She would, unless we are much mistaken, exhibit none of the charms of old age; try to fancy her at three score and ten, her beauty (which is always described as of the "alluring" type) gone; her many lovers grown cold in consequence; left alone with all her exotic passions burnt out, and her heart like a heap of ashes. Impossible that in her long pilgrimage she has gained the respect of any human being; she has no female friends, for the good reason that she thought no woman worth making friends with in the days of her youth; the husband she long ago deserted for another man, not unnaturally, has nothing to do with her now, while the "other man" has also proved faithless; the children she neglected can scarcely be blamed for neglecting her in their turn; and the curiously unexacting Deity whom she was supposed to worship, has vanished long ago into that limbo where the False Gods dwell.

This would be the inevitable age following upon a youth such as the Siren is supposed to lead. For we are not always young, and the lust of the eyes and the pride of life pass away like a dream, and with them there passes away every quality upon which this modern heroine depends for her charm. It is extraordinary if all the accumulated experience of all the centuries has taught us no more than this, and if we can possibly bring ourselves to accept this exotic erotic creature as a heroic type of all that woman should be—if, indeed, we can bring ourselves to imagine that she has any heroic qualities whatever. No heroine, in the brave old significance of the word, was ever made of this stuff: which of us in age or weakness would lean on this broken reed?

I am no stickler for subject—let who will write about what he pleases, however unpleasant, so long as he writes truly; and the Siren, a type all too common in life, might well be common in books also, if she were only described as what she is, instead of as what she is not. In art, a "study" is valuable only as it is truthful; and something of the same holds good in literature. But there is one study often set to beginners in art—to paint white objects against a white background, and the tyro is clever indeed who gives them form and substance and yet retains the whiteness: white souls too are hard to paint, but will some clever painters not essay the task for very love of its difficulty?

JANE H. FINDLATER.

THE MONTH IN AMERICA.

Washington, February 15th, 1897.

When the editor of *The National Review* was in the United States last year studying the Presidential Campaign, he, like many other observant men, was impressed by the fact that while many of the followers of Mr. Bryan were in no sense of the word Anarchists, Socialists, or Revolutionists, they were in sympathy with the movement which the Democratic candidate represented because they considered that the power of organized wealth had become so brazen it was necessary to administer to it a severe rebuke. My own deduction, after having followed the campaign from its inception to its close, was that many men who hoped to see the triumph of the Silver candidate, cared very little for the economic question which was presented for their consideration. To them it was a social problem to be settled—it was whether an oligarchy of wealth, of trusts, of great corporations, should be able to gather all power into their own hands and crush out all opposition. I had occasion to say then, in a newspaper article, that unless President McKinley made good his ante-election promises and gave every man the prosperity which stump speakers predicted would follow immediately after the election of the Republican candidate, the next four years would be anxious times in this country. An event which happened in New York a few days ago, which has attracted almost as much attention in London as in the metropolis of the West, shows the spirit of unrest, the feeling of discontent, which breeds great social revolutions. I refer to the now historical ball which Mrs. Bradley Martin gave to a thousand guests assembled from all the principal cities of the Union. As for the details of that *fête*, English readers have had them all long ago. They have been told with much particularity of the beautiful women who graced the occasion, of the dresses they wore and the diamonds which covered them, of the flowers, the decorations, the more than regal splendour, which shall for ever in this generation make the name of Bradley Martin renowned in the history of entertaining. But of the other side of the shield you have at best seen only a corner. No one not living here can understand the spirit of resentment in many

quarters, the spirit of fierce hatred among a certain class, which this ball has aroused. One can understand now what happened in Paris while Louis the Well Beloved philandered and prayed and the throne of Charlemagne rocked on its foundations.

Probably when Mrs. Bradley Martin planned to give a great ball she had no more idea of the spectre she was raising than did the conspirators of the diamond necklace see in the dim mists the head of a beautiful queen fall beneath the sharp blade of Monsieur Paris. Regarded as legitimate prey by the sensational Press of New York (and at the present time no more shameless papers exist than some of those to be found in New York) the mischief was soon done. Columns, pages, volumes, have been devoted to describing every detail of the costumes, every rosebud decorating the suite of rooms for the use of which for one night Mrs. Martin paid more than the average man's yearly income, in telling of the fabulous sums which the affair cost. A quarter of a million, $300,000, half a million, are the various estimates. And the same papers exploiting these lavish preparations and expenditures in one column, in the next appeal for subscriptions to save men and women and little children from death by starvation, and to snatch the naked from the horrors of being cast in the streets with the snow several inches. Starting in New York in this way, Mrs. Martin and her ball have become an "issue" almost in every corner of the land. There has hardly been a paper, great and small, edited by intelligence or controlled by ignorance, which has not felt called upon to discuss the topic—to defend Mrs. Martin or to attack her, as might be most in sympathy with that paper's constituents. But it is not alone the newspapers which have discussed the affair. Dr. Rainsford, one of the most eminent clergymen in New York, whose congregation is said to be the wealthiest in that city, many of whom received invitations and attended the ball, openly denounced it as unworthy extravagance, and his example has been followed by many other clergymen.

Talking to a western Member of Congress a few days ago about the ball, he showed me a letter which he had that day received from one of his constituents, a farmer. In bitter terms the western farmer denounced the expenditure of such large sums for the gratification of a mere caprice, and went on to say that "while they are drinking and dancing in New York, we poor devils out here are freezing, and if we don't get more for our crops next year than we did last, the county will have to take care of us." And on the same day on which I saw this letter I met a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, who in discussing the ball used language as vigorous, if more elegant, than did the farmer of the western plains. Some of the newspapers have felt called upon to explain that Mrs. Martin is a public benefactor, that her great function

puts money into circulation, and that its beneficiares are mainly working men and women. This may be sound as political economy, but it does not satisfy the western farmer or the homeless outcast of the great cities, and "something bitter rises" in their breasts as they think of the feasting while they shiver in their poverty.

It has been a winter of appalling severity and the poor have suffered as they have not before in recent years. Chicago does not usually advertise her distress: it is more in her line to proclaim her might and her prosperity. But the mayor of that nineteenth century wonder has been forced to let the world know that 50,000 people are actually in danger of starving. The mayor called in consultation some of the leading citizens and asked for the facts. He got them. He was told of families huddled in single rooms and kept from freezing only by the joint heat of the members; of naked babies crying for something to eat; of skilled workmen, industrious and temperate, unable to get work—work enough even for a single meal. Nothing like it, they said, had been known in Chicago for years. The saddest part of it all is, that the men seeking help are not the floating population, but those who have never before been compelled to ask for charity. They want work, but there is no work for them, and nothing stands between them and starvation, except the bounty of the charitable. In Chicago, perhaps, the distress is more acute than elsewhere, but it has been severe enough in New York and other large centres.

To the unparalleled depression of the last few years is due much of the present distress; but that alone is not responsible for all of it. The fact is, this country is going through the "settling down" process, and we are descending from the range of high prices which is the inevitable accompaniment of every new and undeveloped country to the level which characterizes an older civilization. Time was, less than a couple of decades ago, to use the epigram of Senator Carter, of Montana, when "a man could keep ahead of the locomotive," or, in other words, when he blazed his own trail and waited for civilization and the railroad to catch up with him. A man of spirit and enterprise could go into the West, clear the virgin forest, manage to live while his crops were growing, and in the course of a few years be in fairly comfortable circumstances. He endured hardships and privations in plenty, but there was always work for sturdy hands at remunerative wages. The increase of population, the tremendous tide of immigration which has so ceaselessly flowed through the harbour of New York for the past ten years, the growth of large cities, the change of business methods by which products of the soil pass through the hands of the middlemen and prices are made in Liver-

pool rather than in Chicago, the effect of international relations on the values of commodities—all these things have tended to make the struggle for existence keener and more difficult. But the great masses do not realize the causes, all that they understand are the self-evident facts, and they are unable as yet to adjust themselves to the new conditions. In fact, I will go further and say that the nation itself has not yet successfully grappled with the problem. Wages are high and retail prices are high, the one naturally dependent on the other, and public and private wastefulness and extravagance are only too apparent. A writer of reputation said not long ago that the average American lived above his income. This may sound like a sweeping and too general charge, and yet it is apparent that the habits of thrift and economy to be found in the middle classes of England, and which the French of all people practise more carefully than any other, are not known here.

It is because of this readjustment, it is because of this high rate of living, that a great spirit of unrest pervades the masses of the people and that such things as Mrs. Bradley Martin's ball arouse their deepest resentment, and continually cause the thoughtful to consider, frequently with foreboding, what the next ten years will bring forth. Every year we see attempts made to do something, but this "something" is generally in the way of approaching the question from the wrong point of view. Some years ago the people on the Pacific Coast were impressed with the belief that the Chinese were driving the native American out of the labour market. The Mongolian was willing to work for far less than the American, and no matter how little he was paid he managed to save some part of his wages. He might lose his money at fan tan, but he seldom figured in the police courts as "drunk and disorderly," and it was rare for him to become a public charge. A blatant demagogue, an Irishman with a certain rough power of eloquence, in San Francisco started the cry of excluding the Chinese, it became a political question, it made and unmade Members of Congress, and finally Congress was asked to pass an exclusion Act. The people of the East knew little about the question and cared less. They had been told of the Chinese eating rats and other unclean things, of their immoralities, of their opium-smoking habit, of the dreadful scourge of leprosy which always followed them. It was a campaign of agitation for a few years, then Congress, in defiance of treaties, in indecent haste, passed a rigid exclusion Act. Let it be said to his credit that one of the very few men courageous enough to stand up against popular clamour was Senator John Sherman, who manfully opposed the appeal to passion.

Since that Act was passed nearly every Congress has witnessed

the passage of legislation restricting immigration, working-men and politicians continually asserting that the influx of immigration is the cause of depression and the over-surplus of labour. Only a few days ago the House agreed to the latest Bill of this sort. Originally the Bill provided that an immigrant before being permitted to land must be able to read the English or some other language, and it further provided that when accompanied by his wife or parents, provided he was eligible and they were unable to meet the requirements of the test, the husband might be permitted to land, but the wife or parents, as the case might be, would be deported at the expense of the steamship company. In many cases this would have resulted in the separation of families, and, as some of the other provisions of the law were harsh and almost brutal, President Cleveland caused it to be known that he would veto the Bill. Since then it has been amended, although many of its obnoxious features still remain, and in its present form it will probably become a law. At the next session of Congress I should not be surprised to see still further legislation on the subject, and in the course of a few years there will probably be an agitation to restrict naturalization.

Major McKinley has now received his title to the seat he will occupy from and after the fourth of next March. On last Wednesday, the tenth, the Senate in solemn state marched over to the House of Representatives, and there the formality of counting and recording the electoral vote was duly carried out. It was a very simple ceremony. The Vice-President presided over the joint assemblage, the Speaker of the House on his left, and below them Senators Lodge and Blackburn acting as tellers on the part of the Senate, and Representatives Grosvenor and Richardson representing the House. The returns sent to the Vice-President by the electors in each state were opened and the vote announced, all of which the world had known several months ago. When the tellers had added up the figures, compared them and signed the tally sheets, the Vice-President announced the election of "William McKinley, of the State of Ohio," and then added that the announcement was by law a sufficient declaration of the election. Then the Senate processioned back to its own chamber, and only the fourth of March and the oath of office are necessary to make William McKinley President of the United States.

The Speaker of the House of Representatives asserts despotic power almost, and the present occupant of the chair, Mr. Thomas B. Reed, of Maine, is the master of the House more abso-

lutely than any other Speaker the American Congress has ever seen. The House elects its Speaker, who appoints the various standing and select committees. Every Bill and resolution, before action by the House, must first be referred to a committee, and by that committee reported back to the House with either a favourable or unfavourable recommendation. To enable the various committees to bring their business before the House, the Committee on Rules, of which the Speaker is chairman, from time to time bring an order into the House devoting certain days for the consideration of business reported by the committees named. It is recognized that the Speaker is practically the Committee on Rules; that whatever he wants is done by that committee. That, in the first place, lodges a tremendous power in the hands of the Speaker. Scarcely less is the privilege accorded the Speaker of "recognizing" or not a member as he sees fit. No member can address the House (except on privileged questions) unless the Speaker has "recognized" him by announcing "the gentleman from New York," or whatever other state he represents. When he chooses, the Speaker can be deaf, dumb, and blind. A man may stand two feet from the Speaker, yell out "Mr. Speaker" at the top of his voice, wave his arms in frantic gesticulation, and the Speaker will be oblivious, while his gaze wanders to the far end of the House in search of the man whom he has promised to recognize. After a Bill has been reported from a committee and is on the calendar, there are certain times when members can call up their Bills for action. No member can do so unless he has previously applied to the Speaker and been granted permission.

Owing to the depleted state of the treasury, Mr. Reed has rigorously refused to permit the passage of any Bill carrying an appropriation unless it is absolutely necessary, and with the authority vested in him he has very successfully succeeded in carrying out his policy of retrenchment. But in so doing he has aroused the antagonism of his followers, and many of them are so indignant that they would be glad to lead a revolt to curb the power of the Speaker. That the Speaker has too much power has frequently been recognized. In 1881 a member of the House in the course of a speech said:

"When this Republic goes down it will not be through the 'man on horseback' or any President, but through the man on the woolsack in this House, under these despotic rules, who can prevent the slightest interference from individual members, who can, if he will, make and unmake laws like an emperor, hold back or give the sinews of war and the salaries of peace."

This is not hyperbole. In some respects the power of the

Speaker is greater than that of the President, and although the Speaker cannot always pass, he can always prevent the passage of a measure to which he is opposed. And yet under the conditions now prevailing there must be some man with the power and courage to say whether Bills shall receive consideration or remain in the graveyard of early hopes, the calendar.

"In the Fifty-first Congress 20,000 original propositions, classified as messages, Bills, resolutions, petitions, and memorandums, were submitted to the House of Representatives for their action. If the House had been in session three hundred days of five hours each, and if all of these propositions had received consideration, about four and a half minutes to each is all that could have been allowed. This would not have been sufficient to read even the measure once."

Hence the necessity of the House having its master, although naturally the subjects do not like their tyrant. There is talk of shearing the Speaker of some of his power by having the committees elected by the House, instead of being appointed by the Speaker. In the early days this was done, then, for some reason or other which I have not been able to find out, the House delegated this power to the Speaker, and it is very doubtful now if any change can be made.

It is sad to have to record that the General Arbitration Treaty is still under discussion in the Senate and that the prospects of its ratification before the fourth of March are extremely improbable. While the preponderance of sentiment is in favour of the convention's speedy ratification, while every Board of Trade and Chamber of Commerce has passed resolutions in favour of the treaty, while ministers have championed it from their pulpits and men of business have signed memorials asking for immediate action, there is a certain element opposed to the treaty, and unfortunately that element is represented in the Senate. The opposition is twofold. It is based on general principles against everything that is English; it is virulently hostile to President Cleveland and Secretary of State Olney. The amendments which the Committee on Foreign Relations adopted have greatly weakened the scope of the Treaty, but if some of the amendments which have been offered in the Senate are adopted the convention will be almost valueless, and it will not be surprising if the rumours current here (that Lord Salisbury will refuse to accept the modifications) are true. As it requires only thirty senators to "advise against ratification" and sixty to "consent to ratification" it will be seen that the friends of the Treaty have to make a stronger fight than its opponents. I have not given up all hope of seeing the Treaty eventually ratified, but I am afraid it will be some time before that is done.

President-elect McKinley has got far enough along in his task of

Cabinet building to enable us to judge the calibre of the councillors he will have around him for the next four years. It is an average Cabinet, with the exception of Sherman. Sherman is principally great because of the light of his past. Sometimes a man lives too long, for his own fame. Sherman is an example of this. Had he died ten years ago he would have been one of the great characters in American history. He may surprise us all in the State Department, but I should doubt it, and certainly his vacillating course of the past few months is no happy augury for the future. In 1895, as Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, Mr. Sherman was called upon to study the Cuban Question. The rebels were pressing for recognition, and the question whether a legally constituted government existed on the island of Cuba was one of fact. Mr. Sherman and Secretary Olney went all over the evidence together and reached the same conclusion—that no properly constituted government existed, and that the United States could not recognize the men who pretended to be the "government" of Cuba. A few months later, when the situation was practically the same as it had been at the time of his conference with the Secretary of State, Mr. Sherman made in the Senate one of the strongest pro-Cuban speeches ever heard in that chamber. He commenced his speech by saying:

"I would not engage in this debate but that I, as a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations, wish to share in the responsibility of the members of that committee for the consequences from the adoption of the resolution which I hope is about to pass. (It was a resolution to recognize the belligerency of the Cubans.) I do not disguise the dangers, the possibilities of hostile movements, into which our Government may be drawn. At the same time my convictions are strong, they are made stronger every day, that the condition of affairs in Cuba is such that the intervention of the United States must sooner or later be given to put an end to crimes that are almost beyond description."

The rest of the speech was largely devoted to a recital of the horrors of the Spanish campaign. Mr. Sherman quoted from a book which he alleged had been written by a Spaniard. Some of the things, he said, were too infamous to be mentioned, but he would put them all in *The Congressional Record*, the official journal of Congress issued daily, and which can be purchased like any other newspaper. The next day *The Congressional Record* had a tremendous sale, and Mr. Sherman had put into type things which, if published in a newspaper, would have led to the immediate arrest of its proprietor. A little later this book was discovered to be a clumsy forgery, and it was shown that Mr. Sherman must have been imposed upon. Mr. Sherman sat in the Senate in silence when these disclosures were made, and had no word to say in his defence.

Mr. Sherman remained quiet on the subject of Cuba until the Cameron resolution of last December, recognizing the independence

of the Republic of Cuba, again focussed public attention on the Gem of the Antilles. Mr. Sherman went to the State Department to invite Secretary Olney to lay before the Foreign Relations Committee the same information which many months before he had furnished him personally, and the day Mr. Sherman called on Secretary Olney he is quoted as having said that the position of the Administration was correct, and there was no warrant for American interference in Spanish affairs. The next day Secretary Olney appeared before the committee, and before he had left the room the committee had decided to favourably report the resolution to the Senate, Mr. Sherman being one of the senators voting in its favour. A couple of weeks later Mr. Sherman had once more reversed himself. He stated to a newspaper correspondent that the Cameron resolution was unwise, and if it came before the Senate he should vote against it. This is the record of the man who in three weeks will be Secretary of State. Comment seems to me to be unnecessary.

The next member of the Cabinet in importance to the Secretary of State is the Secretary of the Treasury In the selection of Mr. Lyman J. Gage, of Chicago, Mr. McKinley has a thorough and practical master of finance and banking, a man of the highest character and whose business ability has long been acknowledged. In no sense of the word is Mr. Gage a politician, which is perhaps a good thing, as in the past the Treasury Department has too often been administered by a politician whose knowledge of finance has been of the most elementary character. But while Mr. Gage has made his mark as a banker, as a financier in the broadest sense of the term, as the Finance Minister of a great nation he has still to be tested, and therefore, to a large extent, must be taken on trust. Nearly every Cabinet contains one or two unknown men, and sometimes these "discoveries" turn out rich finds. Mr. Olney was nationally unknown until he became Attorney-General, but he very soon impressed himself upon his colleagues of the Cabinet and the country, and was recognized as the strongest Member of the Government. President Harrison made an equally fortunate discovery. General Tracy, his Secretary of the Navy, had no national reputation before he entered the Cabinet, but before he retired from office his great ability was conceded. With the exception of the Secretaries of State and the Treasury there is little opportunity for the other Members of the Cabinet to make reputations unless through unforeseen circumstances. Since the renaissance of the navy the head of that department is regarded as of much more importance than formerly. Mr. McKinley's Secretary of the Navy will be ex-Governor Long, of Massachusetts, and he will undoubtedly prove to be one of the strongest men in the Cabinet. He was a Member of Congress for some years, and gained an enviable reputation as a polished and graceful orator and for the broad

view he took of public affairs. It is not at all unlikely that Mr. Sherman will retire after a year or two in the State Department, and in that case I should not be surprised to see Mr. Long transferred from the Navy Department to the Department of State. In every respect he is much better qualified to manage foreign affairs than Mr. Sherman, and the United States, as well as the rest of the world, would benefit by the change, if it should be made.

The new vessels of the American navy are the standing boast of the newspapers and some of the politicians, but the way in which these ships meet with disaster whenever they leave their docks must make Neptune weep salty tears. The *Indiana*, which American experts have declared to be one of the most powerful battleships in the world, went to sea a few weeks ago and ran into a gale. Her turrets worked loose, the big guns commenced to thrash about, and for a time it looked as if the ship would turn turtle and carry down every soul. She went into the dockyard, and after extensive repairs was a few days ago ordered south to join Admiral Bunce's squadron blockading Charlestown. When off the Virginia coast she encountered another gale, again her turrets worked loose, and rather than take any chances her commander was given permission to run for the nearest port. The *Brooklyn*, one of the latest and largest of the crack armoured cruisers, while getting away from her anchorage near Philadelphia last week, struck a rock and so badly damaged her bottom that it will take two weeks to patch her up. The *Texas*, another battleship, has had accidents without number. The vessels are good and the *personnel* is excellent, but the system which prevails in the American navy is at fault, and should the United States go to war with a great naval Power it would quickly discover that. Take, for instance, the case of Captain Taylor, the commander of the *Indiana*. Until a month ago he had seen no sea-service in six years, his last command having been the old-fashioned frigate *Alliance*. Since then he has been president of the war college at Newport. For six years he deals with theory, and then he is suddenly placed in command of one of the latest and most valuable ships of the navy, a great machine full of intricate machinery with which he is almost entirely unacquainted. Really he knows as little about his ship as would the mate of a merchant vessel. Captain Taylor's executive officer for the past three years has been a steel inspector, and like his senior knows little or nothing of a modern battleship. It is not to be wondered at that when the big ship commenced to roll off the treacherous coast of Cape Hatteras her officers regarded discretion as the better part of valour, and ran for cover as quickly as possible.

Personally the American naval officer is the equal of the British,

but he is heavily handicapped. In the American service promotion is too slow. At an age when a man should have attained command rank he is still a junior, he is still standing watch as he has done for the past twenty years, leaning on a superior when he should be self-reliant. When finally he is given a command he has been so long used to taking orders rather than giving them that he is unfitted for responsibility. Too many officers are on boards and shore duty. There are officers of high rank who have not been to sea for years, and who, if suddenly ordered into active service, would be totally unfitted to command a ship, much less a squadron. The case of Captain Taylor is only one of many. Until Congress does something to remove the stagnation and make promotion more rapid the service will suffer.

It is regarded as certain that there will be another international monetary conference during the present year, and it is believed the conference will sit in Washington. The Senate has already passed the Bill giving the President authority to call such a conference, and there is no reason to believe that the House will refuse to follow the Senate's lead in this matter. President Cleveland is not a believer in monetary conferences, but as the Bill does not become operative until after the fourth of March, which throws all the responsibility upon the incoming executive, Mr. Cleveland will pocket his scruples and sign the Bill, letting his successor call a conference or not, as may seem best to him. Armed with this declaration from Congress, President McKinley can hardly do less than invite the nations of the world to a discussion of the financial question.

The selection of Mr. Gage as Secretary of the Treasury encourages the bimetallists. It must have been known to Mr. McKinley when he tendered the finance portfolio to him that in 1894 Mr. Gage was one of about fifty of the leading business men of Chicago who signed the following declaration :—

"A committee has been formed in Chicago for the promotion of international bimetallism. The following is their declaration of principles and purposes, with the names attached :

"'The committee is formed for the purpose of promoting the establishment of international bimetallism upon the general plan of the Latin Union, but with a broader basis. Those concerned in the movement, while earnestly opposed to free coinage of silver or any increased use of silver by this country, independent of internal action and agreement, believe that the repeal of the purchase clause of the Sherman Act affords a fitting and fortunate opportunity for advancing the cause of international bimetallism. They believe that the day is not far distant when the necessities of commerce will compel the international use of silver, as well as of gold, in the currencies throughout the world.'"

That was three years ago, to be sure, but if Mr. Gage has altered his opinions in the interim he has not so publicly announced.

It is therefore safe to assume that Mr. Gage is still a bimetallist, and that his hearty co-operation will be extended in favour of bringing about an international agreement. A man of his character will not dodge the issue when it is squarely presented to him.

Senator Wolcott's return is awaited with a good deal of interest, as much will depend on the nature of his report. His friends have heard very little from him since his departure, and it is believed he is waiting until his return to make his report so that he can lay before his party associates a full *résumé* of the result of his investigations, and be in a better position to advise them as to the course to be pursued. If his report is favourable, and it is believed it will be from what little has already been heard, no efforts will be spared to induce Mr. McKinley to call the monetary conference at as early a date as possible.

The vicissitudes of politics are passing strange. In 1888 John Sherman was a candidate for the Republican presidential nomination. So was General Russell A. Alger, of Michigan. Both were rich men, both relied largely on the support of the southern delegates. Southern delegates to a Republican convention are generally gentlemen of colour, and their consciences are usually elastic enough to permit them to vote for the patriot with the largest bank account. Both Sherman and Alger had sent their agents into the south and had honoured drafts with great liberality; both felt they were masters of the situation. The convention was held and both men saw the prize snatched from them by General Harrison, of Indiana. Sherman felt very sore, and a few years later wrote a book, in the course of which he said: "I believe and had, as I thought, conclusive proof that the friends of General Alger substantially purchased the votes of many of the delegates from the Southern States which had been instructed by their conventions to vote for me." Alger did not like this, especially as he was ambitious for honours in the future and feared the Sherman influence would be used against him. So he wrote to General Sherman, the senator's brother, explaining matters and asking him to convince his brother how cruelly he had wronged the good Mr. Alger. General Sherman was a bluff old fighter who laughed at the wiles of the politicians. He was very fond of his brother John, and yet he appreciated the humour of the situation, so in response to Alger's appeal for a vindication he wrote to him: "If you bought John's niggers, you did only what everybody else was doing." Now John Sherman will be McKinley's Secretary of State and General Alger will be McKinley's Secretary of War.

SOME READABLE BOOKS.

Believing that a monthly table of selected books may be of service to the readers of *The National Review*, we have drawn up the appended list which comprises a few recently published volumes, which may be safely recommended.

The Navy and the Nation.—By James R. Thursfield and Sir George Clarke, K.C.M.G. (John Murray, London. Price, 14s.). The authors of this valuable book belong to that small group of devoted Englishmen who, by their unremitting labours, have at last awakened in the country a faint conception of the interdependence of sea-power and national policy. They are both lucid and masterly writers, and their essays, though occasionally technical, do not contain a dull page.

Lord Bowen: A Biographical Sketch.—By Sir Henry Stewart Cunningham, K.C.I.E. (John Murray, London. Price, 10s. 6d.). A delightful memorial of a singularly attractive personality. We should have thought that more of Lord Bowen's inimitable epigrams might have been collected.

The First Battle.—By William Jennings Bryan (W. B. Conkey & Co., Chicago). The defeated Democratic candidate for the Presidency of the United States has compiled a valuable chronicle of the campaign, which would be even more interesting than it is if it contained a little more about himself and a little less extraneous matter.

Phroso.—By Anthony Hope (Methuen & Co., London. Price, 6s.). A brilliant romance to be read with breathless haste from cover to cover.

Trooper Peter Halket of Mashonaland.—By Olive Schreiner (T. Fisher Unwin, London. Price, 6s.). A dramatic and daring picture of the manner in which the Chartered Company has been "civilizing" its subjects. While the form will repel many people, the substance of this remarkable book will create a profound impression at the proper phsychological moment.

A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology.—By Andrew Dickson White (Macmillan & Co., London. 2 vols. Price, 21s. net). The great American book of last year by one of the most eminent living Americans. It is most learned and thorough, and has evidently been a labour of love. Its tendency may be illustrated by a sentence from the preface: "My conviction is that Science, though it has evidently conquered Dogmatic Theology based on Biblical texts and ancient modes of thought, will go hand in hand with Religion."

The Story of Aline.—By Mrs. Edward Ridley (Chapman & Hall, London. Price, 6s.). One of the cleverest "maiden" books of recent years. The characters are lifelike, the style is admirable, and the story of deep interest.

Alterations of Personality.—By Alfred Binet. Translated by H. G. Baldwin. With notes and a Preface by J. M. Baldwin (Chapman &

Hall, London. Price, 6s.). This is a striking contribution by the great French psychologist to that somewhat uncanny subject "the sub-conscious personality." The alterations that he carefully records in the personality of hysterical patients under his charge are very curious and interesting.

Timbuctoo the Mysterious.—By Felix Dubois. Translated from the French by Diana White (William Heinemann, London. Price, 12s. 6d.). An indescribably fascinating book of travel, reflecting almost as much credit on the translator as on the author. It is being widely read.

On the Face of the Waters.—By Flora Annie Steel (Wm. Heinemann, London. Price, 6s.). Mrs. Steele's already celebrated photograph of the Mutiny—for that is what it is—requires no recommendation here. The public sprang at it without prompting.

Canada.—By F. G. Bowinot, C.M.G., &c. Story of the Nations Series (T. Fisher Unwin, London. Price, 5s.). The Clerk of the Canadian House of Commons has placed Canada and the British Empire under considerable obligations by this masterly monograph, which is as good as any in the series. We hope Englishmen will take the admirable opportunity now offered them of repairing their deplorable ignorance of Canadian history, which has a romance all its own.

Politics in 1896—An Annual.—By various writers, including Dr. Albert Shaw, H. W. Massingham, H. D. Traill, and G. Bernard Shaw (Grant Richards, London. Price, 3s. net). An excellent opera-glass directed on last year's political events from different points of view.

Cat and Bird Stories from "The Spectator."—Edited by J. St. Loe Strachey (T. Fisher Unwin, London. Price 5s.). A companion volume to *Dog Stories*. A delightful contribution to natural history. *The Spectator's* famous stories have done much to shatter the superstition that animals are less intelligent than mankind.

Letters from the Sudan.—By E. F. Knight, Special Correspondent of *The Times* (Macmillan & Co., London. Price 8s. 6d.). The author of *Where Three Empires Meet* has collected into a very readable book the excellent letters he wrote last year when with Sir Herbert Kitchener's brilliant expedition.

Letters of a Country Vicar.—By Yves le Querdec (Wm. Heinemann, London. Price 5s.). Probably the best picture of French village life ever presented to the English reader.

The Growth of the French Nation.—By George Burton Adams, Professor of History in Yale University (Macmillan & Co., London. Price 6s.). An excellent history of France in one volume, which may justly claim to supply a want.

The Fall of the Congo Arabs.—By Captain S. L. Hinde (Methuen & Co., London). An interesting account of Baron Dhanis' great campaign against the Western slave-raiding Arabs. A succinct and direct piece of work.

Civilization and Decay.—By Brooks Adams (Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Price 7s. 6d.). We omitted to mention last month that this remarkable book has a London publisher.

THE

NATIONAL REVIEW.

No. 170.—APRIL, 1897.

EPISODES OF THE MONTH.

Crises and Fevers.

At the time of writing there is a vague but growing feeling in the air that the crisis provoked by the Greek incursion into Crete in the beginning of February will "straighten out," so to speak. The one solid ground for this belief is that past experience teaches us that crises, like fevers, exhaust themselves after a certain period of peril has been safely surmounted. The present crisis has had an unusually long career, and so it is argued to be a progressively declining danger, though no human being for the moment professes to see its ultimate issue. That a solution will be found, and that there will be no war, is, however, the opinion of nearly all instructed observers, though even the most inveterate optimist must admit that the actual physical conditions in Eastern Europe at this moment are capable of developing a blaze. It is within the power of such an alarmingly large number of individuals to set the heather on fire. The great Continental Powers cling convulsively together, fearful of the consequences of a split. They remind one of a Cabinet before a General Election. Great Britain continues to co-operate loyally with them in order to preserve what Lord Salisbury has christened "the European Federation"; and although we are accused as usual of every sinister design, we are solely animated

by the desire to preserve the cause of civilization and the peace of Europe, which all the Powers feel to be the greatest European interest. We believe that in keeping Great Britain within the European Federation to exercise what influence she can on behalf of Western ideas, Lord Salisbury is resolutely supported by the overwhelming majority of Englishmen, as no intelligible alternative has yet been presented to them and the most trusted leaders of both political parties, as well as their most sober organs,* declare that there is no alternative. Englishmen have a rooted aversion to seeing their country take advantage of her insular position at the expense of the Continental Powers, to all of whom the possibility of war is a frightful nightmare. Indeed, the heavy responsibility of British policy arises mainly from the difference between the position of this nation and the position of other nations. The Concert is maintained to preserve Continental Europe from war. It is not, as some speakers suggest, an insurance of Great Britain against a hostile combination. This does not in the least diminish, though it varies, our responsibility.

THE ARMAGEDDON.

We decline to play the Anarchist in Europe by acting on every emotional impulse—that is the sum and substance of the position, which cannot be too clearly defined. The European Concert exists in order to preserve the peace of Continental Europe, not as a protection to Great Britain against a hostile combination of the Powers.

* *The Daily News* and *The Westminster Gazette* (representing the Opposition) have played a very conspicuous, honourable, and important part in advocating our adherence to the Concert during a crisis from which considerable Party advantage might have been reaped by attacking the Government. No newspapers or politicians have expounded the case for the Concert with more ability or courage than these two. A recent article in *The Daily News* puts its point of view with characteristic neatness :—

"The part which we believe the whole British nation desires and hopes to see Lord Salisbury play in the European Concert is that of the Friend of Freedom, and therein also of Greece, who has rendered great service in that cause. It is in this hope, among other reasons, that we have felt unable to join in the agitation for the withdrawal of this country from the Concert—a policy which, apart from its ulterior dangers, might have left the Cretan settlement at the mercy of Powers not over friendly to freedom, and have exposed Greece to measures of coercion far more peremtory and rigorous than she has actually encountered. It used sometimes to be asked tauntingly why Broad Churchmen like Dean Stanley did not leave the Church of England. The answer was that they preferred to leaven it from inside. This is what the Broad or Liberal countries have to do within the Concert of Europe. Of course, in a Federation of six different States, no single member can get entirely his own way ; there must necessarily be give and take, conciliation and compromise. Great Britain, in working through a Concert, loses a certain amount of free choice ; but the alternative is impotence or war, and within the Concert there is plenty of room for the influence of Great Britain to be exerted and to be felt in the right direction."

There has never been a prospect or even a possibility of such a combination on the Eastern Question, for the simple reason that while our policy has no ulterior object, the other Powers have ulterior objects and conflicting interests which would set them at one another's throats before they reached us. We covet no acre of territory in Europe. What other Power can say the same? When Englishmen are therefore told that the Concert means peace and must be adhered to at almost all costs, they quite appreciate that their Government is engaged in the thoroughly civilized work of keeping the great military nations from fighting. They quite realize that it is not a measure of British self-defence. They appreciate the true theory of the Concert, and have acquiesced, and do acquiesce, in its continuance. It is right for Great Britain to participate in the perpetuation of the great peace, a breach of which might have consequences from the contemplation of which one recoils. No one can say who would issue, or in what condition, from a modern Armageddon, and though it is customary to depict John Bull abroad as *hostess humani generis*, there is no Englishman worth his salt who would not deplore the smash up of any of the great European Powers upon whom the burden of a European war would fall, whether Italy, Austria, France, or Germany. Russia would probably be able to take care of herself on account of her size, but her fighting qualities are unknown, and she owes her prestige quite as much to the terror inspired by the unknown as to her fighting record. The brunt and stress would fall on the others and not on ourselves even if we were drawn in, in defence of our ally Italy, whom we are determined to uphold as a Mediterranean Power. The Concert stands between Europe and catastrophe. That at least is the cry of its defenders, and until they are conclusively refuted, the most strenuous efforts will be made by Englishmen to accept its decisions, though these may be occasionally unpalatable to British public opinion. With regard to the present crisis there can be no question of our abandoning the other Powers, as they have consented to a considerable extent to meet British views—which are equally incomprehensible to Czar and Kaiser—by finally liberating Crete from direct Turkish rule, which is regarded by the Emperors as "a Western fad." In return for this concession the British Cabinet has agreed that Crete shall remain under the nominal suzerainty of the Sultan, and that Greece shall be restrained from present annexation, though she is apparently to be regarded as the heir-apparent of Turkey in Crete. Mr. Balfour has happily summarized this policy as "the liberation of Crete and the Peace of Europe." When the outstanding difficulties have been settled men will ask two test questions according to the answers to which this policy will be

judged: (1) Has Crete been effectively liberated? (2) Has the Peace of Europe been maintained?

THE FUTURE OF THE CONCERT.

There is a disposition in some quarters to assume that if the concert of Europe deals in a practical and satisfactory manner with the Cretan Question that it will subsequently march through a vista of triumphs ending in the peaceful dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, which is the great problem ahead of Europe. We cannot share in these rosy visions. The Cretan Question was a fairly simple one at the time the last massacre of Christians took place (of which there seems to be but little doubt that the Sultan was the instigator), but the Powers took so long to get into line that Greece had an opportunity of forcing their hands by despatching Colonel Vassos and a detachment of Greek soldiers to assist the Cretan insurgents. Since then the Powers have wobbled from side to side according as France, Italian, and British, or Russian, German, and Austrian counsel prevailed. An intelligible policy would have been to call on both Greek and Turkish soldiers to withdraw, and then to have handed over the administration of the island for a term of years to one of the Great Powers, at the end of which its fate might have been left to the decision of some form of local plebiscite or a general conference. As it is, the inhabitants of Crete, who are innocent of all international offence except that of resenting Turkish atrocities, which Western Europe regards as a positive duty, are being punished by a blockade because Colonel Vassos descended upon them. No serious effort is being made to expel Colonel Vassos, or to punish those who are responsible for his presence in Crete. The Cretans are in fact being made scapegoats of while the real disturber of international law escapes scot free, as Western sentiment cannot screw itself up to sanction a blockade of Athens; while Eastern sentiment is uncertain as to what might happen on the Turco-Greek frontier, across which two large and impatient armies are glaring at one another, if Greece were coerced on the coast. The European Federation is, one sees, a very illogical as well as a very cumbrous contrivance, and success in achieving its main purposes is the only standard by which it can be judged. While accepting the view that it will pull off the present crisis, its future appears to us to be thoroughly precarious, and as a permanent guarantee of peace it may turn out to be a broken reed. We cannot help hoping that when the present cloud has rolled away our responsible statesmen will lay before the country in a somewhat fuller manner than has yet been done, the reasons for the faith that is in them—that the Concert is a pillar of peace. No ordinary Cabinet could survive,

many strains equal to that which the Cretan crisis has imposed on the Cabinet of Europe for the last six weeks. Is a whole generation to groan under a series of such ordeals? We feel that so long as the Concert is incapable of partitioning Turkey the answer must be "Yes." To suppose that European statesmanship is competent to reform Turkish administration, is to suppose it capable of purifying a rotten egg. That is why we feel so little confidence in the future of the Concert as a resolver of the general Eastern Question, and while that question remains open how can peace be assured?

THE SHORT FACTS.

The annals of the "crisis" may be very briefly written. In the beginning of March Greece was handed an Identic Note from the Six Powers, to the effect that she must withdraw her ships and troops from Crete, which cannot "under present circumstances" be annexed by her, but that it would be endowed with "an absolutely effective autonomous *régime* under the high suzerainty of the Sultan." The note gave Greece six days in which to withdraw from Crete and Cretan waters under pain of compulsion. A Collective Note was likewise addressed to the Porte to the effect that Crete would, while remaining a part of the Turkish Empire, be provided with a Government under the direction of Europe, and prescribing the gradual withdrawal of the Turkish soldiers. It is obvious that the two forces should have been called upon to withdraw simultaneously, but the distinction in favour of the Turk is credited to the influence of the Sultan's aggressive champion, the Emperor of Germany, as a set-off to the practical liberation of the island from Turkish rule. (The total withdrawal of the Turkish soldier or, at any rate, his subordination to European officers is an essential part of the serious pacification of the island.) The Sultan acquiesced in the decision of the Powers, as he was bound to, but the Greek Government delivered a firm and even unbending reply, proclaiming its zeal for peace, but professing scepticism as to the proposed autonomy, and urging the Powers to "lead Crete back to Greece." While willing to withdraw her ships from Cretan waters Greece declined to withdraw her troops from the island. "Our duty forbids us to abandon the Cretan people to the mercy of Mussulman fanaticism and the Turkish army." Greece further proposed that her troops should remain to pacify the island, whose future should be left to the decision of "a free vote of the Cretan people." Prolonged *pourparlers* among the Powers followed the reception of this note, and Great Britain would undoubtedly have been willing to accept it as the basis for further negotiation, there being every desire on our part to let Greece down easily. While

the Powers interchanged views Greece mobilized her army, and massed all the men she could muster on the Turkish frontier. The Turks followed suit, and for the last fortnight the centre of interest has been removed to Thessaly where an outbreak between the armies has been hourly prophesied, though none has yet come. Eventually the Powers decided on one of those half-measures such as Cabinets habitually resolve, *i.e.*, the blockade of Crete, partly to force Greece to withdraw her troops, and partly as an earnest of more rigorous coercion should the Athenian Government continue to be contumacious. The Powers at the same time reiterated their policy to provide for the autonomy of Crete, and arranged for the withdrawal of all Ottoman troops to points occupied by the European forces. To ensure order the Powers decided to strengthen the detachments they had already landed, but only by 3,000 men altogether, which is a ludicrously inadequate army for police purposes. These various steps have been taken one by one. The admirals communicated the proclamation of autonomy to the Cretans, established a blockade, and landed some additional forces to occupy the towns and keep an eye on the Turkish troops. In the meantime Colonel Vassos and the insurgents dominate the interior of Crete, and everyone is waiting, like Mr. Micawber, for something to turn up, which it can hardly fail to do before these pages reach the reader.

THE VOICE OF HALIFAX.

The bye-election held at a great industrial centre, Halifax, is not a very significant straw as showing any change in the wind of public opinion. Though the Opposition as in duty bound profess to feel elated at the result, a comparison of the figures with those of previous elections is in no way disquieting to Unionists. On the contrary, considering the Government has been in power for nearly two years it ought, according to all precedent, to be now confronted by a flowing and hostile tide of overwhelming proportions. The vacancy was due to the retirement of Mr. W. R. Shaw, a Radical who felt, however, that he was not sufficiently "stalwart" to satisfy the aggressive Radicalism of Halifax. In his place a Mr. Billson, who is said to supply Mr. Shaw's deficiencies, was selected, while the Unionist cause was entrusted to the very competent hands of Sir Savile Crossley. Mr. Tom Mann intervened as the champion of the Independent Labour Party, whose motto is "A Plague on both your Parties—let us make a third." After a spirited contest the result was declared as follows:—

Mr. A. Billson (R.)	5,664
Sir S. Crossley (U.)	5,252
Mr. T. Mann (Ind. Lab.)	2,000

The majority of the Radical over the Unionist candidate was *thus* 412.

The history of political encounters in Halifax is eloquent of the remarkable failure of the Gladstonian Party to retain the confidence of the English working-classes in what used to be regarded as an unassailable Radical stronghold. Ten years ago the Home Rule majority in Halifax was nearly 2,000, as the following figures show :—

1885.		1892.	
T. Shaw (L.)	6,269	T. Shaw (G.L.)	6,581
Rt. Hon. J. Stansfeld (L.) ...	6,053	Rt. Hon. J. Stansfeld (G.L.) ...	6,461
A. Morris (C.)...	3,988	A. Arnold (C.)...	4,683
1886.		Bye-election, March, 1893.	
T. Shaw (G.L.)	5,427	W. R. Shaw (G.L.)	4,620
Rt. Hon. J. Stansfeld (G.L.)...	5,381	A. Arnold (C.)...	4,251
A. Morris (C.)...	3,612	J. Lister (Labour)	3,028
Bye-election, April, 1886.		1895.	
Rt. Hon. J. Stansfeld ... unopposed		A. Arnold (C.)...	5,475
		W. R. Shaw (R.)	5,085
		J. Booth (R.)	4,283
		J. Lister (Labour)	3,818

It will be seen that in 1895 the Conservative fluked in at the head of the poll. This was owing to the large number of "split votes" between him and the Labour candidate. Sir Savile Crossley's present defeat is indeed more encouraging than Mr. Arnold's lucky victory, as the former has polled far the largest strictly Unionist vote ever cast in Halifax. Lord Salisbury's Government appears to us to be almost as firmly planted in popular favour as at the General Election. *Unbereufen!*

THE LORDS' EXAMPLE.

We referred last month to what can only be termed the idiotic debate, at the end of which the House of Commons assented by a large majority to the Second Reading of a Woman Suffrage Bill, conferring the Parliamentary franchise upon propertied spinsters and propertied widows whether it would enfranchise propertied wives is uncertain, as, owing to dissensions in "the movement," these Bills are necessarily drafted in ambiguous terms. The House of Lords has since been presented with a somewhat similar Bill—introduced by Lord Templetown—its treatment of which gives point to a jocose suggestion of Lord Salisbury's, that Members of the House of Commons should be sent in detachments to the Lords to learn how to conduct business. The mover employed the usual arguments, which are familiar rather than forcible, *e.g.*, "women complained that whereas they had to pay taxes in the same way that men equally situated did, they had no representation." This can hardly be a cogent complaint to address to peers, who are in a precisely similar predicament as regards taxes. He also, with unconscious illogic, pointed out that "at the present the State was deprived of the vote of those who specially repre-

sented the opinion of women on questions on which women were experts." If these questions are only intelligible to women, surely it is not their vote that is requisite, but their presence in Parliament? Instead of a series of drivelling speeches, eking out stale and vulgar jokes such as we had last month, the Duke of Devonshire immediately replied on behalf of the Government, "in which there is a certain amount of difference of opinion as to the merits of this question," pointing out that it would be "an unexampled course for this House to undertake what is, or purports to be, a reform of the House of Commons." The speaker very properly added, "I hope I shall not be supposed to intend to speak with any disrespect whatever of the other House of Parliament, but I think, in the opinion of many persons, the reputation of the House of Commons for sobriety of judgment was not enhanced when, on a Wednesday afternoon, after a very short debate, the principle of this measure was recently affirmed." Upon the merits of the various proposals floated by the Women's Suffrage Societies the Duke of Devonshire only made one remark, but a conclusive one :—

"I do not think that anyone can doubt that this measure does involve constitutional changes of an extremely grave and important character, and it is fraught with possible and even probable consequences which it is almost impossible at present to foresee. Small as may be the immediate effect which would be brought about either by the measure which was proposed in the other House or the different measure which is now before you, we cannot entertain any feeling of certainty that we have reached the limits of electoral reform, and that we may not have some day to deal with the question of manhood suffrage, and I confess that I find it very difficult to discover any reason why, if the principle of manhood suffrage should ever be adopted in this country, as it has been in European countries, and if you assent to the principle contained in this Bill, it would be possible to stop short of adult female suffrage also."

Lord Kimberley, the leader of the Opposition, cordially concurred with the Duke of Devonshire, and after half-an-hour's debate the subject was shelved.

THE INDIAN FAMINE.

This terrible visitation has hardly slackened. According to the Viceroy's despatch of March 16th, the numbers on relief then were 3¼th as against 2¾ millions in previous months. In Bombay, Madras, and Bengal the numbers on relief have continued to rise, but the numbers decreased in the North-West Provinces by 100,000, owing to harvest having commenced; but these Provinces have suffered most. The area affected in them embraces a parallelogram 400 miles by 200. The worst divisions were Lucknow and Allahabad, including Bundelkhand and Benares. The famine reached its high-water mark at the end February, when 2,000,000 people sought relief. Reuter's corres-

pondent has made an exhaustive tour in the North-West Provinces and sends in an interesting report. According to him the Government will have in these districts alone about a million people to support for the next five months, but "the first stage of the famine had been tided over." He extolls the system of relief, which he tested in various ways, and found it perfect—the method of paying some 2,000,000 workers being a model of ingenuity and success. Throughout his whole tour he has *not come across a single case of starvation;* and he says the consequences of the famine would have been appalling had the management been in less capable hands. If the same scarcity "had occurred twenty years ago it would have decimated Central and Northern India." Huge sums are still, however, required to clothe and reinstate millions of ruined peasantry. The Mansion House Fund, as we go to press approaches £500,000. All this and as much more as may be forthcoming will be devoted to the purchase of cattle and effects for the ruined proprietors.

AN IMPORTANT LECTURE.

Sir Charles Elliott, late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, has done a patriotic service in delivering a lecture at the Society of Arts explaining the measures which have been taken during the last 20 years in anticipation of famine. He carefully warned his audienee that there is no remedy discoverable which will entirely avert widespread misery, disease, and death in India if the rains fail during successive years. He combated the statement that the measures of the past 20 years have been useless because they have not averted the present famine. He said: "The answer to this is that a famine arising from drought is a calamity against which human efforts can but partially avail. Irrigation is the only possible remedy for drought, and there are large tracts where irrigation cannot be brought in. Railways are protective only in the sense that they enable food to be carried where otherwise it could not penetrate: administrative reform is protective so far as it prepares the official staff to take up a defined and formulated course of action; agricultural improvements are protective as putting the agricultural classes into a better position to resist the effects of a loss of their crops." It appears that since the last great famine of 1877 the major canals and their distributories have received an extension of 14,000 miles, and an increase of 3¼ million acres in their area of irrigation. There has also been an enormous development of well irrigation. The central alluvial plain of India is riddled like a sieve with innumerable water-holes from 10 ft. to 50 ft. deep, but the area of British India in which well irrigation can be regarded as profitable is only one-eleventh of the whole. The net result of irrigation works is that 29 millions

of acres are irrigated from various sources out of the total Indian cultivation of 180 million acres. This irrigated area is placed beyond the risk arising from any ordinary drought and can feed 120 millions of people. Nearly half the population of India is thus secured against famine. There has also been an enormous development of the railway system with a view to the distribution of food, in accordance with the recommendation of the Famine Commission. Among other forms of assistance, it may be mentioned that money is advanced to proprietors in a distressed position, for which no interest is charged, and repayment is spread over a term of years.

CUBA.

Nothing further has been heard from Cuba in recent weeks, and we miss the admirable letters in which *The Times* correspondent used to keep the world *au courant* of the dismal history of the Pearl of the Antilles. Since the promulgation in Madrid of what would have been accepted as a large and generous measure of local autonomy at an earlier stage of the ghastly struggle between Spain and her unconquerable dependency, but which is now probably regarded as a mockery by the insurgents, all information has been practically shut down. From this one may infer that the reforms have not been accepted as a settlement, and that things have been going badly for Spain and her astonishing General. It is rumoured, indeed, that the Weyler policy, which has been unspeakably inept and brutal, is to be reversed, its director recalled, and an effort made to win over the insurgents by conciliatory means. Turkey would have almost as much chance of conciliating the Cretans as Spain has of pacifying the followers of the late Maceo and Gomez. Such a policy is out of date, and the only remaining practical question is whether Spain can make up her mind to relinquish her grip of Cuba before she herself is submerged in bankruptcy and anarchy, if indeed it is not already too late for she herself to escape from the terrible fate she has inflicted on Cuba by her blind pride and the woful incompetence of her marshals. The condition of the unhappy island is beyond all description. Here is one of the latest accounts by *The Times* Havana correspondent of the province in which General Weyler has been "campaigning":—"I have just returned from a journey in Pinar del Rio. The whole country is completely laid waste, with the exception of a few tobacco centres. Some 40,000 country people, nearly all women and children, have been driven into the towns by order of General Weyler, and are literally in a starving condition. The rebels, who have lately been strengthened by reinforcements of men and war material, occupy a range of mountains in the centre of the province. Occasionally

they raid the plains for the purpose of obtaining cattle and harassing the troops. Thirty thousand troops are now in the province engaged in protecting the towns and the railway. They are not taking any aggressive action against the insurgent positions."

AMERICAN RESPONSIBILITY.

We have read a great number of harsh criticisms in American newspapers at the "abandonment of the Armenians" by Great Britain. Recrimination is always irritating and profitless, and were it not that an immense number of Americans share our view we should hesitate to point out that for more than two years this hideous Cuban scandal has been growing at the very doors of the United States without a word of remonstrance from the American to the Spanish Government, and now we are told that Mr. Sherman, the new Secretary of State, shares the "conservative" view of Mr. Olney, his predecessor. The United States are hampered by no European Concert; indeed, their warning to other Powers not to interfere in so peculiarly an American question as "Cuba" has been received without any remonstrance so far. American policy towards Cuba has, however, been far more impotent than that of the Concert towards Crete—the latter has at least been finally detached from direct Turkish rule. When the account is finally taken there will be as little left of Cuba as of Armenia. And though the latter will have suffered more than the former, the emancipation of Cuba has at all times been a far simpler task for the American Federation, which is under one Government, than the rescue of Armenia by the European Federation, which is composed of six jealous and hostile Governments whose common accord presents insuperable difficulties. For this reason many of the best American citizens feel that their Government is incurring as heavy a load of responsibility as collective Europe. At any rate, until an intelligible defence of this branch of American policy has been put forward, there should be an abatement of the harsh attacks on the European Governments that we have lately read in the transatlantic Press, on the principle "that people who live in glass-houses can't throw stones," as an American friend caustically puts it. The Cuban Question cannot, however, indefinitely remain an American question, as Western Europe, particularly France, has a very distinct interest in keeping Spain from the perdition now yawning in front of her. We do not believe that the McKinley Administration will be allowed to prolong a dog-in-the-manger policy for an indefinite period, and it is quite on the cards that France may politely, but firmly, insist on interesting herself in Cuba on account of her large moral and material stake in Cuba's step-mother country.

THE MURDER OF MR. DABRIGEON.

Since the preceding pages were written there has been a further telegram from *The Times* Havana correspondent giving "the trustworthy declaration of an eye-witness of the murder of Mr. Henry Dabrigeon," a British subject, to which we desire to call our readers' most serious attention. The unfortunate Mr. Dabrigeon, who was a native of Canada, owned 10,000 acres of land in the district of Cienfuegos, in Cuba, and at the time of his murder was living with his wife and seven children at his own house at Cartagena. The testimony is to the effect that the only assignable motive for this murder is that the victim had a month previously—like any other Canadian—knocked down a Spanish officer at Cartagena for using insulting expressions about the Queen of England. The "eye-witness" relates that on the day of the crime Corporal Collado and two soldiers in uniform came to Mr. Dabrigeon's house at two p.m. and enquired for him. Being told he was out they went away, but returned at five o'clock to learn that he was ill in bed. "The corporal stated that he had a message from the military commandant, and must deliver it. Mr. Dabrigeon then sent word to him to enter. The corporal and one soldier entered, leaving the other man as sentinel. The corporal and soldier went into Mr. Dabrigeon's room and found him lying in bed. His wife was at the foot of the bed nursing her youngest child, and the British flag was hanging at the back of the bedstead. Mr. Dabrigeon asked what was wanted. The corporal, muttering something about cattle, approached the bed and discharged the carbine at Mr. Dabrigeon's head, scattering his brains in all directions. The soldier then approached the bedside and fired his carbine at Mr. Dabrigeon's heart. Then the men immediately left the room, mounted their horses, and galloped away." The authorities who took the widow's declaration declared the murderers were insurgents, but the Commandant refused the widow's demand to be confronted with Corporal Collado. The widow reported the circumstances to the British Vice-Consul at Cienfuegos "*who personally informed me* (*The Times* correspondent) *that the fact was undeniable, but that he was unable to obtain any satisfaction from the Spanish authorities.*" It is not surprising to learn that the widow and children "are absolutely destitute, their farms all burned, their cattle stolen, and their property destroyed." Canadians look to the British Foreign Office to exact a prompt and signal reparation for this atrocious outrage, and we feel sure if the facts remotely resemble the case put forward in *The Times* (whose Cuban correspondent's information has been unimpeachable hitherto), that they will not be disappointed. The hanging of Mr. Stokes after a mock trial by Lothaire in the heart of Africa (Congo Free State), shines

as "a bright and saintly deed" beside this assassination of Mr. Dabrigeon in bed.

BIMETALLISM IN THE UNITED STATES.

For a full treatment of the particularly interesting events that have lately occurred in America we refer to that valuable article of our Washington contributor, as also to Mr. A. Maurice Low's instructive appreciation of Mr. McKinley, the new President. The Inaugural Address, in which the President expounded the policy of his Administration, was awaited in Europe with eager anticipation. The Republican victory of last November has been so repeatedly declared to mark the final acceptance of the gold standard by the United States that we were becoming almost weary of refuting this misrepresentation. It has now been finally laid to rest in the most absolute and authoritative manner by the President on the very first day he entered office and in the opening sentences of his Address. Mr. McKinley's pronouncement must indeed be regarded as foreshadowing the doom of the gold standard as an American institution. It is indeed the logical consequence of the various steps that have been taken by the Republican Party since their recent triumph to redeem the pledge of the St. Louis Platform of June 17th, 1896 (the Newcastle Programme of the Republican Party). That pledge ran as follows :—"We are, therefore, opposed to the free coinage of silver except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, *which we pledge ourselves to promote.*" Since the success of the policy of that platform at the polls last November,* leading members of the Republican Party (notably Senators Wolcott, Hoar, and Chandler) have been working unremittingly to give effect to the declaration in favour of international bimetallism, and the following steps have been taken: (1) A Senatorial Committee was appointed to draft an International Monetary Conference Bill under the chairmanship of Mr. Wolcott; (2) Mr. Wolcott paid a visit to the leading commercial nations of Europe in order to ascertain the disposition of European Governments; (3) the Senate passed the Monetary Conference Bill with only four dissentients; (4) the House of Representatives passed the Bill with only four dissentients. The Bill consists of two clauses.

* In a recent issue *The Journal of Finance*—which, unlike other journals of finance, does not shirk all discussion of the greatest financial question—in commenting on some articles that had appeared in *The National Review* on "Bimetallism in Europe," made the following suggestion: "An unbiased sketch of bimetallism in America ought to follow these articles. British readers have at best only confused notions of this part of the 'great controversy,' and are sorely in need of enlightenment in regard to the great progress that has been made across the Atlantic in spite of the presidential campaign." We desire to call *The Journal of Finance's* attention to the facts in the paragraph to which this note is attached.

"Section 1.—That whenever after March 4th, 1897, the President of the United States shall determine that the United States shall be represented at any international conference, called by the United States or any other country, with a view to securing, by international agreement, a fixity of relative value between gold and silver as money, by means of a common ratio between these metals, with free mintage at such ratio, he is hereby authorized to appoint five or more commissioners to such international conference; and for compensation of said commissioners, and for all reasonable expenses connected therewith, to be approved by the Secretary of State, including the proportion to be paid by the United States of the joint expenses of any such conference, the sum of $100,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated.

"Section 2.—That the President of the United States is hereby authorized, in the name of the Government of the United States, to call in his discretion, such international conference, to assemble at such points as may be agreed upon."*

None of the information contained in this note, elementary though it be, has been allowed to reach the English reader in the ordinary way, because, apparently, our newspapers entertain the absurd idea that bimetallism can be beaten by boycotting. The only result of this system is to stultify the Press. Notably in this case, for Englishmen are now asking, "Why have we been told for months past that McKinley's victory signified the triumph of the gold standard, seeing that the President is plainly in favour of bimetallism?"

MR. MCKINLEY'S POLICY.

The passage in the Presidential Address is as unequivocal and direct as words can be—it is as plain as a pike-staff—and it is the logical consequence of the passage of the International Monetary Conference Bill through a practically unanimous Legislature. Mr. McKinley renews the St. Louis pledge in the following admirably lucid terms: "The question of international bimetallism will have early and earnest attention. My constant endeavour will be to secure it by co-operation with other great commercial Powers." We certainly expected that *The Times* American correspondent would immediately come forward with the familiar explanation that "this bimetallist clap-trap is merely put into the Address to catch silver votes for the tariff, and signifies nothing. I know from the very best sources of information in New York that Mr. McKinley recognizes that Bryanism has killed bimetallism, and he is even sorry for ever having coquetted with such an absurdity. Mr. Chauncey Depew says he knows Mr. McKinley's mind, and is sure there is no bimetallism lurking there; besides, if there were, Mr. Depew, who has the most powerful intellect in America, would soon convince the President of his folly." This is what we expected to read, but we gladly recognize that since *The*

* We desire to call attention to the important news contained in our Washington article with reference to the action the President is taking on this Bill as amended by the House of Representatives.—EDITOR *N.R.*

Times correspondent has taken up his quarters in Washington, where we hope he will remain, there has been a most agreeable improvement in his always clever, though hitherto—as it has seemed to us—misleading despatches. Mr. Smalley had a most interesting talk with Mr. McKinley after the inauguration, and is at last forced to recognize that the new President is an ardent bimetallist. *The Times* correspondent frankly admits this in a passage which materially helps to clear the ground:—

"It has to be added that the President is very much in earnest about international bimetallism, and has very strong views about his duty on that subject. He does recognize expressly his obligation to carry out the declaration of the St. Louis platform. What he said in his Inaugural Address was brief, and deeply considered. The subject takes larger proportions in his own mind than it did in that Address. He will do his utmost to promote bimetallism. He believes that the prosperity of this, as of other countries would be advanced by it. Not till he is satisfied that no monetary conference can be held under useful conditions will he relax his efforts to assemble one. Not till he has exhausted all means of securing an international agreement will he abandon his present purpose. He thinks that not only the prosperity, but the political future of this country will be largely influenced by the success or failure of these efforts. They do not imply in any sense, or to any extent, a less firm resolve to maintain the present gold standard. He was surprised to hear that anybody should imagine there could be the least doubt on that point, or that an honest and persevering attempt to settle the currency question on a sound and permanent basis could unsettle the minds of business men or shake the confidence of the community in returning prosperity. One thing I trust will appear from this long, yet incomplete narrative. I have written to no purpose if I have not given some hint of the impression which the President's conversation left. The impression is one of confidence."

The Times naturally throws all the cold water it can upon the bimetallist aspirations of the President in a leading article which unconsciously puts the whole case in a nutshell: "If President McKinley would look round he would see that every nation goes its own way in currency matters, at its own time. . . . If he is very anxious for a general discussion, it is possible that other nations may oblige him. A conference does no one any harm, and it indicates international courtesy; but from that to setting up a new international rule of currency is a very long way indeed." If *The Times* and its friends succeed in reducing the conference to a mere "international courtesy," President McKinley will, no doubt, conclude "that every nation goes its own way in currency matters, at its own time," and either he or his successor will sign a Free Silver Bill.

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S POSITION.

The British Government is perfectly ready to co-operate in a general settlement of the monetary question, and its attitude will be governed by the debate and resolution of the House of Commons of 17th March, 1896. The terms of that resolution are continually ignored abroad, as foreign politicians find it convenient to represent

John Bull as blocking the way. The resolution, which was carried unanimously by the House of Commons, runs as follows: "That this House is of opinion that the instability of the relative value of gold and silver, since the action of the Latin Union in 1873, has proved injurious to the best interests of this country, and urges upon this Government the advisability of doing all in their power to secure by international agreement a stable monetary par of exchange between gold and silver." The Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, so far as we have been able to ascertain, is the only monometallist in the present Cabinet, delivered during the debate a long and very elaborate speech against bimetallism, but when he came to declare the policy of the Government he was obliged to make large admissions, and he finally admitted the Government to be willing to assist in remedying the evils that bimetallists complain of: "What is the policy which as a Government we intend to pursue? As I have said, we are willing, we are anxious, seeing that there are evils in the present low value of silver, and in the fluctuations in the value of the two metals, to enter into a conference, or into negotiations, which certainly I believe at the present stage would be much better than a conference, with other countries upon this subject, but we are not prepared to abandon the gold standard in the United Kingdom. If it be possible for other nations to be joined in a bimetallic league, or in an agreement on this matter which seemed good to themselves, I have little doubt but that the Indian Government would be prepared to agree with us in re-opening the Indian mints to the free coinage of silver, and that we might endeavour by other minor means to promote the increase of silver in coinage to aid in an international agreement on this great question." As bimetallists we believe that the true remedy for the present deplorable evils, due to the want of a common system, is a general opening of the mints of the leading commercial nations at an agreed ratio on an agreed date, in which Great Britain should co-operate *pari passu* with the other Powers. But we recognize that, while there has been a great advance in public opinion on this question, it is not yet sufficiently ripe to enable the Government to open the English mints to the free coinage of silver, to which they have been closed since 1816, *i.e.*, beyond the memory of any living man.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The English bimetallist is engaged in fighting a system which has an English existence of 81 years behind it, and though it would have broken down long ago had it not been for the steadying policy of France in keeping her mints open to both gold and silver throughout the first three-quarters of the century, it is admittedly more difficult to

found a popular argument against the gold standard in a nation that experienced it during the fifties and sixties—when prosperity advanced by leaps and bounds—than in those countries which have only experienced gold monometallism during the last twenty-four years. These have been to a great extent years of commercial distress and peril. One may even go a step further and point out that though Great Britain took a leap in the dark in 1816 for which there was no justification, and for which she suffered bitterly for thirty years, and which only closed with the Californian and Australian discoveries of gold, it was not her action in 1816, but the action of other nations in 1873, which is responsible for the deplorable fall of wholesale prices, and the present lamentations of productive industry. Since the triple blunder of 1873 by Germany, the United States, and France (which was not the consequence of any criminal conspiracy, but was solely due to human ignorance and folly), Great Britain has dealt one damaging blow at the world's and her own industry by the closing of the Indian mints in 1893—which was the work of a hole and corner cabal during the Chancellorship of Sir William Harcourt. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, announced early last year (as we have seen), but long before there was any thought of an Indian Famine, that Great Britain is quite willing to reopen the Indian mints as part of her contribution to an international settlement. If other nations, instead of vituperating Great Britain as an obstructionist, would come forward in a similar spirit, and with equivalent contributions, this question would be speedily settled.

THE REAL OBSTRUCTIONIST.

The real obstructionist for the last four years has been President Cleveland and Mr. Carlisle, his Secretary of the Treasury; and we have been most positively assured that there are papers in the State Department at Washington, the publication of which would place this beyond doubt. We suggest that Mr. Carlisle should inform the world—now that he has retired to a position of greater freedom and less responsibility—how he received the British Chancellor of the Exchequer's statement last year, that the British Government was willing to enter "into a conference or into *negotiations*, which would be much better than a conference," on "the evils in the present low value of silver and in the fluctuations in the value of the two metals?" Did President Cleveland forthwith "negotiate"? President McKinley now reigns in his stead, and the British Government is no less desirous of negotiating and co-operating in a settlement than it was last year, though for the reasons we have more than once pointed out in these pages, British public opinion

is not yet ripe for the opening of our long closed mints in London to the free coinage of silver. John Bull is becoming a bimetallist, but his conversion is not yet completed. He has been better able to withstand the strain imposed on industry by the disastrous operations of 1873, but he has enough practical sagacity to work for its removal.

THE BRITISH BIMETALLISTS.

As it is frequently asserted by the ignorant or the interested that the bimetallist movement in Great Britain is limited to a few obscure faddists, we have added an appendix to this number of *The National Review* consisting of the reply addressed by the Bimetallic League to a memorial that had been presented by the Gold Standard Defence Association to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1895. It will be seen that the names on this roll-call of leading bimetallists are as distinguished and influential as any to be found in the City of London. The movement is much stronger now than it was two years ago, and the list would be greatly extended if it were brought up to date, but as it stands it is a sufficient refutation of a delusion which is sedulously cultivated in certain great commercial centres abroad that, beyond a few unconsidered cranks, we are all gold monometallists in Great Britain.

THE GOLD STANDARD IN JAPAN.

It is announced that Japan is going upon a gold standard at $32\frac{1}{3}$ to 1. Such an announcement is made unnecessarily puzzling by the uncertainty of the news agencies as to its purport, and the incompetence of our journals to explain it. Some bimetallists have not unnaturally supposed that it meant bimetallism at $32\frac{1}{3}$ to 1, and have wondered what Japan could be driving at. Japan is not, however, going in for "independent" bimetallism at any ratio. The $32\frac{1}{3}$ to 1 is a ratio for conversion of the silver standard-yen into a gold standard-yen, not for free mintage of both metals. The present silver yen, Japan's standard coin, is taken at its present gold value as the basis for the new gold yen: that is to say, the new gold yen is to be in weight, compared with the silver yen, as 1 to $32\frac{1}{3}$, this being about the present market ratio of silver to gold in value by weight. Japan has been collecting gold, and has plenty of the metal to start free coinage with. When her mints are opened to gold, they will be closed to silver; and existing silver coins will be left, presumably, to take care of themselves, that is, to leave the country if they have a higher value elsewhere than the new gold yen, or remain in it as currency yens if they have not. We say "presumably," because information as to the status of silver yen under the new *régime* is still

awaited. The particular ratio of $32\frac{1}{3}$ to 1, which looks at first sight curious, is probably chosen because it is just half the hitherto Japanese mint-ratio of $16\frac{1}{6}$ to 1. There are many Japanese gold yens in existence (though not of course current as yens in Japan now) coined at the last named ratio of weight to the silver yens: and it may well be that this gold money is to be brought into currency as standard money of double its face value. If not, it will be converted into the new gold currency at the convenient equivalent of 1 old gold yen to 2 new gold yens. Prices of commodities will not be disturbed, because the new gold piece is at starting of the same real value as the old silver piece. But Japan ceases to demand silver by a free mint, and becomes a constant requirer of gold: and a fresh cause is therefore set up for all the tendency of silver to fall in terms of gold, and of gold to rise in terms of silver. Japan does not give up the advantage she has hitherto enjoyed over the West through the maintenance or rise of the silver prices of her commodities while their gold prices have been falling; but the advantage ceases to become progressive to her, if it was destined to be so, and for the moment it looks as if she is allowing Western and Indian producers to get on terms with her, and giving something away to China.

THE MEANING OF IT.

No doubt, considering how strong a trait in the Japanese character is their imitativeness, and how they are set upon copying European manners, their introduction of the gold standard is partly the result not of calculation but of accident—not of policy but of pride. It would be a great mistake, however, to read in it nothing but a fresh instance of flattery by imitation. The Japanese have proved themselves an astute commercial nation, and are not unaware that their recent progress is largely due to their having enjoyed a monetary standard which has not let general prices down, but has allowed them even to rise (as gold prices did in 1850–1870) during a period of greatly increased production of commodities. After the war with China, a Japanese commission decided against any departure from the silver standard; but since that time the development of the silver question in the United States, accompanied by the strong movement towards bimetallism in Europe, has made it plain that latter-day gold appreciation may be ending, and a period of silver appreciation may be at hand. While there is yet time, therefore, it is a clever thing to step off the silver standard on to the gold, and so avoid the inconveniences of a possible fall in the silver prices of commodities and get the benefit of a probable rise in their gold prices. That there is this method in the madness of Japan is only too probable, however mixed the motives of her policy may be. Her carefulness

to avoid any fall in prices shows her view of the gold standard to be very different from that of the European monometallist, who seems to think that the more valuable his standard metal gets the more he is to congratulate himself. Meanwhile the New York "gold-bugs" in particular may draw a useful lesson from what has already happened. The announcement of Japan's intention instantly and inevitably caused a break in the price of silver which will be permanent until it is counteracted by some opposite tendency. For why? The closing of a country's mints to a metal restricts the demand for it, as the closing of the Indian mints to silver restricted the demand, and brought the price down heavily. Conversely, the opening of a country's mint must increase the demand, and, *ceteris paribus*, raise the price. Yet it was taken for granted generally in the campaign against free silver last year that the opening of the United States' mints to the white metal would not raise its price, but the free silver dollar would continue to be worth fifty cents in gold! Japan's action is interesting, but leaves her, of course, free to take whatever next step circumstances may show to be the wisest. If her present step has any important effect, it can only be to hasten the day of reaction, and therefore to make the real solution of the silver question more than ever imperative.*

* We are fully conscious of the portentous length to which the "Episodes" extend, but it is extremely difficult to keep them down during so fruitful a period as the present. A few questions of Imperial interest will be found discussed in some extra pages that have been added to the end of this number. It may eventually be possible to arrange a Colonial Section of "Episodes," as one of the great needs of the time is accurate and regular information with regard to the great self-governing Colonies.

TRADE AND TRAINING IN GERMANY.

THE note of warning, how carefully soever it may be attuned to the exact degree of danger, is too likely to swell into the cry of alarm, through its frequent repetition, and so to evoke a counter-blast that drowns it. Something of this kind has happened with respect to the timely notice which a few speakers and writers, well acquainted with the facts, have given of the relatively rapid growth of German trade. They have endeavoured to show that the Germans have been occupied during the last fifteen or twenty years in very quietly developing their manufacturing industries, and in establishing commercial agencies in different parts of the world, and that they have succeded in encroaching upon our trade in more than one direction. Some of the causes that have enabled Germany to thus gain upon us in the commercial strife have been pointed out; and although the necessity for watchfulness and renewed efforts, if we are to maintain our past pre-eminence, is generally recognized, those who have called attention to the facts have been too readily treated as pessimists and alarmists, and their warning has been exaggerated into a scare, in order that it might be proved excessive.

Since Lord Rosebery in July last publicly stated, that "year after year our Consuls and our various officials of the Board of Trade have called the attention of the community to the fact that we are no longer, as we once were, undisputed mistress of the world of commerce, but that we are threatened by one very formidable rival—Germany," a disposition has shown itself in the utterances of some of our prominent statesmen, and very generally in newspaper articles, to disbelieve in the existence of any cause for anxiety, and to ignore, as far as possible, the circumstances and facts which have given rise to it. Some writers have let slip the reason of their refusal to be convinced. They believe the confession of any falling off in our trade through foreign competition is likely to bring about the very evils we are anxious to avoid, and to advertise our commercial rivals at our own expense. We are told, that even if it be true that the Germans are gaining on us in any branch of industry, it is wiser and more patriotic not to admit

it, but to continue to proclaim the undisputed fact that our trade is far greater than that of any other country. But, after all, we have nothing to fear from publicity. If, even for a time, we have to adopt some of the trade practices of our neighbours, to learn from our own pupils lessons in industrial warfare, we shall rather gain than lose by showing a willingness to be taught, and a desire to repair any loss we may have sustained through neglect or contempt of our rivals.

It was, indeed, with no desire to strengthen the feeling of uneasiness which, notwithstanding the great revival of trade in 1895, had been aroused, that I and some of my colleagues of the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction visited Germany last autumn. We were aware of the progress that had taken place, at home, in the arts of production and in the volume of our trade since 1884. We knew what efforts had been made to develop and improve our educational methods, and to establish technical schools, with a view of more closely associating the teaching of art and science with manufacturing processes, and we hoped to be able to show that the improvements in our weapons of industry were at least equal to those of our German competitors. But, although the time at our disposal enabled us to visit only a few centres of trade, we saw enough to convince us that Germany had rapidly advanced, as a manufacturing country, since 1883, when we made an exhaustive enquiry into the subject, and that her progress was very largely due to the continued and intelligent development of her educational institutions. Without verifying our impressions by examining the complicated statistics of trade returns, we were unable to resist the conclusions forced upon us by a comparison of the condition of certain industries in 1883 and now; by the growth of entirely new departments of trade, and by the increased activity of others; by the improvement in the standard of living of the working classes, and by the remarkable extension of all the aids to industry which education of every grade and type is capable of affording.

The corroborative evidence which the report of our visit* lacks will, however, be found in the *Comparative Statistics of Population, Industry, and Commerce in the United Kingdom and Some Leading Foreign Countries*, recently published as a memorandum by the Board of Trade. Sir Courtenay Boyle, the author of the memorandum, has collected some very useful statistics on the trade returns of the United Kingdom, Germany, France, and the United States; and although fuller returns, particularly those dealing with

* Report on a visit to Germany, with a view of ascertaining the recent progress of education in that country, being a letter to His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, K.G. (G. R. Redgrave, Swire Smith, W. Woodall, M.P., Sir Philip Magnus).

our commerce with China, Japan, South America, and other countries, would have proved interesting, we are able to derive much valuable information from the statistics he has prepared. Sir Courtenay Boyle has avoided drawing any conclusions, which might add to the prevailing impression that Germany is making rapid strides, at our expense, in manufacturing industry. Indeed, although the figures he quotes afford, from the statistical point of view, evidence of the fact, he is careful to add such necessary qualifications as may prevent the reader from being too easily discouraged by the apparent inferences. For instance, whilst it is admitted that the figures relating to the import of manufactured articles into this country "undoubtedly afford an indication of advance in manufacturing abroad," and that as regards our exports, "the *superficial* aspect of the facts is not so satisfactory as it was a few years ago," we are encouraged by the statement that "there are signs of improvement," and that the figures quoted "do not justify the inference that our home manufacturing is being displaced."*

It appears from the memorandum that whilst the increase in population in the United Kingdom has been from 31·5 to 39·5, or about eight millions between 1871 and 1896, the increase in Germany, between 1871 and 1895, has been from 41·0 to 52·2, or over eleven millions, and that the relative increase in Germany of the town as compared with the urban population is still greater; and it is suggested that the development of German manufacturing industry is due to the necessity of finding an outlet for the increasing town population. The explanation concedes the conclusion, independently reached by others, that German export trade has of late years very much improved; but whether the trade of a country necessarily increases with its population is a proposition which may not be generally admitted. It is of course needless to point out that no trustworthy conclusions can be drawn from a comparison of exports and imports over different periods of time between different countries, without considering very carefully the character of the exports and imports and the purposes to which they are applied. For instance, great importance attaches to the fact that in the estimated quantity of coal consumed here and in Germany, the percentage of increase from 1883 to 1894 is 8·9 for the United Kingdom and 42·8 for Germany. Again, if we take the production of pig-iron we find that the increase in the annual average produced in the United Kingdom from 1870-4 to 1890-4 was 0·9 million tons, or 14·1 per cent., and that in Germany the corresponding increase was 3·1 million tons, or 172·2 per cent.

* Memorandum, p. 18.

It is figures such as these which indicate the relatively great advance of German manufactures compared with our own during the last twenty years. It is nevertheless true that the production of pig-iron and the consumption of coal are still much greater in this than in any other European country;* but the question of importance to us, is not so much whether we are still in advance of other countries, as whether other countries are or are not gaining upon us, and to this question no equivocal answer can be given. In the words of the memorandum: "It cannot be said that the predominance or even the pre-eminence of the United Kingdom are any longer what they were, as far as these old fields of industry are concerned."† Having regard to the greater increase of population in Germany than in England, these figures, presented in another form,—in the amount of production and consumption per head of the population—appear less unfavourable to ourselves. But, even so, the increase in the annual consumption of coal per head of the population in the years 1884 and 1894 has been, in Germany, from 1·08 to 1·36, and in the United Kingdom, from 3·65 to 3·75, whilst in the average production of pig-iron for the years 1870-4 and 1890-4 the corresponding figures are, for Germany, an *increase* from 0·04 to 0·1, and for the United Kingdom a *decrease* from 0·20 to 0·19.

Coming now to the question of exports of manufactured articles from Germany, we find that since 1880 they have increased in value from £83,000,000 to £109,000,000 sterling, and that the increase with some fluctuations has been fairly continuous throughout this period. If we compare our own exports over nearly the same period, we find that they have *fallen* from 215 millions in 1883 to 195 millions in 1895. It must, moreover, be remembered that the figures quoted for Germany are exclusive of the large quantities of German-made goods which, shipped from Rotterdam, Antwerp, and Flushing, are included in the statistical tables as exports from Holland and Belgium; and further that the year 1895 was a record year, and exceptionally favourable for British trade. Indeed, the corresponding figure for 1894 was only 184 millions. There can be no doubt, therefore, as to the *falling off* in the exports of manufactured goods of the United Kingdom during the last twelve years. It would even appear that between 1883 and 1894 the gross value of our exports has fallen from 239 millions to 215 million pounds sterling, and if we analyse the items of which this total is made up, we find that the export of raw materials has

* The average annual production for the United States for the period 1890-4 shows an increase on that of the United Kingdom.

† Memorandum, p. 8.

increased from thirteen to nineteen millions, and machinery and mill work, which is used of course for manufacturing purposes, from thirteen to fourteen millions. In the one item of metals and articles manufactured therefrom (except machinery) there is a *fall* from forty to twenty-seven millions, and in yarns and textile fabrics taken together a *fall* from 111 to 96 millions. Whilst the export trade of the United Kingdom has thus fallen off between 1883 and 1894, "the import of articles called manufactured into the United Kingdom in the same period has enormously increased, viz., from £53,000,000 in 1893 to £76,000,000 in 1895," notwithstanding the fall in prices, and to £81,000,000 in 1896. We may offer any explanation we can of these facts, but the facts nevertheless remain, and they cannot be considered satisfactory. By careful comparisons of the proportion of imports from home to the total imports in different groups of countries it is further shown that, whilst the trade of Germany, for instance, with American countries gives signs of increasing, that of the United Kingdom with America, China, Japan has fallen off, and Sir Courtenay Boyle sums up this part of the enquiry by saying: "From this it unquestionably appears that the proportion of the business done by the United Kingdom has during the period under review diminished."* At the same time we are told that "the total volume of the business has largely increased." †

It is strange that, notwithstanding the evidence of Sir Courtenay Boyle's figures, and the inferences he himself draws from them, his memorandum has been generally quoted as proving that this country has no reason to fear that her trade is suffering from foreign competition, or that it is necessary to adopt any of the methods for developing it, which have proved so successful abroad.

The whole of Sir Courtenay Boyle's memorandum is deserving of careful reading, and it is interesting to see how closely the conclusions and recommendations at which he arrives, from a careful study of these dry statistics, confirm the impressions gained by independent observers of the commercial activity of Germans in their own country and in other parts of the world. From the mere survey of these telling figures Sir Courtenay Boyle is led to the conclusion: "If peace is maintained both Germany and the United

* Memorandum, p. 21.

† From one of the tables given in the appendix to the memorandum, it appears, on comparing the average annual value of imports into the United Kingdom from Germany for the period 1880-4 with the period 1891-5, that there has been an increase from £68,327 to £354,702 in cotton manufacture; an increase from £300,483 to £631,774, in glass manufactures; an increase from £40,716 to £93,127 in linen; an increase from £363,762 to £605,818, in paper and pasteboard. These are only a few of the different classes of manufactured goods in which our imports from Germany have increased.

States are certain to increase their rate of upward movement. Their competition with us in neutral markets, and even in our home markets, will probably, unless we ourselves are active, become increasingly serious," and he further says, "It is necessary, therefore, more than ever, that attention should be given in the United Kingdom to the business of manufacturing for export." And he very correctly adds: "The work of seeking out customers, providing commodities that customers will buy, exploiting new markets, and elaborating new methods rests with the individual."* Approached, therefore, from altogether different sides, the position is found to be the same. No one denies that the entire volume of our trade is still much larger than that of Germany; the question is whether it is increasing or diminishing, and even if increasing, whether the *rate of upward movement* is the same. To this question there is but one answer. In the report of our visit to Germany we state: "In all branches of industry there are signs of great activity. New factories are being erected and new processes are being invented," and the statistics of the Board of Trade show us the exact extent to which, and the branches of industry in which, our commerce has suffered. And, whereas from our own observations we only felt justified in referring to "indications that in the immediate future our own countrymen will have to encounter a competition far more acute than anything they have yet had to grapple with," Sir Courtenay Boyle on other evidence tells us "we can scarcely expect to maintain our past undoubted pre-eminence, at any rate without strenuous effort and careful and energetic improvement in method."

Seeing the extent to which the evidence of statistics agrees with that of witnesses who have investigated the problem of competition in Germany itself, let us briefly examine the opinions of other persons, who have had the opportunity of observing the effects of German enterprise in some of the principal foreign markets. For this purpose we must refer to the valuable collection of reports furnished by our foreign Consuls. The reading of these documents, supplied to the Foreign Office during the past year, is not altogether satisfactory. There is a repetition of the facts that German wares are gradually displacing those of English make, that this displacement is not due to any superiority in the character of German goods, but to the lower price at which they are sold, to the better suitability of the articles to the wants of the customers who purchase them, and to the greater activity, enterprise, and commercial ability of German traders.

In many countries which not long since were very largely supplied from England, factories have been started, and the demand

* Memorandum, p. 29.

for foreign-made goods has consequently decreased. There are few countries in which the increase of home manufactures has been more marked than in Japan. To take one example only, we find the quantity of cotton yarn imported into Japan in 1890 was 42,544,403 lb., whilst in 1895 it had decreased to 19,454,777 lb., and at the end of 1895 Japan was working 525,043 spindles in 53 cotton mills. From Japan there has been a great increase in late years in the export of manufactured articles. Between 1890 and 1894 the value of these exports has nearly trebled, whilst the increase in the export of raw material has been very slight. On the other hand, the importation of raw material is increasing rapidly.* To take another example, we are told that "the trade of Mexico is no longer in an elementary stage; local manufactures are rapidly supplanting foreign goods." In the cheaper goods, those of German and American make, such as hardware and cutlery, are found to be of superior finish to those of English make, and so sell better. Then, too, we find that English firms are very wanting in enterprise, and fail to create English agencies in Mexico, without which new branches of trade cannot be opened. In his report on the Nijni Novgorod Exhibition of 1896, our Consul says: "If we intend to retain our trade with Russia we must employ better educated travellers, who can converse with Russian buyers, and thus learn their requirements."† Our travellers, he tells us, are handicapped at the start, and he refers to "the negligence of our manufacturers who have allowed the Germans to secure much of the trade that should have come to us." In Russia, also, the competition among foreign producers will necessarily become keener, having regard to the growth of home-manufacturing industry. In 1880 the output of cast-iron in Russia was 458,360 tons, whilst in 1894 it had increased to 1,307,370 tons; and in coal there has been an increase, during the same period, from 3,238,466 tons to 8,581,500 tons.

Referring to some of the less important markets for the sale of our goods, we find that the value of imports from Great Britain to Roumania has decreased since 1893 by £400,000, whilst the imports from Austria-Hungary and Germany have steadily progressed. Sir H. Wyndham, in his Consular Report to Lord Salisbury, dated June, 1896, says: "The competition between British and German manufacturers of engines and threshers is becoming more acute year by year."‡ We are told by Consul-General Haggard that as regards Tunis, "English goods were formerly much sought after, and it is much to be regretted that they are now scarcely to be

* Foreign Office Report, 1896.

† *Consular Report*, No. 409, November, 1896.

‡ No. 1773, June, 1896.

found in the Tunisian markets."* Indeed, it would seem that in Tunis British machinery is now almost entirely superseded. As regards Chili, Mr. Sadler, in his Report of July, 1896, on the trade of Valparaiso, says: "Though many of the principal houses at Valparaiso are British firms, the German houses now far exceed the English in number, and in the matter of imports this is a question of some importance." We are further told that there is a constant immigration of well-educated, competent Germans, who work hard and seriously, and are found particularly useful in commercial houses, and prove ultimately successful in business. I may conclude these not altogether satisfactory comments on our business-like capacity by a reference to a report of Mr. Dundas, who after stating that Germany possesses in Hamburg not only one of the finest but one of the best harbours in the world, tells us that "Germans are not only capable of, but are actually competing with us in our own markets, and in markets, too, which we have considered our own exclusive right." And Sir Claude Macdonald, speaking from his own observations in one of the most important of these markets, says: "Our commercial interests in this Empire (China) far exceed those of any other nation; but great as our position is, it will be speedily undermined by our many rivals, if we do not reform our business methods." † Surely, in face of warnings such as these, there is little comfort in the assurance that "we still preponderate greatly as a country manufacturing for export."

The evidence of great commercial activity, and of rapid strides in manufacturing power, which those who know Germany are able to supply, supplemented by the interesting statistics furnished by Sir Courtenay Boyle, and by the observations and conclusions of our Consuls in several of the different countries with which we trade, leaves little doubt in the mind of the unbiassed thinker as to the fact of our export trade in manufactured goods *tending* to fall away in many branches of industry, and in many quarters, under the strain of foreign competition. We are told, on undeniable authority, that "the linen trade of the United Kingdom has been suffering from foreign competition for a number of years." ‡ The import of foreign yarns has *increased* from 3,336,874 lb. in 1875 to 19,011,986 lb. in 1893, whilst the export of yarns in the same period has *fallen* from 27,887,681 lb. to 16,259,300 lb. § Ireland is suffering from the loss of other industries. The manufacture of glass once flourished there, and is now all but extinct,

* No. 1791, July, 1896. † No. 1803, July, 1896.

‡ Report of the Recess Committee, 1896.

§ The total exports of linen piece goods from the United Kingdom amounted to £3,765,092 in 1896, against £4,080,261, in 1895, showing a *decrease* of 14·4 per cent. in quantity and 77 per cent. in value. (*Report of Linen Merchants' Association, 1897.*)

and this is one of the industries, which, owing to the greater excellence of German manufacture, England is very rapidly losing. Indeed, anyone who travels through the manufacturing parts of Germany cannot fail to be "greatly impressed" by the progress which has taken place in many of the leading branches of manufacture since 1882, and to realise that "in certain industries our supremacy is seriously challenged." *

In endeavouring to ascertain the causes of this loss of ground, it is not sufficient to point to the increasing population of Germany, nor to the era of peace ushered in by the results of the war of 1870. Increase of population in all but new countries is generally the effect rather than the cause of increased prosperity; and starting from a higher level, as we did, there is no apparent reason why our rate of progress should not have been at least as great as that of Germany. Various causes have been advanced to account for the rapid growth of Germany as a manufacturing country, and it is probable that several of these enter more or less into the problem.

I do not propose to consider here, in any detail, the extent to which longer hours and lower wages have helped to enable German manufacturers successfully to compete with us. The question is not unattended with difficulty, and correct statistics are not easily obtained. Any careful comparison, however, of the value, as measured by results, of labour hours, and of rates of wages in the two countries would, I am convinced, confirm the conclusion at which we have arrived, viz., "that there has been in the past, and that there still is in progress, a levelling up of the inequalities between the physical and social condition of the workers here, and those in similar trades abroad." The fact cannot be denied that "in all skilled industries the wages in Germany are rising and the hours of labour tend to decrease."† On this point very instructive information, although now a little out of date, may be obtained from the report of Sir Charles Oppenheimer, our Consul-General at Frankfurt. It appears from this report that the labour time varies considerably in different industries and in different parts of Germany, and there are many causes connected with the details of manufacture which prevent labour from being as thoroughly organized in Germany as in England; still we find an increasing tendency on the part of factory inspectors to recommend shorter hours, and of manufacturers to recognize the advantage of adopting the recommendation. In the report dated 1886 of a German factory inspector, we read: "It is frequently stated that experience shows that in reducing the work-time the output does not decrease." Another

* *Report of a Visit to Germany*, p. 4.
† *Report of a Visit to Germany*, p. 15.

tells us: "The manufacturers themselves are opposed to the existing long hours." A passage from the report for the year 1891 is quoted by Sir Charles Oppenheimer, showing that according to the statements of some factory owners, no reduction at all in production can be noted in the weaving establishments in consequence of the shorter work-time. "Indeed, where the hours of work are still excessive, it is recognized that such long hours must necessarily influence the state of the working-classes unfavourably; whilst also the human power of production can be increased to a great extent, if every overtaxation is carefully avoided."

In this connection it must also be remembered that children may be employed at a younger age in this country than is permitted in Germany, where the age of exemption from school life is 14.

I am not prepared to admit that the restrictions which Trades Unions frequently impose upon the liberty of action of their own members act in all cases to the advantage of labour or the improvement of trade, but that question, in its bearing upon foreign competition, is too comprehensive to be considered in the present paper. We may hopefully look forward, however, with the further spread among the labouring classes of technical education, and, particularly, of a sounder knowledge of economics, to the establishment of more satisfactory relations between them and their employers.

The fact that goods are carried at lower rates on German and other foreign railways than on English lines is frequently adduced as one of the advantages possessed by our rivals in the competition for trade. Whether these rates are really lower, and if so, whether foreign traders are great gainers thereby, is a question on which there is considerable difference of opinion among the few persons who have made a careful study of this difficult subject. The conditions of transit in Germany and England, for instance, are so different that any exact comparison of rates is not easy. It appears that our own railway companies do not issue statistics giving the cost of carriage per ton-mile for different classes of goods, and, according to Mr. Acworth, "till they do, any comparison between English and Continental railways can only be a matter of guess work!"* Apart from the mere cost of transit from station to station, charges for collection and delivery, the extent of the responsibilities undertaken by the company, and the amount of time occupied on the journey are matters to be considered. The absence of any definite statistics for English railways, such as are obtained for German lines, necessitates various complicated

* *The Railways and the Traders*, by W. M. Acworth, p. 179.

deductions from the ascertained through rates before any correct idea of the relative cost of the carriage of goods in the two countries can be obtained. Sir Bernhard Samuelson, who has made the necessary calculations, is able in his report* on the subject to submit such comparisons as the following, between the cost of carriage of different kinds of goods here and in Germany:

	s.	d.
Cotton Yarns, Manchester to Hull, British rate per ton	18	0
Same distance at German tariff	11	0
Saws and Tools, Sheffield to Hull, British rate per ton	13	0
Same distance at German tariff	6	7
Hardware, Birmingham to Liverpool, British rate per ton	19	4
Same distance at German tariff	10	0
Woollen Goods, Bradford to Glasgow, British rate per ton	41	0
Same distance at German tariff	25	4
General Machinery, Leeds to Hull, British rate per ton *export*	12	6
Same distance at German tariff	4	6

These figures are certainly striking, and Sir Bernhard sums up the results of his numerous comparisons, which occupy fifteen pages of his report, by the statement: "That, except as to iron-ore, coal and coke in certain cases, and a few other articles under special circumstances, the rates are so much lower in those countries (Germany, Belgium, and Holland) as to place our traders at a serious disadvantage." Mr. Jeans, in a passage from his book on Railway Problems quoted by Mr. Acworth, also tells us "that the average ton-mile rates in Belgium, Germany, and Holland are much under our own." Mr. Acworth, who defends English railway management and compares it favourably with that of other countries, admits that English rates are higher than the average rates on Continental lines, as is evident from his explanation of the fact in his chapter headed, "Why English Rates are High." He maintains that certain necessary incidental charges are omitted from such comparisons as those given above, and that even granting that the English rates are higher, the trader gets his full value for the higher charges in increased speed, in better facilities, and generally in superior accommodation. Indeed, he thinks that it is open to question whether English traders would not in many cases prefer to purchase such facilities by payment of the higher rates, if the option were given them. Still, it cannot be denied that for certain kinds of merchandise our own manufacturers are somewhat handicapped by the higher charges on English lines. Even so, the remedy is not easy to find. There seem to be many good reasons against further restrictive legislation. A railway company is essentially a commercial undertaking; and although we may grant that the railways "are the highways of the

* A report on the railway goods tariff of Germany, Belgium, and Holland, compared with those of this country.

country and the companies have a monopoly of them," still we cannot expect the shareholders of such companies to work at a loss to increase the profits of manufacturers. The German railways mostly belong to, and are worked by, the State; but our own Government are certainly not prepared to purchase the railways, and if they did, it is not certain that the rates could be very much reduced, if the facilities now offered are to be continued, except at a loss to the State; and to advocate such a course might be thought to open the door to protection. What we may try, however, is to induce railway companies, by the prospect of a larger and more regular trade, to agree to a reduction and a simpler arrangement of their rates; and although we may be told that the directors and managers of those great industrial concerns best know their own business, still it is a fact that agitation and the pressure of public opinion have succeeded in obtaining concessions from the companies, which have admittedly in the end proved profitable to themselves. Mr. Acworth tells us "that the railway companies have been ready to share their increased profits, whenever obtained, with their customers." But is it not rather that the increased profits have often resulted from the reduction of fares and the endeavour on the part of the companies to consult the convenience and requirements of their customers? It appears, therefore, that although rates are admittedly lower abroad than here, it is very difficult to gauge the loss, if any, which our trade and commerce consequently suffer.

But whilst the circumstances and conditions to which I have referred, and others possibly, such as our singularly complex system of weights and measures, the operation of our patent laws, and of the Merchandise Marks Act, may each have had some effect in retarding the rate of our industrial progress, and in giving advantages to our competitors, we must look elsewhere for the real cause of that rapid advance in commerce and manufactures which Germany, during the last fifteen or twenty years, undoubtedly has made. It is primarily to the efforts of the Germans themselves, and only secondarily to the influence upon our own trade of such conditions as we have been considering, that the relative progress of Germany is due. It is noteworthy that this progress, as shown in the country itself by the rise of factories, and the conversion of the population of entire districts from agricultural to manufacturing pursuits, has proceeded *pari passu* with the efforts of the several German States to enlarge their colleges and schools, suggesting very forcibly the conclusion that German industry owes its prosperity and success to German education. In the report of the Recess Committee, a valuable and interesting document, dealing with the industries of Ireland, and the means of improving them, further independent

testimony is afforded of the great impulse which manufacturers abroad have received from what is called Technical Education. "One of the industrial phenomena of the last forty years has been the immense growth of manufacturing industry in Continental countries, largely at the expense of British trade; and that growth seems to be directly traceable to the assistance given by the State in these countries, by Technical Education and otherwise, to industrial enterprise." * The expenditure on German education, although seemingly lavish, has been returned to the country a hundredfold in the products of improved trade. If, then, we are to discover the true cause of German progress, we must revert to the differences of education in the two countries. The subject has been considered in recent years from so many points of view, and by so many competent writers, that it may seem unnecessary to dwell upon it further. Unfortunately, however, there is considerable doubt among certain classes of manufacturers, and even among engineers, as to the value of education in assisting industry; and judging from the treatment in Parliament of all educational measures, it would seem that our legislators are still unconvinced of the economic importance of the subject.† Such measures, one would think, would be regarded as questions closely affecting our position as a strong and prosperous nation, and would be treated without reference to party politics. But this is very far from being the case. The education of the people is a bone of contention between opposing politicians, and the organization of our schools is, as Matthew Arnold puts it, "not so much an educational problem as a social and political one."

If asked wherein German education is superior to our own, I should say in its appliances, in its methods, and in its organization. The splendid buildings that have recently been erected for the study of applied science, some of which are briefly described in our recent report, perfectly equipped and supplied with every kind of apparatus needed for the most advanced scientific research, are the admiration of all who have seen them. No expense has been spared in rendering these institutions serviceable to the industries they are intended to develop. The number of students trained in them is far greater than in our own, and the Germans have undoubtedly shown wisdom in bestowing on the crown of the educa-

* Report of the Recess Committee, 1896, p. 57.

† The linen merchants of Bristol complain: "The apathy on the part of the local authorities in not adequately recognizing the necessity for supporting this all-important work, is notably manifest in our own linen manufacturing district. In the meantime the foreigner is actively engaged in this fundamental work, and we, as a nation, are being supplanted in our industries by the superior talent which is being evoked and fostered in other countries."—(Report, 1897.)

tional edifice their most thoughtful attention and their largest gifts. The Universities and the Polytechnic Institutions have been, and are still, the pride of every German state, and to the training they afford Germany owes very largely her industrial and political position. In the facilities provided for the advanced scientific work, Germany stands far ahead of us. We in this country lack not only equal facilities, but to some extent the belief in their efficacy and the desire to profit by them. The recognition of the advantages of scientific and technical education characterizes all classes of society in Germany, and none more than employers of labour engaged in productive and engineering industry. Those who are familiar with Germany's progress and its causes are constantly calling attention to the advantages which German trade has gained from the ability of her standing army of scientific men, ready to apply to industrial operations every serviceable scientific discovery. Meanwhile, at home, our University Colleges vainly beg for the much-needed funds for endowment and equipment, and pitifully appeal to successive Chancellors of the Exchequer to augment the miserably inadequate grants which the State contributes to their maintenance and support. In her schools of art, and especially in such museums as that visited by us in Nuremberg, Germany shows her sense of the extent to which, and of the means by which, educational appliances may be made the efficient instrument of industrial competition, and yet for many years the South Kensington Museum, which for its abundant supply of works of art of all periods is the admiration of foreign nations,* has been vainly endeavouring to secure that extension of its building, which would enable those works of art to be so displayed as to be available for study. It is also noteworthy that abroad the energies of merchants and manufacturers seem to be more keenly directed towards the advantage of combination for the improvement of their own industries, than to the endeavour to conceal those mythical trade secrets, by which they hope successfully to compete, not so much with their foreign rivals, as with one another.

In the superiority of her secondary schools, Germany is still unapproached by us. Between the elementary and high schools there are numerous carefully graded institutions, technical and general, adapted to the requirements of all classes of the people. When a want is felt it is speedily supplied. Quite recently, for example, we read, that the "Prussian Estimates for the coming financial year contain various sums to be applied to the support of technical schools of spinning and weaving."† These sums

* See letter of M. Charles Yviarte, Inspector-General of Fine Arts, who, writing from Paris, February 26th, says: "To-day, for all of us foreigners, South Kensington is a Mecca."—(*Times*, March 1st.)

† *Times*, Berlin Correspondent, February 4th.

are carefully appropriated according to the recognized requirements of the institutions, as determined by the Minister of Instruction, on the advice of commissions of educational experts. Thus we are told that "the Engineering School in Dortmund and the Ceramic Technical School in Hoehr, are to have an increase of staff and subsidy respectively; the dyeing departments in the textile schools of Aachen and Kottbus are to be extended; the new institute at Ronsdorf is to be supported, and the growing demands of Breslau are to be supplied by the erection of a fourth workshop for apprentices to textile trades."* Then, too, Germany has no prejudices as regards technical or other education. She is willing to learn. For the creation of industries in districts where they have not previously flourished, the formation of apprenticeship schools is encouraged and the teaching of trades is provisionally sanctioned. Such schools are well equipped with all the apparatus for practical training, and when no longer needed they give place to schools with wider and more general instruction. Throughout Germany, the feature which strikes the observer is the strict adaptation of the schools to local requirements, and to the demands of industry in its widest sense.

And not only in the equipment of their schools, but also in the methods of instruction, the Germans excel us. This is partly owing to the fact that popular education is of much later growth in this country. It dates only from 1870, and that branch known as Technical Education is of still later origin. Moreover, we started on a wrong track in giving undue prominence to the results of our examinations, and in the conditions of appointment of our educational authorities. Examinations so often decried are not altogether evil. Under proper limitations and wisely directed they serve useful and necessary purposes, but the harm that has been done to education of all grades in this country by subordinating teaching to examination and by setting up a false ideal of the end and aim of education, cannot well be exaggerated. It will take a long time to remove this blot from our educational system, and in endeavouring to do so, there is a fear that the strong reactionary feeling, now growing up, is likely to sweep away examinations from the place which they should legitimately occupy. No one saw more clearly than that essentially human teacher, Matthew Arnold, the superiority of the quality of German education over our own, but, possibly, he did not feel at liberty to ascribe it to the influence of examinations, which, as regards elementary instruction, was more harmful a decade since than now. In one of his luminous reports, after showing in detail how in the teaching

* *Morning Post*, Berlin Correspondent, February 18th, 1897.

of the ordinary subjects the German instructor aims at truer ideals and proceeds by more carefully considered methods, he says, that the "higher one rises in a German school the more is the superiority of the instruction over our own visible. Again and again I find written in my notes, *The Children Human.* They had been brought under teaching of quality to touch and interest them, and were being formed by it."* The inadequacy of our so-called "object lesson" Arnold detected. "*The Anschauungsunterricht,*" he tells us, "demands a word of notice. Our object lessons give us little idea of it. The fundamental maxim with German teachers is *Von der Anschauung nach dem Begriff.* . . . The lessons specially designed to give effect to this maxim deserve great attention from us; *they show what good methods may do to found habits of clear apprehension and clear expression.*"† This is not the place for an exposition of educational method, but I have quoted this passage because the words I have italicized may throw some light on the secret of the Germans' industrial success. "In teaching arithmetic," says the Saxon programme, "the instruction is to render the pupils capable of solving, independently and with certainty, the calculations which are likely to come before them in their ordinary life." Think of the use the German clerk makes of this capability! The methods of the elementary school are pursued in the higher schools and in the University. The aim of all German teaching is to give the student the faculty of self-help to enable him to solve the problems that are likely to come before him in his ordinary life. As regards method, we, in this country, have, within the last few years, made considerable improvement, particularly in elementary teaching. There is now a large body of educated opinion in favour of rationalizing our methods of instruction. Evidence of it is seen in the memorandum recently forwarded to the Education Department by the joint Scholarships Board; in the efforts of the City and Guilds of London Institute for the advancement of Technical Education; in the experiments of the joint committee of the London School Board; in the reports issued from time to time by some of the Technical Education Committees of our County Councils, and in the endeavours of many other organizations. The recognition by the Press of these efforts is itself very valuable, as showing the awakening of public opinion to the importance of giving more weight to scientific method than to science in our schemes of instruction. *The Times* in a

* *Special Report on Certain Points connected with Elementary Education in Germany, Switzerland, and France,* p. 14.

† *Ibid.*

recent article has well said: "Science training in Germany deals with things not books, and places its men not according to success in passing examinations, but according to the ability they display in conducting actual investigations and solving practical problems for themselves."* It is mainly owing to the methods of instruction and to the unstinted supply of all aids to teaching, that the higher scientific training has proved in Germany so helpful to manufacturing industry, and to the same methods pursued in the secondary and technical schools, and to the practical and serviceable instruction in modern languages, is due the resourceful activity, the power of apprehension, and the linguistic ability of the German commercial agent.

There are yet other features of German education which mark its superiority to our own. In Germany it is an organized system. We find there examples of voluntary effort, of communal and individual experiments; but all those efforts are brought into relation with one another, and between the elementary school and the technical high school or university there is an intelligible and well co-ordinated system, which gives unity to the entire scheme of education. One great advantage of this organization is the more economical expenditure of the funds available for educational purposes. There is little or no overlapping. To each part of the educational machinery is assigned its special function, and no one school interferes with the work of another. In this way is obtained the maximum of efficiency at the minimum of cost. In order that the parts of such a system may be properly welded together and the whole machinery kept going, there must be intelligent direction and control. The heads of departments must be educational experts, and the members of local councils must be selected on some principle indicating their qualifications for the duties they have to discharge. At present our schools are only *disjuncta membra* of what we hope may one day become a system. There is no responsible authority to supervise or grade our several educational institutions, so as to bring them into organic relation with one another. In Germany, care is taken that the influence of the Minister of Instruction and of those who advise him shall penetrate into every small rural school board. Persons having special knowledge of educational matters, and in touch with different parts of the great school-system are appointed to preside over, or to assist in, the deliberations of the several school commissions. In the constitution and in the *personnel* of such authorities, in their relation to one another and to the State, and in their appreciation of the real seriousness of educational prob-

* February 27th, 1897.

lems, we see some explanation of the generally admitted excellence of German schools and German training.

Any comprehensive reform of school organization in this country is, I fear, scarcely to be expected for many years to come; and meanwhile we can only proceed step by step, sometimes forward and occasionally backwards, content to gain our ends at a cost far greater than would be needed, if our schools and colleges were intelligently graded and co-ordered. We may go on dreaming of a Minister of Education, assisted by a council of "knowers and lovers of education," the supreme centre of authority for all grades of schools, from the primary to the university, with committees or departments dealing with separate branches of the subject, standing in well-defined relation to the local authorities throughout the country—such authorities consisting of men and women in touch and sympathy with school life, of proved administrative ability, delegating their functions, when necessary, to smaller district boards—all linked together by the unity of their aim and purpose. Towards some such goal our several efforts may be directed. But let us clearly understand that without better organization we cannot hope to bring our education to the level of that of Germany, or to train our people as hers are trained. During the last few years we have provided for our artisans facilities of technical instruction equal, if not superior, to those obtainable in any other country; but owing to the want of suitable preliminary training, a large proportion of those for whom such instruction is intended are unable to profit by it. The professors of our higher technical institutes complain that the education in the lower schools fails in its object—in laying a foundation for higher scientific training, and that the work of the schoolmaster is consequently thrown upon them. There is no cohesion between the parts that make up our educational structure. They are all independent units. The methods by which we proceed involve a waste of energy and of students' time. We may advance some steps, but to make good our progress we must steadily keep in view the necessity of bringing our schools into harmonious relation with one another, of supplying gaps where they are found to exist, of federating our educational forces, and of evolving from existing conditions, without loss of so much of variety as is valuable, something approaching to a system.

In London, the problem of university organization still awaits solution. If all the separate agencies for university education in London were united and co-ordered, London would possess a university equal to that of any German city, and her citizens would find at home all the facilities they need for the higher literary and scientific training. Lord Reay, with a wide knowledge

of foreign methods, addressing a few weeks since a body of delegates from educational institutions, truly said: "In no other country in Europe would such a company of distinguished men of science and of learning have urged on its Government the necessity of founding a teaching university without its at once acceding to their wishes." But an equally pressing need is in connection with our secondary education. The organization of our intermediate schools means laying down the foundations on which the superstructure of an educational system may eventually be raised. The difficulty of this problem was shown by the fate of last year's Bill in Parliament. But we must go on trying to solve it, if we are to bring our education into a line with that of other countries.

In dwelling upon some of the points of excellence in the German system of instruction, I am very far from desiring to hold it up for slavish imitation. Every country must work out its own system according to the genius, the habits, and the traditions of the people; and this is especially so with England. But by comparing foreign systems with our own, we are the better able to discover, why our education fails to give equal help to industry, and to ascertain some of the directions in which improvement may be looked for.

In the preceding pages I have briefly indicated some of the causes, to one or more of which the advance of German manufacturing industry is generally assigned, and is certainly in some measure due. The thrifty habits of the German people, the fact that they take life more seriously than we, and their admitted contentment with a somewhat lower standard of material living, are conditions not to be overlooked, the weight of which cannot be exactly estimated. But when due allowance is made for all these causes, the one fact that stands out prominently, differentiating the conditions in the two countries, is the superiority of German instruction, and its closer adaptation to the wants and requirements of the people. It is this that has enabled them to gain on us in the science of production and in the art of distribution. The danger that threatens us, although by no means alarming, is nevertheless evident: the remedy is in our own hands. Our country is still rich in natural resources. Our people are as strong, as intelligent, as resourceful as of old. There is no falling off in their contributions to the scientific discoveries that help to increase the productiveness of our material wealth. Their appreciation and love of art are no less keen, and their ability to apply it in beautifying the things of every-day life has been improved by training. All they lack education can supply. If

we must copy some of the methods of our neighbours, let us do so. There are many ways, some suggested by our Consuls, by which our markets abroad may be brought into closer connection with our manufactories at home. If German youth are found to benefit by serving an apprenticeship in English commercial houses, let us try to find places for our own youth in German firms. The wise teacher knows how to learn from his own pupils. But if we would maintain that position of industrial supremacy and commercial prosperity which has been so long ours, we must bring our education to the level, at least, of that of any other country; and to this end we must endeavour to improve our organization and our methods of instruction. The mere multiplication of schools and classes and lectures is not enough. We must see that they are intelligently directed and co-ordinated. To our manufacturers and employers of labour we must also look for the authoritative and practical recognition of the intimate connection that should exist between industry and science, and to encourage those whom they employ to seize and utilize the opportunities for instruction which are now freely offered.

Among civilized nations, the warfare of the future will be an industrial warfare, and that country will certainly best succeed which has the best schools and makes the best use of them.

PHILIP MAGNUS.

HELPLESS EUROPE.

"The number of shells fired was about seventy, of which the British ships fired twenty-five. . . . Afterwards, as the Cretans were picking up their dead and wounded, the Turks at the nearest outpost returned a brisk fire, to which the Cretans, disheartened by the fire of the warships, did not reply. . . . I visited the insurgents' outpost at the Convent of the Prophet Elias, and ascertained that three men were killed, and twelve men and three women, one of whom was a nun, were wounded." In these sentences *The Times* Special Correspondent described the affair of Sunday, February 21st, at Canea. The British nation, which pays for those twenty-five shells, has to examine its conscience with regard to them, and to ascertain whether Lord Salisbury, under whose instructions the Admiral fired them, was carrying out its will. Unhappily the criticisms of the Opposition are carping and half-hearted, and betray a desire to put the Government in the wrong, while the Government has not as yet known its own mind, and cannot come before Parliament with a frank statement of its policy. No Minister has been able to say plainly what the purpose of the Government's action is, and how the action will conduce to carrying out the purpose. Yet there need be little doubt about the British national purpose. It can be expressed in terms from which no reader will dissent. During the last ten years a new British navy has been built, as the result of expressions of public feeling rather than of the initiative of Governments. Its creation was dictated by the wish to be ready to defend the United Kingdom and the Empire. Its employment in European disputes was not contemplated by most of those who urged its construction, though there was a hope that a strong England would be an influence in favour of peace. In the English mind, however, right comes before peace, and, undoubtedly, anyone who should propose to kill human beings for the sake of peace, without the palpable object of preventing crime, would not be entitled to expect in England that universal support which indicates the national approval. To make war in order to prevent war is not good sense; and if it is necessary to choose between two wars, England should be guided in the

choice by considerations of justice, and, so long as they are compatible with justice, of her own interests.

The Government case is that they are acting in accord with the other five Great Powers, and that the purpose is to avoid a great European war. These two propositions cannot both be true, for they are inconsistent with one another. A European war, it should be observed, does not mean a war in Europe, for so long as there is fighting in Crete there is war in Europe. A European war is the phrase used to denote an armed conflict between two or more of the Great Powers. But of such a conflict there can be no possible danger if the Great Powers are all agreed. As every Government that has spoken has declared that there is danger of a European war, the inference is that the Powers, though hopelessly divided as to what they want, are agreed in the desire to postpone their quarrel. There are two parties amongst the Great Powers. One side has some purpose in view to which the other side objects, and the difference is so fundamental that if the question is raised neither side will give way except to superior force. The side which has the positive purpose would rather postpone action, and the side which resists that purpose would rather postpone resistance. The one side is Russia and the positive purpose is to obtain possession of the Bosphorus. Here are *The Times* Correspondent's words, telegraphed on Saturday, February 20th, from St. Petersburg :—

"When Russia, on the accession of the late Emperor in 1881, resolved to rebuild her Black Sea fleet and re-establish her naval position in those waters she did so with a distinct and definite plan for the eventual occupation, either by force or, preferably, by agreement with the Sultan, of the Black Sea end of the Bosphorus. The city of Constantinople does not necessarily enter into the plan of occupation, and, indeed, for obvious reasons, would, if possible, be left out. The policy of which this plan forms a chief part has been steadily maintained ever since, and is as strenuously held as when it was first initiated. The Black Sea fleet has been built and is now ready for sea ; nor can it be doubted, whatever the contradictions, that the complementary preparations on land have been likewise duly advanced. During the Armenian troubles and up to the present day Russia has kept steadily in view the necessity of being prepared for all eventualities, but more particularly to take advantage of the opportune moment to establish herself on the Bosphorus, and thereby make the Black Sea a Russian lake. It is no part of Russia's programme to provoke a state of affairs which must inevitably bring her into direct conflict with one or more of the Powers, or even into less desirable co-operation with them—a co-operation that would balk the aim and object of her policy—namely, the possession of a preponderating influence in Constantinople. Whatever may be finally done in the Turkish capital, Russia wishes, and is determined, to do it herself with as little interference as possible on the part of any other Power. Throughout the Armenian difficulty she posed practically as the friend of the Sultan, and the reason is obvious. From Turkish misrule she has nothing to fear, unless it leads to European interference."

This telegram gives in a nutshell an accurate view of Russian policy in regard to the Eastern Question, a policy opposed to the interests and the wishes of every one of the other five Great Powers.

No German desires to see Russia in possession of the Bosphorus. The whole German Press was for years permeated by expressions of anxiety lest Russia should find the means of moving upon Constantinople, and it was to prevent this, and to free Germany from the fear of a French attack while she was helping Austria against Russia, that Germany persistently longed for the alliance of Great Britain.

To Austria the establishment of Russia on the Bosphorus would be a blow so deadly that so long as she has any chance of success she will fight to prevent it. Resistance to Russian aggression upon the Straits has for many years been a cardinal point of Italian policy. The French remember the utterance of the Great Napoleon, who exclaimed when the question was raised whether Russia should obtain Constantinople, "Never."

These four Continental Powers, however, have been for many years past hopelessly divided in consequence of the dissatisfaction of the French with the Treaty of Frankfort, and England has during the same period kept herself outside of European policy, writing meddlesome notes in plenty, but shrinking from anything that could be denounced as a "serious step."

This being the European situation, what is the condition of Turkey? Chronic and hopeless anarchy, and universal disaffection perpetually breaking out into insurrection, suppressed by massacre. When last year the disturbance broke out in Crete, because 234,000 Christians object to be under the heel of 38,000 Mussulmans and of a Government that regards a Christian as no better than a sheep, the Powers, while allowing the Turks to pour 10,000 Turkish troops into the island, dictated a series of paper reforms and urged the Cretans to accept them. So soon as the Cretans were quiet the Sultan set at nought the paper reforms. The Powers after nine months had proved unable to help the islanders, for, if they had been seriously agreed to do that, they would on the first outbreak last year have forbidden the landing of Turkish troops, and have sent to the island a European governor with a European gendarmerie, and full powers to govern according to his own common-sense. On the renewal of the disturbances the Greeks stepped in. Their right to interfere is that of nationality, upon which is based the existence of Germany and of Italy. It has well been said in France that, if Greece has no claim to act in Crete, the French case for action to recover Alsace-Lorraine falls to the ground. Public opinion in every country in Europe sympathizes with the Cretans and Greeks against the Turks, except only that the blind believers in *la haute politique* think the action of Greece inconsiderate because it embarrasses the Powers.

Now, what has been the action upon which the Powers have

agreed? They sent warships to Crete and advised the Sultan to leave the matter in their hands. They gave neither the Cretans nor the Greeks any hope of a solution favourable to Greek or Cretan wishes. They were not agreed whether or not to let the Greek troops land, and being thus paralysed could not prevent the landing. While the Powers were still discussing whether their object was to give Crete back to Turkey, to give it to Greece, or to keep it themselves and quarrel over it, they allowed their admirals, in co-operation with the Turks, to fire on the Cretans. The excuse made is that Turkey is in such a dreadful state that if the Greeks are allowed to have Crete there will be insurrections in other parts of Turkey; that the insurrections cannot be put down by the Turks, and will give Russia the opportunity to come to the Sultan's assistance, and so to plant her feet on the banks of the Bosphorus. In short, the five Powers, being afraid of Russia, consent to do what none of the five nations represented really thinks right or fair in Crete.

Is it a misinterpretation of England's feeling to say that Lord Salisbury ought not to have co-operated in any way with the Powers until it was settled what was to be done with Crete, and that the settlement most acceptable to England would have been union with Greece? If the Powers had decided or were likely to decide against union with Greece, ought they not to have prevented the landing of Greek troops, a step which needed only an order to the admirals of the combined squadrons? The truth seems to be that the Cabinet as little knew what it wanted as the Concert of Europe, and that the awkward situation for which Greece is denounced is due solely to the want of accord between the Powers.

The fairest and best method of criticism, though perhaps not the easiest, consists in showing what ought to have been done. For this purpose it is necessary to go to the root of the matter and ask in the first instance whether a British Government has any duty or any right to meddle at all in the affairs of Continental Europe. This is a point of cardinal importance, for if England has no duties in regard to the Continent, as many people seem to think, the policy of the Government would stand condemned without further argument. But, if there is a duty, it perhaps carries with it the obligation for more energetic action than has been attempted. Moreover, if we can find out why it is our duty to interfere in European disputes, we may learn from the enquiry how that interference ought to be conducted.

The chief end of a Government in its relation with the outside world is the defence of the nation which it represents. National defence, indeed, implies something more than a

resistance to territorial attack. A Government must maintain the self-respect of its nation, and self-respect, with nations as with individuals, implies their playing their proper and legitimate part in the world. The nature of Great Britain's defence and the peculiar character of the part which she is called upon to play in history flow from the fact that Great Britain is an island, and from the close proximity of the island State to the European Continent occupied by the group of civilized nations that constitutes the great centre of the world's civilization and of the world's energy. An island State of limited size and population cannot in a period of developed navigation, if it is the near neighbour of other States of equal civilization and greater population, maintain its independence except by means of the command of the sea. But the command of the sea carries with it the command of all the coasts in the world and affords to the nation which holds it the opportunity for unlimited colonization and empire in regions of comparatively undeveloped civilization and energy. It is, therefore, the coveted prize of all highly civilized nations having a coast-line fit to be a basis for maritime enterprise. Its possession involves a kind of leadership—what the ancient Greeks called ἡγεμονία—in that part of the world remote from the European centre of gravity. This, then, is the part which England has to play, for she is so placed that she cannot maintain her independence on any other condition. We have here the first half of the truth about England's function in the world. But it is only half, for there is a second law, not dynamical but moral, equally true and still more fundamental. Human beings are not mere material bodies but spirits, and while in the material world the influence of force is paramount, in the spiritual world right is supreme. In human life these factors are intermixed, force being in the long-run subordinate to right. The business of the British Government is therefore in the first place so to direct Great Britain's action that the greater part of mankind may be satisfied with the way England plays her part, and in the second place to maintain a navy strong enough to defeat other navies. A merely dynamical view of the command of the sea is as false as it is wrong, and those who assert that the true policy of England is to create a great navy in order to command the sea while keeping clear of European quarrels are talking nonsense strategically, historically, and morally. It is impossible for England to construct, man and maintain a navy able to sweep from the sea all the other fleets in the world. Never in the past did England acquire or maintain her position in conflict against Europe. In every one of the great quarrels she was the champion of one part of Europe against the other part, and in every case her success has been due quite as much to the exertions of her allies as to her own efforts. Moreover, from the

sixteenth century until to-day, she has never been a crusader. All her great wars have been fought in self-defence, and it is because in the past the good conscience of her people and the judgment of her statesmen have usually placed her on the right side that her self-defence has been at the same time the defence of others, and has given her the great place in the world which she occupied at the time of the Queen's accession. The England of our ancestors was not as a rule on the side which appeared at first sight to be the stronger. She had the boldness to resist what appeared to be the great powers of the world in association with the weak and the almost helpless. Elizabeth, in conjunction with the hardly-pressed Dutch and a France divided against itself, resisted the then colossal power of Spain. William III., when his own country was in desperate straits, accepted a doubtful throne in order to be able to tie into a rod the slender reeds which separately must have been broken by the power of Louis XIV. Chatham associated England's cause with that of Prussia at a time when Prussia appeared to be on the verge of destruction. In all those cases the greatness of the English leaders lies in their confidence in their cause, and in their indifference to the great forces ranged in the opposite camp.

This action of England, though primarily aiming at her own defence, has on one occasion or another saved the independence of almost every Continental nation. Thus, in the past, England by her maritime power has held the balance of Europe and checkmated every attempt to regulate the Continent according to the views, the ambition, or the system of any one Power or group of Powers. This is the service in virtue of which the European nations have acquiesced in England's maritime supremacy and in her possession of that Colonial Empire which is its consequence. Not, indeed, that her position has been at any time acceptable to all the Continental States; there have always been some who were anxious to contest it, but there have always been others to whom any transfer of the command of the sea would have been disastrous. The centre of gravity of human affairs is in Europe, and by England's action in Europe her position in the world at large will always be regulated. The rise of the United States no doubt modifies the situation, but since the region which includes the effective thought and energy of the world has been enlarged so as to include both Europe and the United States the position of Great Britain has been rendered not less but more important.

To-day, as in the past, England's possession of her Empire rests upon her conduct in Europe. At the present moment, for example, the burning Imperial question is that of South Africa. Those

must be blind who do not see that as far as force is concerned the decision depends not upon anything that can happen in Africa, where there is no Power that can resist a serious blow struck by Great Britain, but upon the relations of Great Britain with the European Powers, and chiefly with the German Empire. If the British Government intends to secure for men of their own race that share in the future of South Africa to which they aspire, it is necessary not merely to do right towards the Dutch inhabitants of the region between the Cape and the Zambezi, but to disarm the opposition of Germany. Would it not be better to effect this by friendly than by hostile action? If we are to induce Germany to acquiesce in our view of South African affairs we must do her some great service in Europe. There might be arguments against that course if in order to do Germany such a service England were required to go out of her way. There can be none if the greatest service that can be rendered to Germany consists in taking a course to which we are impelled by the consideration of our own interests and our own duty.

The first mark of a British policy then is that it consists in the use of British force on the side of right in Europe. We have therefore, in regard to the present European situation, to ask ourselves which are the two sides, what are the causes they represent, and to which side Great Britain is attracted by the necessities of her self-defence and by the nature of her *rôle* in the world. The Turkish Government is the enemy of the human race. Its nature has been repeatedly explained by observers and inquirers whose knowledge and honesty is above suspicion.* The Turkish rule is a rule of bestial force, of corruption, of lies, and of unrighteousness. The duty of Europe is to make an end of it, and to set up a civilized Government in its place. But Europe has never been able to do this because the Powers are divided.

As regards Turkey, we have seen that Russia aims at the control of the Bosphorus, and at replacing Turkish by Russian authority over as much as possible of the Turkish Empire, while none of the other nations wish for this solution. The Russian administration, though free from the worst Turkish vices, is yet hardly on the European level. The acquisition of Constantinople by the Russians would make the Tsar proprietor of the Black Sea, and master of Roumania, Bulgaria, and Asia Minor. It would put him in a position to overawe the Austro-Hungarian Government. The effect would be

* The most impartial accounts of Turkey are to be found in Moltke's *Letters from Turkey*, especially that dated Pera, April 7, 1836, and in the *Life of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe*. I have attempted a sketch of the rise and decay of the Turkish Government in an essay entitled *The Great Alternative*, chapters i. and iii., which trace the history of the Eastern Question until 1885.

to make Russian influence supreme over half of Europe. England would be compelled greatly to increase her fleet, and probably to create a second Gibraltar at Mitylene or Lemnos. The whole tradition of every one of the Powers is against acquiescence in the Russian design. Why then do they acquiesce? First of all the unfortunate dissensions between France and Germany, the legacy of centuries, render it difficult for those two Powers to act together. A more serious hindrance arises from the refusal of England, maintained under both parties for many years past, to act her proper part in the European community. During these recent years, when Lord Rosebery and Lord Salisbury and all their followers have been wringing their hands and bewailing their helplessness to coerce the Turk or to oppose Russia, there has been open to them a policy which would have led to a settlement of the Eastern Question, to the establishment of European peace on a secure basis, and to the removal of the dangers with which the British Empire is threatened. The state of Europe and of Turkey have been crying aloud for England to act, and proclaiming that her action would be supported by that of three at least of the Great Powers, and by the sympathy of the world, and would be opposed, if at all, only by Russia.

The Triple Alliance arose out of the necessity of Austria to protect herself against Russia's aggressive policy, and of Germany to confront the combined hostility of Russia and France. So long as the Triple Alliance lasted a manifest determination on the part of England to resist Russian aggression, even in case Russia were assisted by France, would have given her the lead in a combination in which the central Powers would have been her allies. The best opportunity of such British action was afforded by the war in the Far East, which placed Russia at the mercy of an England ready to act. But the inaction of England and the exhaustion of Italy compelled Germany, threatened as she was by the Franco-Russian combination and estranged from England, to consider her own safety and to make terms with Russia. This change, however, did not alter the fundamental facts of the situation.

In regard to the fate of Turkey, the Power primarily interested is Austria. To Austria England should first address herself, declaring her unalterable determination to join in resisting the absorption of Turkey or the acquisition of Constantinople by Russia. The next Power concerned is Italy. Italy would require to be assured against attack from Germany or France, while joining with Austria and England against Russia. But in such a case neither France nor Germany would allow the other to attack Italy. Germany would never take up arms to assist the

Russian design upon Turkey, and therefore, if not a co-operator with England, Austria, and Italy, would be neutral. France has no interest in helping Russia to Constantinople. The great popularity in France of the Russian alliance is due to the previous painful and prolonged isolation of the French Government. It ought not to be impossible to persuade the French nation that England, Austria, and Italy would be as useful to France as Russia.

The change in Germany's attitude, her recent determination to seek escape from a Franco-Russian attack by renewing her close relation with Russia, is the consequence of England's inaction. So long as Germany rested upon the Triple Alliance, England, after declaring her policy first to Austria and Italy, and then to Germany, could have counted with certainty upon Germany preventing France from helping Russia. If, however, Germany now inclines towards Russia, a British statesman ought to be able to bring France to his side, at least to the extent of preventing Germany's interference in favour of Russia. The greatest interest of Germany at present is to be freed from the pressure upon her exerted by the joint policy of Russia and France. The decided action of England in the sense which I advocate would free Germany from this pressure, and, as it would also enable the Germans to realize their long-cherished idea of a colonization of Asia Minor, would be a service to Germany, incomparably outweighing any cause of resentment which she maintains on account of disagreements about African colonies. Our Cabinet Ministers are too much absorbed in unimportant Parliamentary trifles to study the ideas of the Continental Powers, and have for a whole century been persistently ignorant of German ideas and German sentiment. There have been no better exponents of German national feeling than Bismarck and Moltke in the days when, being irresponsible, they could speak freely. In Bismarck's correspondence of the years 1851–1859, the dominant subject is the prevention of a Franco-Russian combination, or, if that is impracticable, the means of resistance to it. The best resistance, he thought, would be a combination of Austria, Prussia, and England, and the only reason why Bismarck rejected this solution was that he felt sure that English help was not to be had, because England had no statesman who understood Europe, or dared lead the nation for a great purpose. At the same period Moltke had no doubt that Russia was the great danger. In 1854 (January 25) he wrote to his brother Adolf—

"The German Powers are playing a sorry part. An increase of Russia's power is more dangerous to them than to anyone else, yet they leave it to the Western Powers to pull the chestnuts out of the fire."

The policy here advocated would, of course, have a positive

aim: to take the Turkish Empire under a European Protectorate. This does not mean the exclusion of Russia from all influence on the settlement, but only that Russia would be assigned her legitimate place as one member of the European Commonwealth, rather than as an absolute dictator. Above all, she would not be allowed to settle in her own interest the European question of the Straits. A satisfactory settlement of Turkey is, of course, not an easy matter. But some of its elements can be suggested. The first point is the extension of Bulgaria, Servia, and Greece, so as to include in each case those parts of European Turkey which by nationality clearly belong to them. The allied Powers would exert themselves to procure an agreement between these three nations regarding their future boundaries. Servia may fairly claim Old Servia; Greece the Islands of the Archipelago, Epirus, and much of Macedonia; Bulgaria the country between her southern border and the Ægean. Asia Minor is a country of great natural resources, and would be a better field for German colonization than any part of Africa. The French have a traditional interest in Syria, and Russia, which has annexed one-half of Armenia, is best situated for governing the other half, while Cyrenaica is perhaps more suited than Abyssinia as a field for Italian settlement. The creation of European protectorates in Asia Minor and Syria would be accompanied by the establishment of a principality of Constantinople under the guarantee of the Powers. Perhaps the best plan would be to treat the Sultan as the Khedive has been treated, and to provide him with European administrators for his reduced dominion of Constantinople and the immediately adjacent provinces. These administrators might with advantage be German, for Germany has for at least a century cultivated close relations with the Sultans, and provided them with military assistants. That Germany would welcome a British initiative such as I propose will be evident to those who recall Moltke's * view, expressed in 1842—

"The Ottoman Empire will collapse as soon as the European Powers disagree as to its preservation or agree as to its end. The former case may happen suddenly and unexpectedly and its results are beyond calculation. But the latter case depends on the free decision of the Cabinets, and its consequences can for the most part be estimated, considered, and regulated. In any case, the catastrophe is one that we can foresee must happen. The question is whether it is to be indefinitely postponed so that the Powers will be surprised by it when it comes, or whether the danger is to be looked in the face and the crisis brought on intentionally so that its effects may be regulated."

The course proposed by Moltke fifty years ago of bringing on the crisis could not during the last five-and-twenty years have been initiated by any Power except England, because the other Powers were separated into two camps. The Armenian massacres were the sign

* *Gesammelte Schriften*, II. 312.

that the end was inevitable. Both the English parties have been in office since the critical stage began, and both alike have miserably failed. It is time that the hollow pretence of a Party system was abandoned, and that some one should have the courage to speak clearly, not as a partisan, but as the nation's advocate.

Lord Salisbury's policy has, according to its official exponents, for one of its objects, to give Crete autonomy. Autonomy is the Greek for independence, the right and the power of a community to settle its own fate, to make its own laws, and to conduct its own administration. Autonomy coupled with suzerainty is exactly what is meant by the English phrase, Home Rule. But the Powers have no intention of allowing the Cretans to settle their own fate, to make their own laws, or to conduct their own administration. They are deliberating on the constitution to be given by themselves to Crete, and upon the choice of a ruler. It is said that Russia has proposed as governor a Montenegrin, which is almost a synonym for a Russian. Thus, when Lord Salisbury says autonomy he means a Russian protectorate. "The integrity of the Ottoman Empire" has now a similar meaning. In 1856 and in 1878 this phrase in the mouths of Western statesmen meant that Russia was to annex as little of Turkey as possible. To-day it is the motto of Russia, and means that Turkey is to be kept intact for Russia to inherit. Europe's true duty, in the execution of which England ought to take the lead, is to protect the subjects of the Sultan against their despot. Russia's purpose is to protect the despot against his subjects. When Russia supported the Sultan against English protests and threats, occasioned by the massacres in Armenia, the Sultan was convinced that Russia was his true friend and protector. Russia is now his protector against Greeks and Cretans. Lord Salisbury's policy of coercing Crete and Greece may lead to war between Greece and Turkey, which will be the signal for Russia to come to Turkey's help, and with the Sultan's consent to seize the Straits. England's opportunity will then be gone, for the Powers will not be induced to combine for resistance to a *fait accompli*. The European nations will then be certain of what they all now suspect, that British Governments have lost the insight, the courage, and the decision of former times, that England is no longer the great nation she was, and that the command of the sea might be in hands better qualified to use it for Europe's good.

SPENSER WILKINSON.

ARTHUR HUGH CLOUGH.

WHAT is a "man of letters"? The question is not an inappropriate one to put in connection with the subject of this essay. For when, some fifteen years ago and more, it was suggested to the distinguished editor of a certain series of volumes dealing with "English Men of Letters" that Arthur Hugh Clough might well find a place in that series, the reply was substantially negative. "I know," the editor remarked, "that some of my friends think Clough ought to be included, but I have never been able to agree with them or to regard Clough as belonging to the family of 'men of letters.'"

An opinion of this kind, proceeding from so authoritative a source, commands attention. What is a "man of letters"? And if Clough did not belong to the fraternity of "men of letters," why did he not belong to it? If we might regard the expression, "a man of letters," as indicating one to whom literature is his business—and the definition seems to have a good deal to recommend it—then certainly Clough did not fall within this category. To him literature was anything but a business. It might be said that very little indeed that came from his pen was written for the sake of writing it, and that whatever he wrote for the sake of writing it was, as a rule, lacking in the charm that breathes from so much of his work.

It may be accepted, then, without much difficulty, that a "man of letters" Arthur Hugh Clough was not, and that his exclusion from the series of volumes alluded to above was a proper exclusion. That point being disposed of, the question arises as to what it is that gives particular interest to the life and individuality of a man who, though known to the world almost solely through his contributions to literature, was yet not a "man of letters." That there is a particular interest attaching to his life and his individuality there can be no question; for while we have one of the most accomplished of living critics denying him a place in the pantheon sacred to "men of letters," we have another accomplished critic, who was living till a few years ago—Matthew Arnold,—regarding him with an affectionate reverence hardly less striking than that

which the author of *In Memoriam* felt towards the friend who inspired that noblest of elegies.

Arthur Hugh Clough was in no respect a "man of letters." Literature was not his business. It does not fall to the lot of those who may have to deal with his life and his work to be compelled to trace out a perhaps sordid and coarse personality beneath the robes of an almost regal success in the world of letters. There is little that Clough has left us that is not transparent and natural. But within this we find so attractive a personality that we may perhaps be in some danger of exaggerating the merely literary importance of the forms through which that personality expressed itself. We find that personality ever most sensitively alive to everything in nature that is gentle and beautiful, ever tenderly tolerant towards every kind of human defect or shortcoming, but at the same time severely and inexorably just towards itself. It is this mixing of tenderness and severity, coupled as it is with the utmost sensitiveness to every beautiful and ennobling impression, that gives the distinctive charm to one of the very few men of the present century who can claim to be studied, not for what they did, but for what they were. It is recorded of Clough that when at Oxford he was noted for the Spartan simplicity of his manner of living—a simplicity that led him to dispense with fires in his rooms during even the severest weather. This Spartan simplicity in respect of physical surroundings was in exact keeping with his mental treatment of himself. He would admit to his mind no illusion, however comfortable.

> "Play no tricks upon thyself, O man;
> Let fact be fact, and life the thing it can."

That was the maxim upon which he acted, following the light of an absolute sincerity, no matter where it might lead him. It is not necessary, nor indeed would it be just, to characterize the present time as an age of shams. An age that has, with all its shortcomings, accomplished so much that is real cannot with justice be thus spoken of. Nevertheless, having regard to the increasing intensity of competition, and to the very general acceptance of mere success as a test of merit, it ought to be, and can hardly help being, serviceable to be able to turn to the example of one man at any rate, a man intellectually gifted far above the average, to whom success was nothing, and to whom absolute and unswerving sincerity to his ideals of thought and conduct was everything.

How did this nature, this attractive and striking individuality, come to be developed? What was there belonging to it by heredity, what was there from time to time in its environment,

that combined to produce such a result? The stock from which Clough sprang was on both sides a little remarkable. The Cloughs were an old Welsh family whose representative stood well in the country early in the sixteenth century, that era of English mercantile expansion, while his mother belonged to one of those old Yorkshire families which may be said to constitute the backbone of English nationality. One seems, through the glimpses afforded by very fragmentary biographical recollections, to get an impression of the father, James Butler Clough, as a man not too successful in the business—that of a cotton merchant in Liverpool and Charleston—which he had adopted, his lack of marked success, even in days when it was not considered necessary for every man to become a millionaire, being not improbably associated with a sensitiveness that disabled him from taking advantage of the more risky chances of commercial speculation. The somewhat prolonged absences from his family, who were left at Charleston while he was in Liverpool, as well as general changes of residence from Liverpool to Charleston, from Charleston back to Liverpool, and finally from Liverpool to Charleston again, seem indicative of some degree of family uncertainty and anxiety. Under these conditions, it was perhaps to be expected that the ruling influence in the family should come from the mother's side. There can be no question that this was the influence that did most to mould the character and fix the intellectual bent of the child who, before he was seven years old, was regarded as the genius of the family. The development of conscience, the love of lofty and heroic ideals, came naturally to a boy of Clough's imaginative and sensitive temperament. Possibly, too, the influence of climate was not without its effect. Those who as children have lived in a semi-tropical atmosphere have not seldom been known to develop in later years what may be called an intellectual laziness. The picture one gets of him, as a boy of eight, lying on his bed through the hot afternoons in Charleston, devouring books of adventure and travel, seems a little suggestive of a certain physical incapacity for that life of hard competition which was to him in after-life so repulsive, and yet which is usually the price that has to be paid for any marked success. One can hardly help suspecting that when Clough, in the epilogue to his *Dipsychus*, speaks sceptically as to the existence of scruples in the mind of "a round-about boy" of twelve or fourteen, "with his three meals a day inside him," he was having a little laugh at himself. For certainly, at twelve or fourteen, that was exactly what he was *not*, and it is quite possible to imagine his mind lighting up with a humorous notion that it might have

been better for himself, in some ways, if at twelve or fourteen he had been a little more "round about" and a little less scrupulous. The humorous realization of some altogether different self is a pastime not unknown to persons of an introspective disposition.

What might have been the effect upon the life of Arthur Hugh Clough if he had remained much longer the darling of an affectionate family circle is a question not altogether without its interest. Indications do not seem to be wanting that, as often happens with clever boys who remain long at home, he was inclined to become a little—what shall we say? Well, perhaps a little "old-mannish." That, however, was not a real and genuine feature of his character, which found itself completely in harmony with the breezy freedom and manly influences that were to be met with in the Rugby of Dr. Arnold. To Rugby Clough went in the summer of 1829, when he was ten-and-a-half years old—rather young, one would think, for launching into the life of a great public school. Under the influences that centred at Rugby, however, his nature expanded rapidly, the possession of a somewhat delicate physique proving no bar to his taking part, with no small credit, in the school games, football especially, in connection with which his name has been handed down as that of the best goal-keeper on record. And here, while acquiring an increased physical and moral robustness, he found the value of the early literary training which had come to him in the old days at Charleston. It is generally supposed that the "Arthur," the delicate boy who figures so effectively in *Tom Brown's School Days*, was suggested by the late Dean Stanley. There was, however, another "Arthur" in the school who was quite as capable of being the hero of the incident that led to the famous fight between Tom Brown and "Slogger" Williams. Certainly Arthur Hugh Clough, by reason of his sensitive nature and his early acquaintance with Greek literature from its poetical side, was just the sort of boy one might expect to feel the pathos of the passage he was set to construe in class. There can be little question that it was his previous acquaintance with, and admiration of, the legends which to most boys who puzzle over a lexicon have no meaning or existence at all, that enabled him to gain that reputation for sound and elegant scholarship which, though not nearly as profitable as it might have been, followed him through life.

The influence of Rugby, the Rugby penetrated through and through with the moral earnestness of Arnold, made itself felt in other ways. It had not been merely the love of the heroic and romantic in literature that had come to Clough through the early influences of home life. Coupled with this, he had acquired

a high sense of moral duty and moral responsibility. His letters to his younger brother, George, written from Rugby in 1835, when he was himself realizing the responsibilities attaching to the position of the senior boys in a great school, are characteristic. In one of these letters, dated the 13th September, 1835, he warns his brother against being indolent. "You recollect," he says, "what I told you about that family failing"—a failing which he seems disposed to attribute to influences from his mother's side of the family. The temptations resulting from constitutional indolence certainly beset himself; but it does not strike one that he was necessarily correct in regarding this constitutional indolence as proceeding from the Yorkshire Perfects and not from the Welsh Cloughs. Here, however, is a passage from this same letter which is worth quoting:—

"No doubt you will feel very much the loss of anyone to talk to about religion, but let this, my dear George, only make you keep more close to God: and if still . . . you want someone to talk to, you have only to write to me, and I shall be sure to answer you within a week or two. Remember, too, that if the school is bad, it is no reason, no excuse, for you to do as they do. Remember, they are not many, and Jesus said that a little leaven leavens the whole lump. Now, do not think that I am telling you to put yourself forward as a kind of apostle or missionary to them. Only go on without fearing or shrinking in any point from your duty; do not mind their knowing that you are trying to serve God."

In some respects, perhaps, that is not such a very remarkable letter. One has to remember, however, when it was written and by whom it was written. It was written at a time when Arnold, whose traditions have come down as the best natural inheritance of all the great schools in England, was regarded as an educational heretic, whose aberrations from the then accepted methods of school discipline were the object of attack by Tory newspapers. It is Arnold's spirit and influence that breathes through the letter—a letter, too, not written by one who had failed to fall into his place as a healthy and energetic school-boy, but by one who was a leader in all that pertained to the natural activity of school life, and who was immensely popular among his school-fellows. Indeed, he found this popularity a little dangerous, for he complains in one of his letters, written about the same period, that he finds "associating with fellows for their good" a "more dangerous employment" than he had looked for. The danger lay partly in the alternations of excitement and depression caused by the conscious efforts on behalf of school-fellows and of the school, and partly by the calls it made upon his time. He complains that he really had not the time to be acquainted and intimate with a great many fellows. "And here," he adds, "is another advantage on the side of evil, that bad characters are also idle, whereas good characters are industrious, so that when a fellow wants a companion he is much more likely to pitch on a bad than on a good one." An experience

this, surely, which Dr. Watts has expressed more epigrammatically.

It was in the full blaze of a brilliant reputation that Arthur Hugh Clough, in 1837, migrated from Rugby to Oxford. The winner of the Balliol scholarship, the gainer of every honour which Rugby could bestow, what might not be hoped from him? Certainly no one ever went into residence at Oxford better qualified to fulfil and to adorn all the traditions that cluster round the banks of the Isis, and it seems probable that if he had fallen upon Oxford life at any other time his passion for scholarship would have proved the dominating influence of his academical career. Oxford, however, when Clough came into residence, in October, 1837, was not the Oxford of academic calm. It was an Oxford agitated and rent by the whirlwind of the Tractarian movement. The prolonged barometric depression, if it may be called so, of the Evangelical school of thought—a school originally founded in much earnestness and through much suffering—had invited the reaction of which Newman was the chief expression, and of which the High Church party, now covering nearly the whole area of the Church of England, was the result. How was it possible for such a nature as Clough's not to be interested in a conflict of this kind? With him the passion for scholarship always walked side by side with a passion for truth and sincerity. The boy who had, at the age of sixteen, written to his younger brother urging him not to be afraid to let it be known that he was "trying to serve God," could not, in the maturer life that realizes itself so rapidly at twenty, have stood still on the brink of the tumult, "the fringy edges of the fight," contenting himself with what would have seemed to him a mere selfish effort at self-development. He was bound to plunge into "the pell-mell of men." And in this necessity of his nature lies the true answer to those who, like his friend Mr. Ward, have regretted that he could not keep himself from "plunging prematurely," as they expressed it, "into the theological controversies then so rife at Oxford." Had he held himself aloof, he might, in the opinion of these friends, have been saved from all injury to the gradual and healthy growth of his mind and character. "It is my own very strong impression," Mr. Ward has written, "that, had this been permitted, his future course of thought and speculation would have been essentially different from what it was in fact. Drawn, as it were, peremptorily, when a young man just coming up to college, into a decision upon questions the most important that can occupy the mind, the result was not surprising. After this premature forcing of Clough's mind, there came a reaction. His intellectual perplexity preyed heavily on his spirits, and grievously interfered with his studies."

All which may be true, perfectly true; and yet one feels that, true though it may be, it misses the mark. It reminds one of Dominie Sampson's lament over the restored Harry Bertram: "He should have been a calligrapher; but Heaven's will be done!" In what field of thought, in what kind of a theological paddock, would those who thus affectionately deprecated the influence of the Tractarian tempest have wished or expected to find their friend? Clough as a High Churchman, playing tricks—as he would have said—upon himself, would have been an impossibility. And if not as a High Churchman, then as what? In what other field could the friend of Arthur Stanley and Matthew Arnold have found himself, save in the field in which, with him as with them, earnest moral and intellectual effort were the main thing—something approaching to the *summum pulchrum*, if not indeed the *summum pulchrum* itself—and the hold upon formularies merely subsidiary? It may be that these three, animated by the same cultured earnestness, though differing from each other in respect of personal idiosyncrasy, were the brightest outcome of that Oxford tribulation—a tribulation which coincided, in point of time, with social and political tribulations that more or less affected them all. Stanley, with his deep religious and imaginative nature, not altogether untouched by something of the mystic, found his place at Westminster, where he kept the bridge against the hosts of dogmatism, burning to eradicate all that savoured of liberty in religious thought. Arnold, animated by a sincere and cultured disbelief in popular movements and popular cries, was able to hold himself aloof from upheavals, the force of which he strangely miscalculated.* Clough, however, with perhaps a deeper imagination than either, and influenced by a conscientiousness that might almost have been called hyper-sensitive, could not have tolerated in himself either the conformity of Stanley or the social scepticism of Arnold. It would be difficult to say that he was religiously more sincere than Stanley, but it is certain that he was socially much more earnest than Arnold. Those, moreover, who appreciate Clough from the religious side of his character, and deprecate the sacrifices he made in his anxiety to clear himself from any suspicion of religious insincerity, possibly fail to some extent to realize the fact that social problems occupied even a wider space in his mind than religious problems. As regards religious problems, his ruling principle was clear and complete—

* There is a characteristic quotation from Arnold in one of Clough's letters. "As Matt says, *the millennium will not come this bout.*" It is curious, however, that this sceptical remark with regard to the millennium was uttered just about the time when Arnold, according to his recently published letters, had limited the existence of the Established Church to five years.

"Let fact be fact, and life the thing it can." But the "riddle of the painful earth," in its social aspects, was continually attracting him, his reflections leading him to conclusions that even now social reformers are barely venturing to hint at.

> "How shall I laugh and sing and dance?
> My very heart recoils,
> While here to give my mirth a chance,
> A hungry brother toils."

There is a whole system of Christian Socialism in those lines, which find a place in the mouth of Dipsychus; and though Clough was not actually himself Dipsychus, though he clearly recognized the element of exaggeration that was needed to give force to the contrast in what is perhaps his most characteristic work, yet he was near enough to the spirit of his sensitive-souled hero to feel in the keenest manner the pain of the social inequalities and injustices that he found floating about in the world.

Herein, indeed, in his deep and at times almost painful appreciation of the inequalities and unrealities of social existence is to be found the true key to Clough's work and character. A religious reformer, a religious enthusiast, he never could have been. With him these matters lay far too deep to be dragged into the dust and heat of the arena of controversy. He had his own way of regarding them, and it is in the exquisite sincerity and profound faith that possessed him that one of the noblest lessons of his life is to be found. The Spartan simplicity of his dealings with himself, his resolve to accept no idea or conviction merely because it was comfortable, is well illustrated in a letter written to his sister in 1848, just after he had resigned his fellowship:—

"It is far nobler," he says, "to teach people to do what is good because it is good simply than for the sake of any future reward. It is, I daresay, difficult to keep up an equal religious feeling at present, but it is not impossible, and is necessary. Besides, if *we* die and come to nothing, it does not therefore follow that life and goodness will cease to be in earth and heaven. If we give over dancing, it does not therefore follow that the dance ceases itself, or the music. Be satisfied, that whatever is good in us will be immortal; and as the parent is content to die in the consciousness of the child's survival, even so, why not we? There's a creed which will suffice for the present."

In the same letter, referring to the "new High Churchites," who wanted "to turn all the quiet people adrift," he remarks, that so long as "one isn't obliged to sign articles, or go to daily service, or prayer-meeting, or the like, I don't see why one should excommunicate oneself. As for the Unitarians," he adds, "they're better than the other Dissenters, and that's all; but to go to their chapels—no!"

A religious reformer or enthusiast Clough was not, and that is

why those who expected to see his resignation, first of his tutorship and then of his fellowship, associated with the publication of some theological pamphlet were disappointed. Instead of this, what had they? They had *The Bothie of Tober-na-Vuolich*, that "long vacation pastoral," so human, so touching, so deep, so humorous. Was that inappropriate to the revolution he had been experiencing in his own life and surroundings? Not in the least. It is really the story of the development of an Oxford undergraduate into a social reformer—a reformer, too, who had the courage to entrust his own life and happiness to the principles which he had come to approve.* Clough, in resigning his Oxford appointments, had stepped out of bondage into free air, and it is free air that blows through all the story of Philip Hewson and his wooing in the wilds of Rannoch. There is no need to tell the story; the story is one that can only be told in the poet's own language. Yet it is impossible not to feel the influence of the profound and enthusiastic social faith that gives the keynote to the whole, and equally impossible to doubt that it is the poet himself who, through the mediumship of another, is pouring out his own convictions. Here is a comparison which is useful. Here, first of all, are six lines from one of the *Poems on Life and Duty*:—

"Go from the east to the west, as the sun and the stars direct thee,
Go with the girdle of man, go and encompass the earth.
Not for the gain of the gold, for the getting, the hoarding, the having,
But for the joy of the deed, but for the Duty to do.
Go with the spiritual life, the higher volition and action,
With the great girdle of God, go and encompass the earth!"

The enthusiasm of those lines, warm with the poet's deepest feeling and conviction, finds an echo in the impatience of the poet and Radical, Philip Hewson, when his friend the tutor, "the grave man nick-named Adam," had written to him urging the importance of "trusting in Providence," and abiding and working in our stations. Philip retorts:—

"I am sorry to say your Providence puzzles me sadly;
Children of circumstance are we to be? You answer, On no wise!
Where does circumstance end, and Providence, where begins it?
What are we to resist, and what are we to be friends with?
If there is battle, 'tis battle by night, I stand in the darkness,
Here in the *mêlée* of men, Ionian and Dorian on both sides,
Signal and password known; which is friend and which is foeman?
Is it a friend? I doubt, though he speak with the voice of a brother.
Still you are right, I suppose; you always are and will be;
Though I mistrust the Field-Marshal, I bow to the duty of order.
Yet is my feeling rather to ask, where *is* the battle?

* It is a tradition that Philip Hewson, the poet and Radical, was sketched from Thomas Arnold, Matthew Arnold's elder brother. But it seems impossible to avoid the conviction that here, too, as in the case of *Dipsychus*, it is largely with Clough himself that we have to do.

Yes, I could find in my heart to cry, notwithstanding my Elspie,
O that the armies indeed were arrayed! O joy of the onset!
Sound, thou trumpet of God, come forth, great Cause, to array us,
King and leader appear, thy soldiers sorrowing seek thee.
Would that the armies indeed were arrayed, O where is the battle
Neither battle I see, nor arraying, nor King in Israel,
Only infinite jumble and mess and dislocation,
Backed by a solemn appeal, 'For God's sake, do not stir there!'
Yet you are right, I suppose; if you don't attack any conclusion,
Let us get on as we can, and do the thing we are fit for."

This is unsatisfying, however, as much to Arthur Hugh Clough as to Philip Hewson. Hewson describes a little later how the old democratic fervour comes back, swelling and spreading like the Atlantic tide through the Hebrides; Clough delivers his soul in a diatribe against those conventional conceptions of duty which are to him "pure nonentity of duty."

It can hardly be said that Clough ever found, in its completeness, a field for the exercise of that sense of duty which was to him almost more than the air he breathed. His surroundings as head of University Hall in London, a post to which he was appointed soon after his resignation of his Oxford appointments, were anything but congenial. He found that in a great degree he had exchanged a gracious bondage for a bondage that was small and irritating. One of the most characteristic of his letters, written in January, 1849, was a letter in which he explained his reasons for declining, in his official capacity, to undertake the conduct or superintendence of any prayers, or even to undertake to be present at them. How characteristic of the man, determined, so far as he himself was concerned, to "let fact be fact"! The letter, moreover, was characteristic in another sense; for he expressed himself as willing to concede that it might be better if the Principal of the institution were one who could officially join in such devotions as the controllers desired—willing to concede, that is, that some more acceptable person than himself might better fill the office of Principal. Equally characteristic was the care he took to define his own position, and to leave himself unfettered in respect of all religious matters. "I need not, of course, say," he remarks, "that I suppose I have on these subjects, if not convictions, sentiments—not assuredly a definite theological creed, but what would be called religious views—views which may prove very different from those commonly entertained by Unitarians. But of course, too, I can entirely disclaim everything approaching to a disposition to proselytize; so far from it, I hardly expect to make up my own mind as yet, and am not likely to meddle with those of others. At the same time, what a man feels for himself can hardly fail to affect his communications with his neighbour, nor should I in any way feel bound to suppress, because of the opinions of a young

man's parents and friends, anything which other reasons would not induce me to withhold. Hasty talking would be grievous misdoing; evasive dealing would vitiate everything; but I should hope to find other matters to occupy me with the students."

Three years later—one can hardly marvel at it—he was out of harness again, enjoying a salary of some £30 a year as Professor of English Language and Literature at University College; confessing to be "as good or as bad as engaged"; and writing to Emerson to ask if there was any chance of "earning bread and water, if not bread and flesh, anywhere between the Atlantic and the Mississippi, by teaching Latin, Greek, or English." That was the beginning of his sojourn in America, a sojourn lasting not much over six months, during which he played a little with literary work, and discovered that "Emerson was the only profound man in the country." One gets glimpses of a growing weariness with a life of indefinite aims and continual unsettlements. "In the years 1844 and 1845," he remarks in one of his letters, written in March, 1853, "I was in very great force, and used to be taken for an undergraduate just come up to college. I am wiser perhaps now, but I have lost a good deal to become so." Or again, in a letter written three months later: "Energy is a very ordinary thing; reasonableness is much less common and does ten times the good." It would almost seem as if Clough were about this time getting planed down to the level of his friend Matthew Arnold, whose disbelief in the millennium had been expressed some years previously. But, whether this were the case or not, there can be little doubt that his appointment to a post in the Education Office, which came to him in the summer of 1853, gave him the rest and the occupation that he needed, besides affording him opportunities—to wit, in connection with Miss Florence Nightingale's nursing campaign—of throwing himself with enthusiasm into a public work. Whether he was really satisfied, whether he still felt that there was some work which would engage his whole energies, but which had not yet come to him, it would be a little difficult to say. He admitted that he found he liked "quill-driving"; it was at any rate better than "boy-driving"; but his letters to his American friends seem to breathe a desire to repeat the enfranchisement he had accomplished when he left Oxford—to get out of chains, to get free from grooves, and to make some mental exploitation of newer fields of life and thought. What no doubt served to balance this constitutional restlessness was the domestic life that was growing up round him, and which he appreciated only as a sensitive and affectionate-hearted man can appreciate it. One cannot help wondering what Clough

would have been if he had lived, as his hero of the *Bothie* might have done, to become "an unroasted grandsire" in a democratic New Zealand—whether the old restlessness would have died out, whether the pressure of increasing responsibilities would have tended to break down the delicate tenderness of conscience, which was his most characteristic possession. But such speculation is useless. In his forty-third year he lay dead in Florence, and it is beneath the cypresses in the little Protestant cemetery there that his grave is still to be found.

There is not much in such a life as this to attract those who regard success as the test of worth. Looked at from an ordinary point of view, Clough's life was essentially unsuccessful. He failed to achieve the distinction that was anticipated for him at Oxford; he threw up, on grounds which not a few regarded as Quixotic, an assured academical position; he accepted and then resigned an uncongenial and unsatisfying task in connection with what must have seemed to him, with his Oxford traditions and culture, a second-rate or third-rate university organization; he crossed the Atlantic and did little save make new friends; he returned to England and put himself into the official mill which claimed his energies until his death; he left no great work behind him, only fragmentary glimpses of a literary power which could not be summoned at will, and which refused to apply itself to subjects which failed to touch his higher and inner nature. Yet, in spite of all this, and perhaps in some considerable degree because of all this, the sweetness, the sincerity, the beauty of his nature enabled him to attract the very best minds of his time, and to set up a standard of living and thinking which, if adopted, would be found capable of regenerating and revivifying human society. In a world saturated with the spirit of competition, it might prove difficult to make generally attractive a life which moved apart from the struggle for material success. Nevertheless, whenever the rage of competition exhausts itself, the figure of this man of unquenchable faith—faith in the essential beneficence of all the facts of the universe—and of external failures will assuredly be found among "the one or two immortal lights" that will rise up into the firmament, "to shine there everlastingly." The man who could hold that

> "'Tis better to have fought and lost
> Than never to have fought at all;" *

* There is something of a puzzle about these two lines. They occur in a poem—*Peschiera*—written in 1849 in the same metre as *In Memoriam*, which was not published till 1851, and which contained the lines

> "'Tis better to have *loved* and lost
> Than never to have *loved* at all."

who could rally the faint-hearted with the thought that their individual effort might be all that was needed to gain a victory; who could declare that "it fortified his soul to know that though he perished, Truth was so": who could deny himself every comfortable belief that seemed touched by doubt, and yet be ever conscious of

> "The strong current flowing
> Right onward to the eternal shore";

—such a man as this is one to whom the world may well turn in the doubt and turmoil that will inevitably arise when mere success has become discredited, and when once more the cry goes up, "Who will show us any good?" And then the fact will be realized that Arthur Hugh Clough, though not indeed "a man of letters," was something infinitely greater.

F. Reginald Statham.

FISHING IN WEST AFRICA.

THERE is one distinctive charm about fishing—its fascinations will stand any climate. You may sit crouching on ice over a hole well inside the Arctic Circle, or on a Windsor chair by the side of the River Lea in the so-called Temperate Zone; or you may squat in a canoe on an equatorial river, with the surrounding atmosphere 45 per cent. mosquito, and if you are fishing you will enjoy yourself, and what is more important than this enjoyment, is that you will not embitter your present, nor endanger your future, by going home in a bad temper, whether you have caught anything or not, provided always that you are a true fisherman.

This is not the case with other sports; I have been assured by experienced men that it "makes one feel awfully bad" when, after carrying for hours a very heavy elephant gun, for example, through a tangled forest you have got chiv—— got a wretched bad chance of a shot at an elephant I should say, and as for football, cricket, &c., well, I need hardly speak of the unchristian feelings they engender in the mind towards umpires and successful opponents.

Being, as above demonstrated, a humble, but enthusiastic, devotee of fishing, I dare not say, as my great predecessor Dame Juliana Berners says, "with an angle," because my conscience tells me I am a born poacher—I need hardly remark that when I heard, from a reliable authority at Gaboon, that there were lakes in the centre of the island of Corisco, and that these fresh-water lakes were fished annually by representative ladies from the villages on this island, and that their annual fishing was just about due, I decided that I must get there forthwith. Now, although Corisco is not more than twenty miles out to sea from the continent, it is not a particularly easy place to get at nowadays, no vessels ever calling there, so I got, through the kindness of Dr. Nassau, a little schooner and a black crew, and, forgetting my solemn resolve, formed from the fruits of previous experiences, never to go on to an Atlantic island again, off I sailed. I will not go into the adventures of that voyage here. My reputation as a navigator was great before I left Gaboon. I had a record of having once driven my bowsprit through a conservatory, and once taken all the paint off one side of a smallpox hospital, to

say nothing of repeatedly having made attempts to climb trees in boats I commanded, but when I returned, I had surpassed these things by having successfully got my main-mast jammed up a tap, and I had done sufficient work in discovering new sandbanks, rock shoals, &c., in Corisco Bay, and round Cape Esterias, to necessitate, or call for, a new edition of *The West African Pilot.*

Corisco Island is about three miles long by $1\frac{3}{4}$ wide; its latitude 0·56 N., long. 9° $20\frac{1}{2}$ E. Mr. Winwood Reade was about the last traveller to give a description of Corisco, and a very interesting description it is. He was there in the early sixties, and was evidently too fully engaged with a drunken captain and a mad Malay cook to go inland. In his days small trading vessels used to call at Corisco for cargo, but they do so no longer, all the trade in the Bay now being carried on at Messrs. Holt's factory on Little Eloby Island (an island nearer in shore), and on the mainland at Coco Beach, belonging to Messrs. Hatton and Cookson.

In Winwood Reade's days, too, there was a settlement of the American Presbyterian Society on Corisco, with a staff of white men. This has been abandoned to a native minister, because the Society found that their theory that the island would be more healthy than the mainland was not supported by facts, the mortality being quite as great as at any continental station, so they moved on to the continent to be nearer their work. The only white people that are now on Corisco are two Spanish priests and three nuns, but of these good people I saw little or nothing, as my headquarters were with the native minister, Mr. Ibea, and there was war between the priests and him.

The natives are Benga, a now rapidly dying out coast tribe. They were once a great tribe, and in the old days, when the slavers and the whalers haunted Corisco Bay, these Benga were much in demand as crew men, in spite of the reputation they bore for ferocity. Nowadays the grown men get their living by going as travelling agents for the white merchants into the hinterland behind Corisco Bay, amongst the very dangerous and savage tribes there, and when one of them has made enough money by this trading, he comes back to Corisco, and rests, and luxuriates in the ample bosom of his family until he has spent his money—then he gets trust from the white trader, and goes to the Bush again, pretty frequently meeting there the sad fate of the pitcher that went too often to the well, and gets killed by the hinterlanders.

On arriving at Corisco Island, I "soothed with a gift, and greeted with a smile" the dusky inhabitants. "Have you got any tobacco?" said they. "I have," I responded, and a friendly feeling at once arose. I then explained that I wanted to join the fishing party. They were quite willing, and said the ladies were just

finishing planting their farms before the tornado season came on, and that they would make the peculiar, necessary baskets at once. They did not do so at once in an English sense of the term, but we all know there is no time south of 40°, and so I waited patiently, walking about the island.

Corisco is locally celebrated for its beauty. Winwood Reade says, "It is a little world in miniature, with its miniature forests, miniature prairies, miniature mountains, miniature rivers, and miniature precipices on the sea-shore." In consequence partly of these things, and partly of the inhabitants' rooted idea that the proper way to any place on the island is round by the sea-shore, the paths of Corisco are as strange as several other things are in latitude 0, and, like the other things, they require understanding to get on with.

They start from the beach with the avowed intention of just going round the next headland because the tide happens to be in too much for you to go along by the beach; but, once started, their presiding genii might sing to the wayfarer Mr. Kipling's "The Lord knows where we shall go, dear lass, and the Deuce knows what we shall see." You go up a path off the beach gladly, because you have been wading in fine white sand over your ankles, and in banks of rotting and rotten seaweed, on which centipedes, and other catamumpuses, crawl in profusion, not to mention sand-flies, &c., and the path makes a plunge inland, as much as to say, "Come and see our noted scenery," and having led you through a miniature swamp, a miniature forest, and a miniature prairie, "It's a pity," says the path, "not to call at So-and-so's village now we are so near it," and off it goes to the village through a patch of grass or plantation. It wanders through the scattered village aimlessly for some time, and then says, "Bless me, I had nearly forgotten what I came out for; we must hurry back to that beach," and off it goes through a lot more scenery, and lands you ultimately about fifty yards off the place where you first joined it, in consequence of the South Atlantic waves flying in foam and fury against a miniature precipice—the first thing they have met that dared stay their lordly course since they left Cape Horn or the ice walls of the Antarctic.

At last the fishing baskets were ready, and we set off for the lakes by a path that plunged into a little ravine, crossed a dried swamp, went up a hill, and on to an open prairie, in the course of about twenty minutes. Passing over this prairie, and through a wood, we came to another prairie, like most things in Corisco just then (August), dried up, for it was the height of the dry season. On this prairie we waited for some of the representative ladies from other villages to come up; for without their presence our fishing

would not have been legal. When you wait in West Africa it eats into your lifetime to a considerable extent, and we spent half-an-hour or so standing howling, in prolonged, intoned howls, for the absent ladies, notably grievously for On-gou-ta, and they came not, so we threw ourselves down on the soft, fine, golden-brown grass, in the sun, and, with the exception of myself, went asleep. After about two and a half hours I was aroused from a contemplation of the domestic habits of some beetles, by hearing a crackle, crackle, interspersed with sounds like small pistols going off, and looking round saw a fog of blue-brown smoke surmounting a rapidly-advancing wall of red fire.

I rose, and spread the news among my companions, who were sleeping, with thumps and kicks. Shouting at a sleeping African is labour lost. And then I made a bee-line for the nearest green forest wall of the prairie, followed by my companions. Yet, in spite of some very creditable sprint performances on their part, three members of the band got scorched. Fortunately, however, our activity landed us close to the lakes, so the scorched ones spent the rest of the afternoon sitting in mud-holes, comforting themselves with the balmy black slime. The other ladies turned up soon after this, and said that the fire had arisen from some man having set fire to a corner of the prairie some days previously, to make a farm, and he had thought the fire was out round his patch, whereas it was not, but smouldering in the tussocks of grass, and the wind had sprung up that afternoon from a quarter that fanned it up. I said, "People should be very careful of fire," and the scorched ladies profoundly agreed with me, and said things I will not repeat here, regarding "that fool man" and his female ancestors.

The lakes are pools of varying extent and depth, in the bed-rock of the island, and the fact that they are surrounded by thick forests on every side, and that the dry season is the cool season on the Equator, prevents them from drying up.

Most of these lakes are encircled by a rim of rock, from which you jump down into knee-deep black slime, and then, if you are a representative lady, you waddle, and squeal, and grunt, and skylark generally, on your way to the water in the middle. If it is a large lake you are working, you and your companions drive in two rows of stakes, cutting each other more or less at right angles, more or less in the middle of the lake, so as to divide it up into convenient portions. Then some ladies with their specially shaped baskets form a line, with their backs to the bank, and their faces to the water-space, in the enclosure, holding the baskets with one rim under water. The others go into the water, and splash with hands, and feet, and sticks, and, needless to say, yell hard all the time. The

naturally alarmed fish, fly from them, intent on getting into the mud, and are deftly scooped up by the peck by the ladies in their baskets. In little lakes the staking is not necessary, but the rest of the proceedings are the same. Some of the smaller lakes are too deep to be thus fished at all, being, I expect, clefts in the rock, such as you see in other parts of the island, sometimes 30 or 40 feet deep.

The usual result of the day's fishing is from twelve to fifteen bushels of a common mud-fish,* which is very good eating. The spoils are divided among the representative ladies, and they take them back to their respective villages and distribute them. Then ensues, that same evening, a tremendous fish supper, and those fish left over are smoked, and carefully kept as a delicacy, to make sauce with, &c., until the next year's fishing day comes round.

The waters of West Africa, salt, brackish, and fresh, abound with fish, and many kinds are, if properly cooked, excellent eating. For culinary purposes you may divide the fish into sea-fish, lagoon-fish, and river-fish; the first division, the sea-fish, are excellent eating, and are in enormous quantities, particularly along the windward coast on the Great West African Bank. South of this, at the mouths of the Oil rivers, they fall off, from a culinary standpoint, though scientifically they increase, in charm, as you find, hereabouts, fishes of extremely early types, whose relations have an interesting series of monuments in the shape of fossils, in the sandstone, but if primeval man had to live on them, when they were alive, I am sorry for him, for he might just as well have eaten mud and better, for then he would not have run the risk of getting choked with bones. On the south-west coast the culinary value goes up again; there there are quantities of excellent deep-sea fish, and round the mouths of the rivers, shoals of bream and grey mullet.

The lagoon-fish are not particularly good, as a rule they are supremely muddy and bony; they have their uses, however, for I am informed that they indicate to Lagos when it may expect an epidemic; to this end they die, in an adjacent lagoon, and float about upon its surface, wrong side up, until decomposition does its work. Their method of prophecy is a sound one, for it demonstrates (*a*) that the lagoon drinking water is worse than usual; (*b*) if it is not already fatal they will make it so.

The river-fish of the Gold Coast are better than those of the mud-sewers of the Niger Delta, because the Gold Coast rivers are brisk sporting streams, with the exception of the Volta, and at a short distance inland they come down over rocky rapids with a stiff current. The fish of the upper waters of the Delta rivers

* *Clarias laviaps.*

are better than those down in the mangrove-swamp region; and in the south-west coast rivers, with which I am personally well acquainted, the up-river fish are excellent in quality, on account of the swift current. I will leave culinary considerations, because cooking is a subject I am very liable to become diffuse on, and we will turn to the consideration of the sporting side of fishing.

Now, there is one thing you will always hear the Gold Coaster (white variety) grumbling about, "There is no sport." He has only got himself to blame. Let him try and introduce the Polynesian practice of swimming about in the surf, without his clothes, and with a suitable large, sharp knife, slaying sharks—there's no end of sharks on the Gold Coast, and no end of surf. The Rivermen have the same complaint, and I may recommend that they should try spearing sting-rays, things that run sometimes to six feet across the wings, and every inch of them wicked, particularly the tail. There is quite enough danger in either sport to satisfy a Sir Samuel Baker; for myself, being a nervous, quiet, rational individual, a large cat-fish in a small canoe supplies sufficient excitement.

The other day I went out for a day's fishing on an African river. I and two black men, in a canoe, in company with a round net, three stout-fishing lines, three paddles, Dr. Günther's *Study of Fishes*, some bait in an old Morton's boiled-mutton tin, a little manioc, stinking awfully (as is its wont), a broken calabash bailer, a lot of dirty water to sit in, and happy and contented minds. I catalogue these things because they are either essential to or inseparable from a good day's sport in West Africa. Yes, even *I*, ask my vict——friends down there, I feel sure they will tell you that they never had such experiences before my arrival. I fear they will go on and say, "Never again!" and that it was all my fault, which it was not. When things go well they ascribe it, and their survival, to Providence or their own precautions; when things are merely usual in horror, it's my fault, which is a rank inversion of the truth, for it is only when circumstances get beyond my control, and Providence takes charge, that accidents happen. I will demonstrate this by continuing my narrative. We paddled away, far up a mangrove creek, and then went up against the black mud-bank, with its great network of grey-white roots, surmounted by the closely-interlaced black-green foliage. Absolute silence reigned, as it can only reign in Africa in a mangrove swamp. The water-laden air wrapped round us like a warm, wet blanket. The big mangrove flies came silently to feed on us and leave their progeny behind them in the wounds to do likewise. The stink of the mud, strong enough to break a window, mingled fraternally with that of the sour manioc.

I was reading, the negroes, always quiet enough when fishing, were silently carrying on the one great African native industry—scratching themselves—so, with our lines over side, life slid away like a dreamless sleep, until the middle man hooked a cat-fish. It came on board with an awful grunt, right in the middle of us; flop, swish, scurry, and yell followed; I tucked the study of fishes in general under my arm and attended to this individual specimen, shouting "Lef em, lef em; hev em for water one time, you sons of unsanctified house lizards,"* and such like valuable advice and admonition. The man in the more remote end of the canoe made an awful swipe at the 3ft.-long, grunting, flopping, yellow-grey, slimy thing, but it never reached it, owing to the paddle meeting in mid-air with the flying leg of the man in front of him, drawing blood profusely. I really fancy, about this time, that, barring the cat-fish and myself, the occupants of the canoe were standing on their heads, with a view of removing their lower limbs from the terrible pectoral and dorsal fins, which our prey made such lively play with.

"*Brevio spatio interjecto*," as Cæsar says, in the middle of a bad battle, over went the canoe, while the cat-fish went off home with the line and hook. One black man went to the bank, whither, with a blind prescience of our fate, I had flung, a second before, the most valuable occupant of the canoe, *The Study of Fishes*. I went to investigate fluvial deposit *in situ*. When I returned to the surface—accompanied by great swirls of mud and great bubbles of the gases of decomposition I had liberated on my visit to the bottom of the river—I observed the canoe, floating bottom upwards, accompanied by Morton's tin, the calabash, and the paddles, and on the bank one black man was engaged in hauling the other out by the legs; fortunately this one's individual God had seen to it that his toes should become entangled in the net, and this floated, and so indicated to his companion where he was, when he had dived into the mud and got fairly embedded.

Now it's my belief that the most difficult thing in the world is to turn over a round-bottomed canoe that is wrong side up, when you are in the water with the canoe. The next most difficult thing is to get into the canoe, after accomplishing triumph number one, and had it not been for my black friends that afternoon, I should not have done these things successfully, and there would be by now another haunted creek in West Africa, with a mud and blood-bespattered ghost trying for ever to turn over the ghost of a little canoe. However, all ended happily. We collected all our possessions, except the result of the day's fishing—the cat-fish—but we had

* Translation: "Leave it alone! Leave it alone! Throw it into the water at once! What did you catch it for?"

had as much of him as we wanted, and so, adding a thankful mind to our contented ones, we went home.

None of us gave a verbatim report of the incident. I held my tongue for fear of not being allowed out fishing again, and I heard my men giving a fine account of a fearful fight, with accompanying prodigies of valour, that we had had with a witch crocodile. I fancy that must have been just their way of putting it, because it is not good form to be frightened by cat-fish on the West Coast, and I cannot for the life of me remember even having seen a witch crocodile that afternoon.

I must, however, own that native methods of fishing are usually safe, though I fail to see what I had to do in producing the above accident. The usual method of dealing with a cat-fish is to bang him on the head with a club, and then break the spiny fins off, for they make nasty wounds that are difficult to heal, and very painful.

The native fishing-craft is the dug-out canoe in its various local forms. The Accra canoe is a very safe and firm canoe for work of any sort except heavy cargo, and it is particularly good for surf; it is, however, slower than many other kinds. The canoe that you can get the greatest pace out of is undoubtedly the Adooma, which is narrow and flat-bottomed, and simply flies over the water. The paddles used vary also with locality, and their form is a mere matter of local fashion, for they all do their work well. There is the leaf-shaped Kru paddle, the trident-shaped Accra, the long lozenged Niger, and the long-handled, small-headed Galwa paddle, and with each of these forms the native, to the manner born, will send his canoe flying along with that unbroken sweep I consider the most luxurious and perfect form of motion on earth.

It is when it comes to sailing that the African is inferior. They do not sail half as much as they might, but still pretty frequently. The materials of which the sails are made vary immensely in different places, and the most beautiful are those at Loanda, which are made of small grass mats, with fringes, sewn together, and are a warm, rich sand-colour. Next in beauty comes the branch of a palm, or other tree, stuck in the bows, and least in beauty is the fisherman's own damaged waist-cloth. I remember it used to seem very strange to me at first to see my companion in a canoe take off his clothing and make a sail with it, on a wind springing up behind us. The very strangest sail I ever sailed under was a black man's blue trousers, they were tied waist upwards to a cross-stick, the legs neatly crossed, and secured to the thwarts of the canoe. You cannot well tack, or carry out any neat sailing evolutions with any of the African sails, particularly with the last-named form. The shape of the African sail is almost always in appearance a triangle,

and fastened to a cross-stick which is secured to an upright one. It is not the form, however, that prevents it from being handy, but the way it is put up, almost always without sheets, for river and lake work, and it is tied together with tie tie—bush rope. If you should personally be managing one, and trouble threatens, you take my advice, and take the mast out one time, and deal with that tie tie palaver at your leisure. Never mind what people say about this method not being seaman-like—you survive.

The mat sails used for sea-work are spread by a bamboo sprit. There is a single mast, to the head of which the sail is either hoisted by means of a small line run through the mast, or, more frequently, made fast with a seizing. Such a sail is worked by means of a sheet and a brace on the sprit, usually by one man, whose companion steers by a paddle over the stern; sometimes, however, one man performs both duties. Now and again you will find the luff of the sail bowlined out with another stick. This is most common round Sierra Leone.

The appliances for catching fish are, firstly, fish traps, sometimes made of hollow logs of trees, with one end left open and the other closed. One of these is just dropped alongside the bank, left for a week or so, until a fish family makes a home in it, and then it is removed with a jerk. Then there are fish-baskets made from split palm-stems tied together with tie tie; they are circular and conical, resembling our lobster pots and eel baskets, and they are usually baited with lumps of kank soaked in palm-oil. Then there are drag nets made of pineapple fibre, one edge weighted with stones tied in bunches at intervals; as a rule these run ten to twenty-five feet long, but in some places they are much longer. The longest I ever saw was when out fishing in the lovely harbour of San Paul de Loanda. This was over thirty feet and was weighted with bunches of clam shells, and made of European yarn, as indeed most nets are when this is procurable by the natives, and it was worked by three canoes which were being poled about, as is usual in Loanda Harbour. Then there is the universal hook and line, the hook either of European make or the simple bent pin of our youth.

But my favourite method, and the one by which I got most of my fish up rivers or in creeks is the stockade trap. These are constructed by driving in stakes close together, leaving one opening, not in the middle of the stockade, but towards the up river end. In tidal waters these stockades are visited daily, at nearly low tide, for the high tide carries the fish in behind the stockade, and leaves them there on falling. Up river, above tide water, the stockades are left for several days, in order to allow the fish to congregate. Then the opening is closed up, the fisher-women go inside and throw out the water and collect the fish.

There is another kind of stockade that gives great sport. During the wet season the terrific rush of water tears off bits of bank in such rivers as the Congo, and Ogowé, where, owing to the continual fierce current of fresh water the brackish tide waters do not come far up the river, so that the banks are not shielded by a great network of mangrove roots. In the Ogowé a good many of the banks are composed of a stout clay, and so the pieces torn off, hang together, and go often sailing out to sea, on the current, waving their bushes, and often trees, gallantly in the broad Atlantic, out of sight of land. Bits of the Congo Free State are great at seafaring too, and owing to the terrific stream of the great Zaire, spreading a belt of fresh water over the surface of the ocean 200 miles from land, ships fall in with these floating islands, their trees still flourishing. The Ogowé is not so big as the Congo, but it is a very respectable stream, even for the great continent of rivers, and it pours into the Atlantic, in the wet season, about 1,750,000 cubic feet of fresh water per second, on which float some of these islands. But by no means every island gets out to sea, many of them get into slack water round corners in the Delta region of the Ogowé and remain there, collecting all sorts of *débris* that comes down on the flood water, getting matted more and more firm by the floating grass, every joint of which grows on the smallest opportunity. In many places these floating islands are of considerable size; one I heard of was large enough to induce a friend of mine to start a coffee plantation on it; unfortunately the wretched thing came to pieces when he had cut down its trees and turned the soil up. And one I saw in the Karkola river, was a weird affair. It was in the river opposite our camp, and it very slowly, but perceptibly went round and round in an orbit, although it was about half an acre in extent. A good many of these bits of banks, do not attain to the honour of becoming islands, but get on to sand-banks in their early youth, near a native town, to the joy of the inhabitants, who forthwith go off to them, and drive round them a stockade of stakes firmly anchoring them. Thousands of fishes then congregate round the little island inside the stockade, for the rich feeding in among the roots and grass, and the affair is left a certain time. Then the entrance to the stockade is firmly closed up, and the natives go inside and bale out the water, and catch the fish in baskets, tearing the island to pieces, with shouts and squeals of exultation. It's messy, but it is amusing, and you get tremendous catches.

A very large percentage of fish traps are dedicated to the capture of shrimp and craw-fish, which the natives value highly when smoked, using them to make a sauce with for their kank;

among these is the shrimp-basket. These baskets are tied on sticks laid out in parallel lines of considerable extent. They run about three inches in diameter, and their length varies with the place that is being worked. The stakes are driven into the mud, and to each stake is tied a basket with a line of tie tie, the basket acting as a hat to the stake when the tide is ebbing; as the tide comes in, it lowers the basket into the current and carries into its open end large quantities of shrimps, which get entangled and packed by the force of the current into the tapering end of the basket, which is sometimes eight or ten feet from the mouth. You can always tell where there is a line of these baskets by seeing the line of attendant sea-gulls all solemnly arranged with their heads to win'ard sea-gull fashion.

Another device employed in small streams for the capture of either craw-fish or small fish is a line of calabashes, or earthen pots with narrow mouths; these are tied on to a line, I won't say with tie tie, because I have said that irritating word so often, but still you understand they are; this line is tied to a tree with more, you know what I mean, and carried across the stream, sufficiently slack to submerge the pots, and then to a tree on the other bank, where it is secured with the same material. A fetish charm is then secured to it that will see to it, that anyone who interferes with the trap, save the rightful owner, will "swell up and burst," then the trap is left for the night, the catch being collected in the morning.

Single pots, well baited with bits of fish and with a suitable stone in to keep them steady, are frequently used alongside the bank. These are left for a day or more, and then the owner with great care, crawls along the edge of the bank and claps on a lid and secures the prey.

Hand nets of many kinds are used. The most frequent form is the round net, weighted all round its outer edge. This is used by one man, and is thrown with great deftness and grace, in shallow waters. I suppose one may hardly call the long wreaths of palm branches used by the Loango and Kacongo coast natives for fishing the surf with, nets, but they are most effective. When the calemma (the surf) is not too bad, two or more men will carry this long thick wreath out into it, and then drop it and drag it towards the shore. The fish fly in front of it on to the beach, where they fall victims to the awaiting ladies, with their baskets. Another very quaint set of devices are employed by the Kru boys wherever they go to catch their beloved land and shore crabs. I remember once thinking I had providentially lighted on a beautiful bit of ju-ju; the whole stretch of mud beach had little lights dotted over it on the ground. I investigated. They were crab-traps. "Bottle of beer,"

"The Prince of Wales," "Jane Ann," and "Pancake" had become—by means we will not go into here—possessed of bits of candle, and had cut them up and put in front of them pieces of wood in an ingenious way. The crab, a creature whose intelligence is not sufficiently appreciated, fired with a scientific curiosity, went to see what the light was made of, and then could not escape, or perhaps did not try to escape, but stood spell-bound at the beauty of the light; anyhow, they fell victims to their spirit of enquiry. I have also seen drop-traps put for crabs round their holes. In this case the sense of the beauty of light in the crab is not relied on, and once in he is shut in, and cannot go home and communicate the result of his investigations to his family.

Yet, in spite of all these advantages and appliances above cited, I grieve to say the West African, all along the coast, descends to the unsportsmanlike trick of poisoning. Certain herbs are bruised and thrown into the water, chiefly into lagoons and river-pools. The method is effective, but I should doubt whether it is wholesome. These herbs cause the fish to rise to the surface stupefied when they are scooped up with a calabash. Other herbs cause the fish to lay at the bottom, also stupefied, and the water in the pool is thrown out, and they are collected.

More as a pastime than a sport I must class the shooting of the peculiar hopping mud-fish by the small boys with bows and arrows, but this is the only way you can secure them as they go about star-gazing with their eyes on the tops of their heads, instead of attending to baited hooks, and their hearing (or whatever it is) is so keen that they bury themselves in the mud-banks too rapidly for you to net them. Spearing is another very common method of fishing. It is carried on at night, a bright light being stuck in the bow of the canoe, and the spearer crouching, screens his eyes from the glare with a plantain leaf, and drops his long-hafted spear into the fish as they come up to look at the light. It is usually the big bream that are caught in this way out in the sea, and the carp up in fresh water.

The manners and customs of many West African fishes are quaint. I have never yet seen that fish the natives often tell me of that is as big as a man, only thicker, and which walks about on its fins at night, in the forest, so I cannot vouch for it; nor for that other fish that hates the crocodile, and follows her up and destroys her eggs, and now and again dedicates itself to its hate, and goes down her throat, and then spreads out its spiny fins and kills her.

The fish I know are interesting in quieter ways. The strange electrical fish, which sometimes have sufficient power to kill a duck, and which are much given to congregating in sunken boats,

giving one much trouble when the boat is floated again, because the natives won't go near them, so as to bail her out.

Then there is that deeply trying creature the Ning Ning fish, who, when you are in some rivers in fresh water and want to have a quiet night's rest, just as you have tucked in your mosquito bar carefully and successfully, comes alongside and serenades you, until you have to get up and throw things at it with a prophetic feeling, amply supported by subsequent experience, that hordes of mosquitos are busily ensconcing themselves inside your mosquito bar. What makes the Ning Ning—it is called after its idiotic song—so maddening is that it never seems to be where you have thrown the things at it. You could swear it was close to the bow of the canoe when you shied that empty soda-water bottle or that ball of your precious indiarubber at it, but instantly comes "ning, ning, ning" from the stern of the canoe. It is a ventriloquist or goes about in shoals, I do not know which, for the latter easier explanation seems debarred by their not singing in chorus; the performance is undoubtedly a solo, and there is one thing anyone experienced in this fish soon finds out, and that is that it is not driven away or destroyed by an artillery of missiles, but merely lays low until its victim has got under his mosquito curtain, and resettled his mosquito palaver, and then back it comes with its "ning ning."

A similar affliction is the salt-water drum-fish, with its "bum-bum." Loanda Harbour abounds with these, and so does Chiloango. In the bright moonlight nights I have looked overside and seen these fish in a wreath round the canoe, with their silly noses against the side, "bum-bumming" away; whether they admire the canoe, or whether they want it to come on and fight it out, I do not know, because my knowledge of the different kinds of fishes and of their internal affairs is derived from Dr. Günther's great work, and that has not got a section on ichthyological psychology in it. The West African natives have, I may say, a great deal of very curious information on the thoughts of fishes, but, much as I like those good people, I make it a hard and fast rule to hold on to my common-sense and keep my belief for religious purposes when it comes to these deductions from natural phenomena, not that I display this mental attitude externally, and there is always in their worst and wildest fetish notions an underlying element of truth. The fetish of fish is too wide a subject to enter into here, it acts well because it gives a close season to river and lagoon fish, the natives round Lake Azingo, for example, saying that if the first fishes that come up into the lake in the great dry season are killed, the rest of the shoal turn back; so on the arrival of this vanguard they are treated most carefully, talked too with "a sweet mouth," and given

things. The fishes that form these shoals are *Hemi chromis fasciatus* and *Chromis ogowensis.*

I know no more charming way of spending an afternoon than to leisurely paddle alone to the edge of an Ogowé sand bank, in the dry season, and then lay and watch the ways of the water-world below. If you keep quiet, the fishes take no notice of you, and go on with their ordinary avocations, under your eyes, hunting, and feeding, and playing, and fighting, happily and cheerily until one of the dreaded raptorial fishes appears upon the scene, and then there is a general scurry. Dreadful warriors are the little fishes that haunt sand banks (*Alestis Kingsleyæ*) and very bold, for when you put your hand down in the water, with some crumbs in, after making two or three attempts to frighten it, by sidling up at it and butting, but on finding there's no fight in the thing, they swagger into the palm of your hand and take what is to be got with an air of conquest; but, before the supply is exhausted, there always arises a row among themselves, and the gallant bulls, some two inches long, will spin round and butt at each other for a second or so, and then spin round again, and flap each other with their tails, their little red-edged fins and gill-covers growing crimson with fury. I never made out how you counted points in these fights, because no one ever seemed a scale the worse after even the most desperate duels.

Most of the West Coast tribes are inveterate fishermen. The Gold Coast native regards it as a low pursuit, more particularly oyster-fishing, or I should say oyster-gathering, for they are collected chiefly from the lower branches of the mangrove-trees; this occupation is, indeed, regarded as being only fit for women, and among all tribes the villages who turn their entire attention to fishing are regarded as low down in the social scale. This may arise from fetish reasons, but the idea certainly gains support from the conduct of the individual fisherman. Do not imagine, Brother Anglers, I am hinting that the Gentle Art is bad for the moral nature of people, like you and me, but I fear it is bad for the African. You see, the African, like most of us, can resist anything but temptation—he will resist attempts to reform him, attempts to make him tell the truth, attempts to clothe, and keep him tidy, &c., and he will resist these powerfully, but give him real temptation, and he succumbs, without the European preliminary struggle. He has by nature a kleptic bias, and you see being out at night fishing, he has chances—temptations, of succumbing to this—and so you see a man who has left his home at evening, with only the intention of spearing fish, in his mind, goes home in the morning pretty often with his missionary's ducks, his neighbours' plantains, and a few odd trifles from the traders' beaches, in his

canoe, and the outer world says, "Dem fisherman, all time, all same for one, with tief man."*

The Accras, who are employed right down the whole West Coast thanks to the valuable education given them by the Basel Mission as cooks, carpenters, and coopers, cannot resist fishing, let their other avocations be what they may. A friend of mine the other day had a new Accra cook. The man cooked well, and my friend vaunted himself, and was content for the first week. At the beginning of the second week the cooking was still good, but, somehow or another, there was just a suspicion of a smell of fish about the house. The next day the suspicion merged into certainty. The third day the smell was insupportable, and the atmosphere unfit to support human life, but obviously healthy for flies.

The cook was summoned, and asked by Her Britannic Majesty's representative, "Where that smell came from?" He said he "could not smell it, and he did not know." Fourth day, thorough investigation of the premises revealed the fact that in the back-yard there was a large clothes-horse, which had been sent out by my friend's wife so that he should have his clothes aired; this was literally converted into a screen by strings of fish in the process of drying, *i.e.*, decomposing in the sun.

The affair was eliminated from the domestic circle and cast into the ocean by seasoned natives; and awful torture, in this world and the next, promised to the cook if he should ever again embark in the fish trade. The smell gradually faded from the house, but the poor cook, bereaved of his beloved pursuit, burst out all over in boils, and took to religious mania and drink, and so had to be sent back to Accra, where I hope he lives happily, surrounded by his beloved objects.

MARY H. KINGSLEY.

* Translation: "All fishermen are thieves."

PRESIDENT McKINLEY.

"The Republic is Opportunity."—*Chief Justice Fuller.*

"Luck will not last. It may help you once but you cannot count upon it. Labour is the only key to opportunity."—*William McKinley.*

SEEMINGLY the sentiments of the Chief Justice of the United States and the President of the United States are antagonistic, and yet they both realize that opportunity is everything. Well may Mr. McKinley believe it. Opportunity has been everything to him, and he has not neglected to make use of the opportunities which have come to his hands. A close study of the career of the man who administers the trust founded by Washington and perpetuated by Lincoln will show that he has been largely a creature of luck, or circumstance, or Providence, or whatever else one may please to call it, in that certain things without effort on his part, in fact, frequently against his own volition, have worked to bring about the one end he had in view. By placing him under the benign influence of a lucky star, one does not necessarily seek to disparage his abilities or depreciate his character, but one cannot be blind to the fact that destiny is frequently stronger than calculations or well-defined plans.

Mr. McKinley's career is remarkable in that he has been one of the very few men who has succeeded by taxing the people. History records few similar cases. As a general rule the man who has succeeded in popular estimation and who has become the idol of his people or his party, has been the man who has sought to lift from the burdens of the people the weight of taxation. McKinley, on the other hand, has deliberately endeavoured through the taxing power to gain the highest gift at the hands of his countrymen. Thus far his life has been a success, but it is too early to regard it as a complete success. Four years hence the record may be in part made up.

When he first entered public life, now more than twenty years ago, it was with the firm determination of one day reaching the Presidency. That, of course, is the *ultima thule* of every politician; but few succeed, because they are deficient in consistency of purpose. McKinley's strongest characteristic has been his determination and

his adherence to a single avenue to reach his end. After a careful survey of the situation he came to the conclusion that to make himself the champion of the American system of Protection was the easiest way to reach the White House. He never swerved from that course. While other men at times doubted the wisdom of taxing the people so as to make them richer, of performing the seemingly impossible feat of lifting them up by their boot-straps, he clung tenaciously to the idea that the one thing needed to make America the richest, the happiest, the most powerful of the sisterhood of nations was by magnifying the office of tax-collector.

Nor is it surprising that having once possessed himself of an idea he should cling to it steadfastly until he had made that idea bring forth its triumph. That comes to him from the blood flowing in his veins through a long line of ancestors. "It is good blood, sturdy and persistent," a not unfriendly and impartial critic has written. "Four centuries ago one of his ancestors—William McKinley by name—died on a Scottish battlefield. Nearer at hand by a century or two are the Scotch-Irish people of whom he is the direct descendant. Still closer down to our own day, he had a great-grandfather who fought in the Revolution. It is good stock all along the line—clear-headed, industrious, frugal, with mental horizon not wide, perhaps, but well defined. It does not waste itself and scatter; it specializes, as the scientists say, and accomplishes results. So McKinley to-day stands triumphant on the pedestal of a single idea." He was brought up well. He had a good father, a father who was fond of his son, who was anxious that he should make a good man. He was a lover of books, and he had a just appreciation of what he read, and this knowledge he transmitted to his boy. His mother, who at eighty-seven has lived to see her son inaugurated ruler of seventy millions of people, is a woman of force of character and great physical vitality. The initial surroundings were all in the future President's favour.

He was fortunate in one other thing. His youth was spent in the midst of the smoke of the fiercest political battle the country has ever known. He was old enough to understand the great questions which were being fought; he was young enough to have every one of his emotions stirred by the passion of that supreme crisis. The blood of the old Covenanter flowed in his veins; he could not resist the call to arms. At seventeen he had shouldered a musket and with thousands of other young fellows from the "Western Reserve" had gone to fight in defence of a principle. Four years later he left the army with a Major's commission, and during that interval he had more than once won the commendation of such great soldiers as Sheridan, Hayes, and Crook.

With the close of the war McKinley had to determine his future.

He might have remained in the army and vegetated, but that life had no attractions for him. He struck out for something broader. He studied law and became the prosecuting attorney of his county, the first political office he held, and having served his apprenticeship was sent to Congress. At that time no one would have predicted that the White House was to know him as master. He was a graceful but not particularly impressive speaker, and it was only the tariff which aroused his interest. On all other subjects he was indifferent.

In the American House of Representatives men make reputations in two ways. If a man has the gift of oratory, if he is ready in debate and has all the weapons of satire and raillery at his command, his fame is made. Men like Speaker Reed, Blaine, and Conkling, owed their prominence to their oratory. The other method of gaining a reputation, a less showy one, is through committee work. It is curious that until Mr. McKinley had been in Congress a dozen years he was scarcely known outside of his own state. He had made no impression upon the country by his oratory; he had failed to attract the attention of the House by his work in Committee. In fact, one would not do him an injustice by saying that he was looked upon as a man little above mediocrity. Only when questions of taxation were under consideration did he rise above the dead level of commonplace. He was more pronounced in his views of protection than were the Republican leaders of the day or the founders of the school of protection. He was not satisfied with a protective tariff, he wanted a tariff for protection, a very great difference. No Democrat then dared to talk about free trade, the extreme limit was "a tariff for revenue with incidental protection," and Mr. McKinley was ready to meet and discuss this issue whenever it was presented. As a tariff specialist it was natural that he should eventually find himself on the Ways and Means Committee, this Committee having the framing of all revenue measures. Committee places are awarded largely by seniority and McKinley's service entitled him to the promotion. He succeeded Garfield when the latter as a Senator-elect was given the still higher honour of the Presidency.

Now commences that marvellous run of luck which justified the aphorism of Chief Justice Fuller that the Republic is Opportunity. By virtue of his length of service and membership of the Ways and Means Committee, he was of sufficient prominence to offer himself as a candidate for the Speakership without appearing ridiculous. Here again luck stood him in good stead. His chief competitor was Reed, of Maine, the only candidate from the East. Besides McKinley, Burrows and Cannon were also candidates, and all three hailed from the West. The consequence was

that the Western forces were divided, that Reed had a long lead over any of his competitors, and his campaign was in the hands of some of the best politicians in the House. The result was never in doubt for a moment. Reed was elected and McKinley met defeat. It was the most fortunate reverse any man ever experienced. Tradition prescribes that the Speaker shall appoint his leading unsuccessful rival Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, which makes him *ex officio* the leader of the majority on the floor of the House, and ranks only second to that of the Speaker himself. Had McKinley been successful and appointed Reed Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, in all probability the history of the last few years of the century would have been differently written.

The Republicans were pledged to "tariff reform," which with Mr. McKinley as the principal "reformer" meant the increase of duties to the limit. It was a work upon which he entered *con amore*. For this he had prepared himself since he first commenced to study politics, for long years he had formulated his own theories as to what a perfect tariff bill should be, and at last he was to be given the opportunity to practically apply his theories. One can understand with what zest he entered upon the work, how the arid waste of schedules spread out before him like a land flowing with milk and honey. He feasted upon "specific" and "ad valorem" duties, he hugged percentages to his breast like a mother her first child. His tariff bill (and it may be explained that every important measure is known by the name of the man who introduces it or the Chairman of the Committee having the bill in charge), was to be a monumental work which future ages should regard with veneration almost as great as the Declaration of Independence, and in addition it was to be the stepping-stone to the Presidency. Mr. McKinley had no reason to regret his defeat for the Speakership.

The method by which this bill was framed was peculiar, to say the least. Washington was besieged by the representatives of the trusts, the manufacturers who cried out against the competition of the pauper labour of Europe, the sleek attorneys, whose business it was to see that the interests of their clients were properly taken care of. Diligently as Major McKinley had studied the theory of protection and the principles of taxation, his practical knowledge of business affairs, of the ten thousand things enumerated by name in a tariff bill, was deficient in the extreme. To him came the representatives of the trusts and the attorneys who had clients to protect. They handed to him their schedules, they filed for his "consideration" the paragraphs and the rates of duty they wanted in the new bill. And Mr. McKinley swallowed them all. When the bill came out of Committee, when under the immense power wielded

by the Speaker it had been pushed through the House without proper time for debate or amendment, these schedules and paragraphs were embodied in the bill, and the trusts and lawyers felt that their labours had not been in vain.

Mr. McKinley has glorified in the sobriquet "The Napoleon of Protection." A not unfamiliar facial resemblance and form to his prototype make the application peculiarly appropriate. The passage of his bill was his Waterloo, and the world, his political world at any rate, thought that he had been exiled to St. Helena there to remain. His bill drove his party out of power, turned an overwhelming Republican majority in the Lower House into an equally sweeping Democratic majority, and defeated him for re-election to Congress. The Democrats had determined to capture his seat; he was the shining mark at which all their shafts were aimed; and when the polls closed, and a Democrat had been elected to Congress in his place, the joy of the victors knew no bounds. Beaten, vanquished, despised, crushed, the wrecker of his party, McKinley at once became a heroic figure. As a party leader, successful beyond his expectations, there had been nothing to especially evoke admiration. In defeat he was magnificent. "There is no other word," in the language of a recent writer, "to describe the bold, courageous, indomitable manner in which he grappled with the overwhelming current. For two days his fate hung in the balance; and then, when the adverse decision was finally rendered, he uttered a clarion call of defiance. Entering the office of a local newspaper, and seizing a pad of paper, he sat down, and without hesitation wrote that remarkable statement, which begins:—

"'Protection was never stronger than it is to-day.'

"While nearly every member of his party was doubting and afraid, while he was besieged with appeals to retract in some degree the advanced position which he had taken, while mutterings and curses against him as the cause of the party's downfall were heard on every side, he was still without fear as to the ultimate future. Then, for the first and only time he referred to the Tariff Act of 1890 as the McKinley Bill, accepting the full responsibility for its enactment. 'Keep up your courage,' he wrote at the end of his eloquent outburst. 'Home and country will triumph in the end. Their enemies, either here or abroad, will never be placed in permanent control of the government of Washington, of Lincoln, and of Grant.' With the same sublime faith he said to some of those who personally criticized him: 'This is only a cross current, a chop sea. The tide of truth flows surely on beneath.'"

It was evident that he had not lost faith in himself, and that he still believed in protection as the great panacea for all evils. For a time he was in eclipse, but his star soon appeared above the

political horizon. His people took him up and made him Governor of Ohio, and at the end of his term, in the face of tremendous opposition, after one of the most stubbornly contested gubernatorial fights known in the state, and in Ohio no quarter is asked or given in the political battle, he was re-elected. But in the meanwhile luck was working for his end. When the McKinley Bill swept the Republicans out of control of the House, shrewd observers saw the tide setting which two years later would complete the work already commenced by engulfing the Republican President in the sea of triumphant democracy. The predictions were verified. Harrison, renominated at Minneapolis for the Presidency, was defeated by Cleveland, whom four years before he had defeated. Harrison went into power with a Republican majority in House and Senate. He surrendered the White House to a Democrat, and saw democratic majorities in both branches of Congress. The campaign had been fought on the tariff issue, and the Democrats were pledged to revise the tariff. With them revision meant reduction of duties. Looking back now we see while fate dealt the cards McKinley blindly played his hand. Harrison came into power (1889) with a redundant treasury, and times fairly good both at home and abroad. Toward the end of his administration the whole world experienced a crisis. The silver agitation in America, inflation in the Argentine Republic, the liquidation of a great London banking house whose financial position was hitherto regarded as impregnable, over production, expansion of credits, wild speculation, all combined to produce financial distrust and commercial depression. To add to the uncertainty and to still further disturb business in the United States, the Democrats passed their tariff bill. Had the Wilson Tariff Bill not become a law, we should still have experienced the "bad times" of the past four years, because the conditions were world-wide and not local. But the masses never stop to analyze or reason closely. They see the effect; the cause is beyond them. They had turned from the worship of McKinleyism to that of Cleveland and Wilson, and they had been scourged with serpents. They admitted they had sought after false gods and they asked to be given an opportunity to once more return to the true faith.

Thus it came about that when the ante-nominating campaign was fought last year, men not only asked for the McKinley Bill, but they wanted the man who had made that bill. It was useless to say to them that Mr. Reed was as good a protectionist as Mr. McKinley, that without Reed the McKinley Bill could not have become a law; that other men high in the ranks of the Republican Party were equally as devoted to the cause of protection as Mr. McKinley. McKinley was the symbol, the embodiment of the thing which was to restore to them prosperity, which was to reopen the

mills and once more turn the machinery grown rusty by disuse. This sentiment, adroitly stimulated and fostered, nominated him at St. Louis.

There is one incident in Major McKinley's life which is worth telling. In 1892 he went to the Republican National Convention at Minneapolis as one of the delegates from Ohio. He was elected Chairman of the Convention. Harrison was a candidate for renomination, and his opponents were driven to desperation to find a candidate who could defeat him. They had relied on Blaine, but at the last moment Blaine refused to permit his name to be considered. The field was canvassed and McKinley seemed the most available man. He was assured of the support of the leaders of the opposition, but he had been sent there as a Harrison delegate and he refused to be seduced by the glittering prize. When the balloting commenced and the State of Ohio was called the delegation voted for the presiding officer. It was an intensely dramatic moment. The air was full of electric possibilities, the delegates seemed on the verge of a stampede, and it looked as if Harrison would be crushed under the avalanche of McKinley votes. In the midst of a stillness so intense that it was painful, with every one of the 12,000 people in the hall keyed to the highest pitch of excitement and hardly daring to move a muscle, so intent were they on following every word, Mr. McKinley advanced to the edge of the platform and in his capacity as a delegate, divesting himself of his office as chairman, challenged the correctness of the vote. Forty-five of the delegates when their names were polled answered McKinley, the forty-sixth, the alternate who sat in the place of McKinley, voted for Harrison, and announced he did so at the request of Mr. McKinley himself. The spell was broken. Mr. McKinley said nothing and allowed the balloting to proceed, but he had served notice in this way on the delegates that he would not allow his name to be used. A tremendous strain had been lifted from the Harrison managers, and while several of the States voted for McKinley, Harrison obtained the majority requisite to give him the nomination. Had Mr. McKinley allowed himself to be nominated he would in all probability have been defeated, as Harrison was a few months later, as McKinley before the people at that time was no stronger than Harrison. Who shall sneer at luck after this?

It is yet to be written whether luck will stand by him in the White House as it has stood by him in and out of Congress, in and out of National Conventions, in political campaigns, and after they were over. If we are to believe in the gambler's superstition of a "run of luck" at last being broken, the time has about come when McKinley's good fortune must soon

desert him; if one views life through the eyes of the President, who with his deeply religious training and adherence to high purposes believes in a Providence shaping our destinies, one must believe that he has yet much to successfully accomplish. Mr. McKinley takes a serious view of life, and with him the Presidency is something more than the gratification of a high political ambition. He feels that a great trust has been committed to his charge, and that full account of his stewardship will be demanded. It is his ambition to make his administration distinguished in American politics by the blessings it will bring to the country, by the peace and prosperity which is to follow from his control of national affairs. Can a man of his temperament, training, and theories of government achieve the exalted ideal he has set up?

It was said of him before his election that he was a specialist who had become narrow by too closely confining his attention to one subject, and who had never broadened himself by consideration of the great governmental or social problems of the day. In other words, he was not an "all round man," not a man whose past life had made him a statesman or had given him breadth of vision to be a leader or a patriot as the emergency might demand. To some extent this criticism is true. Until quite recently, perhaps not until after he had been elected a few short months ago, it is doubtful if Major McKinley had paid the least attention to the consideration of foreign affairs. The politics of Europe as they ramnify and impinge on the relations of this hemisphere are, I think, almost a sealed book to him, and his views on the subject of finance are only those of a man who had to assume some convictions to meet a situation. In Congress Mr. McKinley had shown but slight acquaintance with the financial question, and had not distinguished himself either as an original thinker or deep student of the subject. After his retirement from Congress he kept the tariff issue to the front, it was his great card, but finance he apparently regarded as of minor consequence. As a Member of Congress he was "friendly to silver." It was only natural he should be. A man is largely the creature of his environments; a Congressman is always influenced by the voice of his constituents. Silver has always had a strong hold in Ohio, and McKinley was only reflecting local sentiment when he spoke in favour of the enlarged use of silver as a money metal. When the exigencies of the campaign forced the Republican Party to take a positive stand in support of "sound money," when the St. Louis platform boldly declared in favour of the maintenance of the existing gold standard, Mr. McKinley found his path had been cleared for him, and there was nothing for him to do but tread it in the straight and narrow way. It was said of him during the campaign, it has been repeated since

the election, that he has no positive convictions on finance, that he has few positive convictions on any subject except on the great benefits to be derived from taxing the American people and making the whole world pay tribute to the custom house. I think this does him an injustice. He has convictions, but he is willing to modify them as the necessity arises.

Major McKinley has always been noted for its suavity, his complaisance, almost. *Suaviter in modo* he distinctly is, and this has led to the impression that he is deficient in what Americans expressively term "backbone," that he can be easily manipulated by the small coterie which because of their past services will feel entitled to demand their reward and receive it. In nearly everything he is a marked contrast to the man whom he succeeds. Of Mr. Cleveland's "backbone" there was never any question entertained. His bitterest enemies, and probably no President ever left the White House leaving more enemies behind him, never accused him of lacking courage or grim determination. He pushed it to such a point that it frequently assumed the phase of obstinacy, and he was intolerant of advice or suggestion. But the country entertained the highest opinion of his courage and his rigid adherence to a line of action once mapped out. Having made up his mind to do a certain thing he was not to be swerved, and it was this intolerance combined with an utter lack of tact, the brutal frankness of the mailed hand rather than the diplomacy of the velvet glove, to which must be added a large measure of selfishness, which made Cleveland detested by the politicians and a large proportion of the rank and file of the party. Mr. McKinley, on the other hand, is a man who is tactful in the extreme, who is largely possessed of the quality of personal magnetism, and who is more anxious to cultivate friendly relations with party leaders than to antagonize them, and to defer as much as possible to their opinions and wishes. If he succeeds he must be possessed of the highest qualities, and we shall be forced to admit that he is a man of much greater parts than most of us now imagine. His is a very difficult *rôle* to play. He comes into power with a party not an unit on some of the great issues confronting it; it will demand that the implied ante-election pledges be fulfilled to the letter. Between the Scylla of the bimetallists on the one side and the Charybdis of the monometallists on the other, McKinley is likely to be driven by the "barking waves" on the rocks of political destruction. Even more to be dreaded by him is the fulfilment of the pledges and promises made to secure his nomination and to carry the election. No President goes into the White House without being more or less embarrassed by the promises made by his political managers, although a good many Presidents have assumed a virtuous

hypocrisy and pretended to be untrammelled. Such a thing is impossible. Men must be bribed by the promise of place or power for themselves or their friends in return for votes and "services," and these promises, so easy to make before the candidate enters into possession of his kingdom, like the spendthrift's *post obits*, are decidedly embarrassing after he comes into the estate. Great moneyed interests contributed to McKinley's success, and they did it through no motives of pure philanthropy. They will want their money back with interest compounded in the form of tariff schedules, or legislation, or appointments. They will not ask it as a favour, but demand it as a right. The President must be a man of iron will and almost brutal indifference to withstand appeals of this sort.

McKinley has always been "in the hands of his friends." To the loyalty and devotion of some of these friends, of men who have stood by him in the hour of his defeat as well as the moment of his victory, who have offered him their financial assistance as well as their advice and efforts, he owes much. He is a man who is singularly mindful of the obligations of friendship, and has always regarded it as a duty to cancel the debts which friendship may have imposed upon him. But this very desire to show his gratitude may result disastrously. If these "friends" take advantage of this charming trait in his character he may be the sufferer, and there are people who are prone to believe that he will be too easily swayed by the men who have ready access to him.

The admirers of President McKinley with that self-assertion and profound belief in the ability of every American to meet every situation laugh all these Cassandraical prophecies to scorn. They say, which it must be admitted is true, that every man who has filled the Presidency has grown in the office, that the weight of responsibility has brought out his strength of character. They recall Arthur, who before he became President was simply a politician, but who as Chief Magistrate displayed dignity, tact, ability, and statesmanship. Cleveland grew to the full measure of his fame in the White House, and so did Harrison. As a Senator the latter was scarcely above mediocrity, he had done little to impress himself upon the legislative history of his time. As President he was cold and distant, but it must be conceded that his Administration was one of the best the country has known. It may be that McKinley will rise to the occasion and prove himself a worthy successor of Washington and Lincoln, Harrison and Cleveland.

A. Maurice Low.

A RECENT GLANCE AT SPAIN.

DUE to the unusually bright sunny weather at this season of the year, the Carnival in the Spanish capital opened last Sunday under the best auspices. All the principal thoroughfares leading from the Puerta del Sol towards the Castellana and the Prado were thronged with the jubilant, but orderly populace. The masked and the unmasked moved as a single human wave, and amongst the motley crowd were to be seen the most elegant or the most grotesque figures that inventive art could produce or artistic genius create. Here and there a transformation from old age to youth, the unblessed by nature masked into singular beauty and natural grace reversed by the most exaggerated conceptions of external ugliness. Masks everywhere; silk robes, satin sashes, silvery wigs, gold lace in luxurious profusion, cocked hats, coal-scuttle bonnets, some of the finest, others of the coarsest materials, of enormous sizes; groups of mirthful dancers, old gentlemen led by young nurses, men got up as bears led by the nose, all flitted by in a constant stream, or lingered only for a moment to embrace an *inconnu*, or to warble with feigned voice in the ear of a recognized acquaintance a few piquant words of truth, such as can only well be told *incognito*. Not less amusing was the man wearing a tall silk-hat, walking on stilts ten feet high, followed by a couple of English tourists, in caricature, with the indispensable red Bædeker guide and an enormous trunk. Carts, drawn by four or six gaily caparisoned horses, containing groups of *majos*, bull-fighters, *bolero* dancers, and bandits, mingled with the carriages which, by hundreds, bore the *élite* of Madrid along the routes of the festivities and were kept in slow pace, single file, by the smart mounted civil guard, stationed in twos at about every hundred yards.

It was the first of those three days of unfettered joviality, when the bonds of stately social etiquette can be broken loose, if not abused; when grand ladies, countesses, and marchionesses are expected to receive with graceful smiles a shower of *confetti* in their faces, or find their latest Paris fashioned bonnets encircled by yards and yards of paper serpentines; when a troupe of dominoes or of "estudiantina" musicians can, with frolicsome impunity, mount the carriage-steps or axles and poke fun at the

noble *hidalgos* without fear of rebuke. It is the time, too, when strolling players, of good families can work upon the charitable feelings of the crowd to subscribe to the relief of those who are fighting their country's battles in distant colonies. In short, all, from the highest to the lowest, who cannot unbend and accept with complaisance all those innocent jokes, should not be seen at a carnival promenade. For each of the three nights the clubs and theatre managers have organized the culminating amusement of mask balls. The chief and most select of these was the Society of Arts ball given last night at the *Teatro Real*. There self-made princes, dukes, and duchesses, Hamlets, Juanes, and Anas de Austria, grandees, peasants, eastern merchants, clowns, harlequins, fifteenth century court ladies, cavaliers in gorgeous costumes, milkmaids and Gallician shepherds met as a happy throng, wherein "who's who" might be guessed but never asked. Needless to add that the *grisettes* and the *gomeux* played their usual parts of fanciful intrigue, but all was gaiety both in dress and good humour, unmarred by any of those unpleasant incidents which jealous rivalry not unfrequently breeds, on similar occasions, amongst a passionate race. To-morrow will be the last day of revelry, when the finishing stroke will be given by the curious ancient custom of the "burial of the sardine." Parties are wont to go out to the banks of the old canal, and after the *merienda* or picnic, they symbolize the commencement of the fasting season by burying the fish.

In a material sense these *fêtes* are the harvest of hundreds of shopkeepers, milliners, flower-sellers, fancy shoe-dealers, and *cafés*, and give more than a crust of bread to the crowd of the half-starved class of the unemployed as sellers of *confetti*, paper serpentines, chocolates, and false noses. But in the period of Lenten abstinence from frivolity and feasting which will follow, there will be ample time in the forty days to reflect on the political situation of the country which, almost imperceptibly, is producing serious social effects. The rebellions in Cuba and the Philippine Islands have, in the last two years, drained from the Peninsula close on 300,000 able-bodied men of the poorer working class, including in this figure the total killed in battle, wounded, and dead through disease. The greatest discontent exists amongst the peasantry, who somehow fail to see the justice of that law which virtually compels the poor youth to risk his life, and often lose it, to defend the interests of the rich. Even patriotism can be abused. Indeed, there have been so many open manifestations in this sense that a certain section of the military party is in favour of establishing forced military service for rich and poor alike by abolishing the present system of exemption from

service on payment of £60. As to the much-discussed reforms for Cuba, the general opinion expressed outside the interested official class is that they are decidedly not calculated to satisfy the aspirations of the Cubans. I do not see how they could reasonably accept, as a final solution of the crisis, the concession of nominal powers to be exercised by a Cuban Council of Administration, not only full of loop-holes for Peninsula "packing," but constantly subject to being rendered null and void by the Home Government's right to veto through the Governor-General. Then, remembering the adage, "Once bit, twice shy," they naturally ask what has become of the reforms promised nineteen years ago by General Martinez Campos in the name of his government? I remember, in 1878, seeing the bunting and flags flying from the balconies of the houses to celebrate the pacification of Cuba by official announcement to sustain public spirits and hopes, and fourteen days afterwards private letters received by scores told us it was entirely a hoax. However, the false report eventually became a *fait accompli*, and the separatist fighting party laid down their arms in view of the promises which turned out to be only like pie-crusts—made to be broken. But I know from a reliable, semi-official source that the Ministry is fully alive to this view of the situation, and that the real object of the "reforms" is merely to win the sympathy of Europe and the United States by a pretence that Spain does not desire to rule her colonies with a rod of iron.

In a lengthy conversation which I had this week with a general officer with whom I have been on terms of intimate friendship for the last twelve years, a full explanation was given me concerning the allegation that Spain was obliged to purchase peace in Cuba by bribes. He said that when the war is finished, whether by sheer force of arms, or by accepted reforms, or by any other means whatever, it would be desirable to accompany the pacification by an endeavour to satisfy the legitimate ambition of the masses who had been led away from loyalty to the mother country, otherwise the proclaimed peace could never be regarded as stable. He argued that, for instance, one could not expect a man who had been a carpenter and risen to the rank of lieutenant-colonel of the rebels, to quietly and contentedly return to his carpentering. A provision of some kind would have to be made for such a man and many others in an analogous position. The same problem arose at the end of the late Carlist war. The Spaniards cannot lay waste a country which is, in fact, their own property, nor can Spain neglect to put her children on the right path again after she has given them a whipping. Hence, what has abroad been interpreted as purchasing peace by bribery is, in reality, nothing more than a common-sense measure to secure permanent tranquillity.

The secret hope undoubtedly entertained by Spain is to beat the rebels in the field, whilst her action in this direction may in future become less fettered by foreign influences in expectation of so-called magnanimous reforms. Spain must have a genuine belief in her ability to thrash out the Cuban rebellion at no distant date, for her finances are hardly in a condition to maintain a struggle of many years' further duration. It is true that the recent national loan of four hundred millions of pesetas (say £13,300,000) was raised at once, and, indeed, subscribed to nearly twice over, but how was it effected? Madrid took up more than half, but the balance over the provinces was raised by the persuasion of the priests, who, with cries of patriotism, defence of home, and defence of the Church, almost squeezed the money out of the people. I have been assured, over and over again, in Andalucia, that many subscribed to the loan as "a matter of form," and resold their allotments at once from sheer necessity. A further loan is talked of, but if Spain could only see what are her best interests she would go abroad for financial aid, even at a higher rate, rather than make fresh appeals to those whose capital is, in many cases, barely sufficient for trade and industrial purposes. Beggars always did abound in Spain, but there are municipalities which have not been able to pay up the most insignificant salaries for months past. Last year I stayed for some time in an Andalucian town where the pay of the petty employees was so much in arrear that the unfortunate men solicited permission to beg in public, and were even denied that boon.

Still another loan is in contemplation by the Government for carrying on the war in the Philippines, and providing for the future maintenance there of an European armed force increased since last September from 2,500 to 27,000 men. The amount proposed to be raised is twenty millions of pesos (say £2,400,000). No special guarantees have been decided upon, and when I suggested the Customs revenues to a high official in the Government, he replied that as the Philippine Islands Colony was, with respect to loans, virgin soil, no doubt the loan could be raised as a simple national debt without special security. Something must be done. The Government expenses are enormously increased, whilst the disturbed condition of several provinces impedes the collection of the taxes. The National Safe Deposit Bank in Manila has suspended repayment of fallen due deposits, and can only just pay the 5 per cent. interest. But the condition of the Philippine Islands is altogether different to that of Cuba. There is every reason to believe that the rebellion will be virtually quashed in a few months, under the energetic guidance of General Polavieja. On the other hand, I learn in official quarters

that, although the Government cannot see their way to at once remove the friars and send out secular clergy in their place, the present system of monastic rule will be very considerably modified. The clerical party have lost much of the favour and prestige they enjoyed in Court circles, where their views regarding Philippine affairs are already being spoken of as somewhat preposterous. In fact, there would appear to be a split in the pastoral camp, for as one of the leaders of the Philippine clerical party, now residing here—Father F—— rightly asks, "Do we want to raise up a wall of hatred between us and the natives and defend our position by rivers of blood?" Hence, recent instructions to the Philippine Government have been to recommend suavity in dealing with those not actually on the field of battle.

How this reaction came about can be easily surmized from the fact that General Blanco, who was quite at variance with the views of the Manila Archbishop Nozaleda, has returned to Madrid, and has convinced the Government and Court that he has been a very much calumniated man. On his arrival he lived for a fortnight in the house where I am writing this. He was offered a high post as Chief of the *Cuarto Militar*, which he declined to accept, and has now set up his house to await events.

An important question now before the Government is, Shall General Weyler be allowed to remain in Cuba to establish the much-talked-of reforms? On this point it was for a long time rumoured that Sagasta might even return to power very shortly at the head of a Liberal Ministry. To avoid a crisis, however, it is now certain that before many weeks have passed, there will be a reconstruction of the Cánovas Cabinet, with some four or five new Ministers. There is undoubtedly discontent and uneasiness in all circles. Cánovas is, perhaps unjustly, twitted with having too easily yielded to one demand after another made by the United States, the last being the release of a certain Sanguily condemned to imprisonment for life as a rebel. But Spain cannot afford to hold to a hard and fast policy on trifles considering the enormous political interests involved; and to add to her troubles abroad it would appear that the Carlist party are beginning to threaten disturbances at home. Rumours are rife that quantities of hidden arms have been seized in Guipúzcoa, and that active preparations are being organized by the partisans in Paris for a renewal of that horrible internecine struggle, of which I had the misfortune to be an eye-witness in the years 1874-1876, let us hope for the last time.

JOHN FOREMAN.

Madrid, 2nd March, 1897.

THE STORY OF A PHILANTHROPIC PAWN-SHOP.

It was Monday morning, the busiest time in the whole week in the Dorotheergasse. Although the clock had not yet struck eight, quite a little crowd was already assembled there, before the door of a great Convent. They were working-people for the most part, of the poorest class too; judging by the look in their eyes it was only the chosen few among them who had breakfasted. None the less, they chatted away quite cheerily, and indulged in jokes at each other's expense; for the sun was shining, and it is only when there are clouds overhead that the true Viennese is inclined to take life sadly. They all had bundles in their hands of one sort or another; and they kept glancing down at them from time to time, with an odd expression on their faces. Evidently these burdens of theirs were, for the moment, important factors in their lives.

Besides the men and women who took up their station boldly before the Convent itself, there were others of a less sociable nature, who hovered about in the neighbourhood—in Stefansplatz and the Kapuzinerstrasse. They passed and repassed the end of the Dorotheergasse, but always in the most casual fashion; and, if by any chance they turned into the street, they took care to demonstrate to all observers that they did so merely for the purpose of studying the architecture of a certain Protestant temple that stands there. Some of these persons were women, thickly veiled, and in long dark cloaks, and among them there seemed to be much nervous excitement. It was quite pitiable to note how convulsively they clutched whatever they held in their hands, when they heard footsteps behind them. Manifestly they were bent at any cost on avoiding intercourse with their kind.

On the stroke of eight the Convent door was thrown open. At once all laughing and talking ceased and everyone became intent on his own affairs. The crowd entered the building quietly, by twos and twos, and made their way up stairs in the most business-like fashion. There two policemen were stationed who scanned carefully the faces—the hands, too—of all who passed. Some seemed to regard the scrutiny to which they were thus subjected

in the light of an ordeal; while others resented it as a piece of gratuitous impertinence on the part of the authorities. So righteously indignant, indeed, was one great fellow, that the moment he caught sight of the officers he turned on his heel and quitted the Convent—with more speed than dignity. Such people as these, however, were the exception; to the majority the presence of an official more or less was evidently a matter of profound indifference. As a much-bewrinkled old woman remarked shrewdly: "Policemen must have standing-room somewhere, and they are less in one's way here than in most places."

From eight o'clock in the morning until two in the afternoon, the stream of men and women up that staircase never ceased; nearly two thousand must have passed there that day. But even when the throng was greatest there was never a touch of confusion, all things were done decently and in order. Indeed, the only sound to be heard was just from time to time a shrill little cry of "Nicht genug"—always in a woman's voice. They did not stay long in the place; within a very few minutes from the time when they crossed its threshold, they were back in the street again, with money in their hands, too, as one could see by their faces. For the most part they seemed fairly content with what they had received, although some of the women cried bitterly as they trudged on their way. It was a case of outraged feelings as often as not, some little treasure or other by which they laid great store, had met perhaps with but scant appreciation. It is terribly hard for the feminine mind to grasp the fact that, in the eyes of an official valuer, a wedding-ring, for instance, is not worth one single whit more than any common little golden nugget of the same weight. A few of those who had entered the Convent had their bundles still in their hands when they came out; and all who had seemed to be in the very slough of despond. And little wonder either, for they who cannot dispose of their wares in the Dorotheergasse, have not much chance of finding a market for them elsewhere. For the very *raison d'être* of the institution in the Convent there, the Imperial Pawn Office as it is called, is to give a helping hand to the poor and needy.

Early in the year 1707 there was great distress in Lower Austria. The streets of Vienna were thronged with hungry men and women, who clamoured for food so fiercely, that richer folk thought twice before venturing out among them. The very air was alive with cries of "Brod, Brod, Gieb uns Brod"; and one might have thought the city was beset with wolves from the strange sounds to be heard there. The Emperor himself—it was Josef I.—could not eat his dinner in peace owing to the tumult made by his starving subjects; while as for his Councillors, they went about declaring

that their lives were not worth living, so untoward was the generation in the midst of which their lot was cast. Something must be done, that was clear, but no one knew what. At length, just when those in authority were at their wits' end, a suggestion was made—by whom tradition does not say. It was that an institution should be founded of the same kind as one which had already relieved much suffering among the poor of the city of Amsterdam. This institution, it seems, helped the poverty-stricken to tide over times of exceptional distress by lending money to them almost gratis.

The Emperor was delighted with the idea. He promptly issued a decree in which he called upon his subjects to organize in Vienna what was practically a philanthropic pawn-shop; or, as he put it in his quaint old-fashioned German, "Ein solches Mittel vor die Hand zu nehmen wordurch denen jenigen betrangten Partheyen geholfen werden möchte, welche auff eine kurtze zeit eines Geldes bedurfftig waren." He did more, he interested himself personally in the scheme, decided the lines upon which it should be worked, and gave money out of his own privy purse towards providing it with the necessary capital. From that day the Imperial Pawn Office has been under the special protection of the Emperors of Austria; and even now its managers rank as Government Officials, and are under the control of the Minister of the Interior.

Notwithstanding the favourable auspices under which it was founded, the Imperial Pawn Office had at first a somewhat chequered career. The Gross Armen Haus, as the Council which administered the relief of the poor of Vienna was then called, undertook to organize and work it, upon the understanding that, if the scheme should prove a success, any money made by it should belong to the Council. The Directors of the Haus raised what additional capital they needed for their enterprise by bartering away the right they possessed of levying a contribution of fuel on Vienna, Korneuberg, and other towns. With some of the money they thus obtained they bought from the Count Von Weltz a house in the Annagasse; and there, on March 14th, 1707, they opened their pawn-shop. The rules by which they conducted their business were very simple. All the articles brought to them were divided into two classes, viz., those which would not deteriorate and those which would. On the former they advanced in money two-thirds of their value, and charged interest on it at the rate of a heller a month for each florin; on the latter they advanced one-half of their value, and charged two hellers for each florin. To no one person, however, would they lend more than a hundred florins.

Just when things were in working order, the plague broke out in Vienna; and for three years the Annagasse business was at a standstill; for its managers dare not take clothes in pawn, and the class of clients with whom they had to deal had nothing much else to offer. When once this disaster was passed, however, the office soon became quite a thriving concern, at least from a philanthropic point of view. It was the means of relieving much real distress, especially among the respectable poor, who, when evil days came upon them, had recourse to it gladly, and were often able to ward off ruin by the loans they thus obtained. But financially, for some little time, the undertaking was not a success; indeed, as the Directors of the Gross Armen Haus complained, instead of its being, as they had hoped, a source of income to them, it involved them in expense. This was due to the fact that, as much more eagerness was shown in pledging than in redeeming, the managers had constantly left on their hands a large supply of wares, of which they found great difficulty in disposing. They were forced, therefore, to increase their working capital, and to do so must borrow money at six per cent. interest! Under these circumstances, pawn-broking, as carried on at the Imperial Office, could never be very profitable; still, before long, the institution became self-supporting. Aleady in 1717, ten years after it was founded, it could boast of profits—1,231 florins on a capital of 124,231 florins! Then the Emperor stepped in, and insisted on the rate of interest charged being lowered by one half. Whereupon the Gross Armen Haus rose in revolt—as it had the Church at its back it often took up an oddly independent attitude with regard to the Crown. It declared that it would wash its hands of the whole concern, and demanded that the capital it had invested in it should be refunded. But this was out of the question, as much of the money was gone, and no one knew where. The quarrel raged for years and ended in a compromise. The Pawn Office was reorganized and placed under the management of certain Imperial Officers, who undertook, in return for being allowed to retain the use of the capital invested in it, to pay to the Gross Armen Haus a yearly contribution of 2,000 florins.

In the hands of its new managers, the Imperial Pawn Office extended its business in all directions, and soon had more clients than it could possibly deal with. Before long its profits amounted to 10,000 florins a year, and these were always added to the working capital; for when it came to the point, the managers stoutly refused to hand over any portion of their gains to the Gross Armen Haus—all former promises and pledges notwithstanding. They admitted that, according to the Emperor Josef I.'s decree, all money made by the office must be spent on the relief of the poor;

but they maintain that, by granting small loans on easy terms they did thus spend it, and in a much more beneficent fashion than the Gross Armen Haus, with its eternal almsgiving, would do. After a time the Imperial Office seems to have lost much of its philanthropic character; its officials became more intent on money making than on helping their clients. But when Josef II. came to the throne he speedily put an end to this state of things, for he was not the man to tolerate abuses in an institution which was under his protection. He reorganized the office completely, with the result that it soon recovered all its old popularity. By 1787 its business had increased to such an extent that it became necessary to remove it to larger premises. It was then that the Convent in the Dorotheergasse was bought, and there the institution has ever since had its home. Some ten years ago a second Imperial Pawn Office was opened in Vienna, in the Feldgasse, and there is good reason to hope that there will be a third before long.

These Imperial Pawn Offices are organized and worked for the express purpose of helping the poor. If members of the higher classes choose to have recourse to them, when in need of money, they are free to do so; nay more, they are made welcome; for were it not for their patronage, the offices could not be self-supporting—they would have to be either subsidized or closed. Still it is not the convenience, or the interests, of persons who can afford to borrow money in the open market, that are consulted when arrangements are being made there, but those of the poor, the respectable poor above all. Not that outwardly, at least, there is anything that smacks of a charity about these institutions; on the contrary, they are essentially business concerns, managed upon strict business principles. They who go there—even the most poverty-stricken—never dream that they are receiving a favour, or being laid under an obligation. Indeed, an Austrian would no more think of being grateful to the Imperial Pawn Office for lending him money, than an Englishman to the Post Office for carrying his letters. In the one case as in the other the transaction is regarded simply as "business." Yet practically the offices are centres for the distribution of relief in minute portions; only so quietly and discreetly is the work carried on, that the fact is hardly suspected. Help is given there, and at the very moment when it is most needed; it is given, too, in such a way that the accepting of it involves no humiliation even on the most sensitive. Of the crowd assembled in the Dorotheergasse that morning, one-fourth at least received charity before they went on their way; yet it is very doubtful whether one among them realized that such was the case.

The terms upon which the Pawn Offices deal with their clients

would not, at a first glance, strike the uninitiated as being specially philanthropic: 10 per cent. interest per annum is charged for all money lent, no matter whether it be one florin or ten thousand. But it must be remembered that for one person who pledges his goods for a year, there are a dozen who pledge them for a week. Some men make a point of depositing their Sunday clothes with their "Uncle" every Monday morning throughout the year, and of redeeming them every Saturday night. By such little transactions as these our London pawnbrokers manage to make some 400 per cent. on the money they advance; while the Vienna Pawn Offices are compelled to content themselves with clearing 20 per cent. And this 20 per cent. would be only 10, were it not that a regulation is in force by which they are allowed to charge interest for a full fortnight on what they lend, even though it be repaid at the end of a day.

Supposing that the sum advanced to the hebdomadal pawner on his clothes were 10s., then the use of those shillings, from Monday until Saturday, for 52 weeks, would cost him about £2, if he lived in London; whereas he could have the use of them for 2s. if he were in Vienna.

The regular pawner, however, is not an individual whose interest the directors of the Imperial Offices—or anyone else—feel called upon to study. The institution does not exist for his benefit, but for that of the occasional borrower, of him who has just fallen a few steps behind in the race. If a Viennese artisan be out of work, or be laid aside by illness, for a month or two, he must have a more scant supply of possessions than most men of his class, if he cannot raise in the Dorotheergasse what money he needs to help him over his day of trouble. All he has to do is to deposit at one of the offices articles to the value of one-fourth more than the sum he requires. If the tables, chairs, clothes, watch, or whatever else he may send there, be in the judgment of the official valuer worth £4, £3 is advanced to him on their security. And he receives the £3 in full, for no charge of any sort is made for the loan until the time comes for him to redeem it. Then, supposing it be at the end of three months, 1s. 6d. is the amount he is required to pay as interest. This 1s. 6d., *nota bene*, is the whole expense the borrowing of the money entails on him; for in Vienna there is no levying of "Hanging," or "ticket," fees. Even if, instead of borrowing £3 for three months, he had borrowed £20, 10s. is all that he would have to pay for the use of the money.

But most of the people who resort to these offices, it is well to remember, go in search not of sovereigns, but of shillings. During the year 1893, 866,015 articles were pledged there, and on

773,120 of them the sum lent was under 10 florins; on 90,069, the sum lent was between 10 and 100 florins; on 2,773, between 100 and 1,000 florins; and on only 53 of them was it over 1,000 florins.

On an average 2,380 persons a day pawn at the offices some one or other of their possessions; and 125 of them pay for the loans they obtain only one kreuzer *i.e.* one-fifth of a penny; while about 500 more pay rather less than a penny. And this is every farthing these people contribute to the working expenses of the institution, the cost of storing their goods, &c. Needless to say, the offices, far from deriving any benefit whatever from their business with this section of their customers, are the poorer for every visit they receive from them. Their kreuzer clients—whether one kreuzer or four—are in fact the recipients of their charity; for not only do they work for them gratis, but they deal out doles to them—in fractions of a penny.

In addition to the 625 clients who are a direct burden on their resources, the offices have some hundreds more—exactly how many it would be impossible to say—by whom they neither gain nor lose. The interest these persons pay on their loans is enough, though barely enough, to defray the expenses incurred on their behalf. Thus the offices do not clear one iota of profit by their transactions with the majority of their customers; what money they make is made entirely by their loans to the minority. And this minority consists, in part at least, of persons who are driven to pledge their goods not so much by poverty, as by some sudden embarrassment. They have backed the wrong horse perhaps, or have lost more money at cards than they can afford, or some bill may have fallen due before they are quite prepared to meet it. At the offices they can obtain money more easily, and at a cheaper rate, than elsewhere; they can obtain it, too, without any fear of being subjected to sharp dealing. And this even though they be women who know no more about business than flies. Such clients as these are a regular source of income to the offices; and it is they who supply a goodly portion of the means by which the work is carried on there. 10 per cent. interest on a loan of one florin is hardly worth considering; but 10 per cent. on one of 100—or better still 1,000—florins is a very different matter.

When the time comes for a man to redeem the pledge he has given, it may happen, of course, that he has not the money wherewith to do so. In this case he may, if he choose, repledge it. In the course of the year 1893 no fewer than 91,079 pawns were repledged. If, however, at the end of ten months from the time for which he pawned his possession he have neither redeemed it nor repledged it, it is put up for sale at a public auction. Should

the sum for which it is then sold be greater than that for which it was pledged, the difference is handed over to the original owner, providing he claim it within three years. Otherwise it becomes the property of the institution. One of the most remarkable facts in connection with the working of the offices is the very small number of cases in which the pawn-tickets are allowed to lapse. In the course of the year 1893, 866,015 articles were pledged, and 848,562 were redeemed. It is notable, too, that the unredeemed pledges consist almost entirely of jewellery.

The present financial condition of the Imperial Pawn Offices is on the whole satisfactory, considering the terms on which business is carried on there. Not only are these institutions entirely self-supporting, but at the end of every year they find themselves richer than they were at the beginning. It must not be forgotten, however, that no interest is paid on the capital nvested in them, which now amounts to some £315,000. In 1893 their income was 318,678 florins, and their expenditure 256,558 florins; thus their net gain for the year was 62,120 florins. The directors of the offices have only half of the profits at their disposal; as, owing to the fact that the greater part of the original capital of the undertaking was supplied by the Gross Armen Haus, they are obliged to hand over the other half to the Municipality of Vienna for the relief of the poor. Their own share of the money is devoted to extending their business. The expense of starting the Feldgasse Office was defrayed out of the earnings of that in the Dorotheergasse; and, at the present time, the united profits of the two offices are being allowed to accumulate with a view to a third being opened, as soon as the necessary capital has been saved.

The *modus agendi* at the offices is simple in the extreme. The part of the building into which the public are admitted consists of long corridors, which have, opening out of them, a series of little windows of the same kind as those through which in England we buy our railway tickets. Within each window two officials are stationed, valuers and cashiers at alternate windows. Whoever wishes to pawn anything passes it into the office by one of the valuers' windows, if it be not too large, otherwise by a door. The first valuer examines the article, notes on paper what he considers its worth, and hands it to the second, who in his turn writes down the amount at which he appraises it. They compare their notes and then decide how much may be safely advanced on the security offered. This sum, or one smaller if the owner prefers it, is inserted in two vouchers, and a number corresponding to the number on them is affixed to the pledge. The thing is then

handed over to the storer, while the pawner betakes himself to the cashier's window, where, in return for one of his vouchers, he receives the money due to him. The whole proceeding does not, as a rule, take up three minutes.

A few months ago a chance visitor passed some little time in the Dorotheergasse Office, just within one of the windows through which the pledges are handed in to be valued. This special window is reserved for the *élite* among the pawners, *i.e.*, those who have jewels, or other "precious things," to offer in exchange for money. The first to appear there that day was a girl who brought with her quite a formidable array of silver ornaments, brooches, bracelets, and a necklace. Her face flushed with anger when she heard the value set upon them. The things had cost her more than three times as much, she declared; and they were as good as new, every one of them. The awards of the official valuers are, however, as the laws of the Medes, and this she evidently knew; for she made no attempt to induce them to give her more than they offered. A great rough workman stepped into her place, and drew out of his pocket, in a somewhat shame-faced fashion, a meerschaum pipe. "I shall want it out again in a day or two," he remarked gruffly, as he went on his way. Then a little old woman, who looked a thousand at least, presented with a thin trembling hand a silver Crucifix. She watched with undisguised anxiety the faces of the valuers as they examined it, and heaved a sigh of relief when she heard how much they were willing to give her. A smartly-dressed young person—a lady's maid one could see at a glance—was the next to come forward, and her pledge was a diamond ring of considerable value. She made some whispered communication to the valuer as she handed it to him; she was acting, it seems, for her mistress. The whole morning long the office was thronged with clients, for they who are in want of money are always legion. A poorly-clad, middle-aged woman, who looked too tired to live, slipped through the window a baby's coral. It was folded neatly in cotton wool, and she gave it a kiss before she let it go. The valuers seemed in doubt at first about accepting this pledge, it was such a poor little thing; but they ended by certifying that it was enough security for one gulden. Once the rustle of silk was heard, and there appeared at the window a lady whom the officials seemed to recognize, in spite of her thick black veil. Perhaps they knew her by her voice, which was singularly low and sweet. She had brought with her a beautifully-wrought Indian necklace, and was anxious to raise on it the very largest sum possible. A poor old woman burst into tears when she heard that her three little spoons were worth only five florins; while a girl—she was hardly out of her teens—who was told that her silver thimble was of no

value at all, broke down completely. As she turned away, a man advanced with quite a jaunty air, and asked for a loan on a much be-battered old watch. The thing was of no use to him whatever, he announced; and that was why he was pawning it, not because he wanted the money. He treated the whole proceeding as a joke, yet his hand trembled as he clutched the vouchers, and there was something in his face that made one think of a wolf. This institution is a depressing resort, it must be confessed.

The Emperor Josef I. certainly deserves to rank as a benefactor of his kind, if for nothing but the fact that he founded the Imperial Pawn Office. Hardly a day passes but some man or other finds there the means wherewith to ward off the ruin that threatens him.

EDITH SELLERS.

THE PATRIOTIC EDITOR IN WAR.

HOWEVER vague and uncertain the forecast, it is not without value to reflect upon what the public opinion of this country might be, were we engaged in a serious naval war. Public opinion now has a power and influence of which, as acting upon and behind those who are responsible for the conduct of the war, we have no experience whatever. But judging from what it can do in forcing the hands of Government in the affairs of peace, we can scarcely doubt its power in times of real alarm and pressure. But whatever this power may be, it is, and will be, chiefly formed and directed by leading articles and letters in the daily and weekly Press, and by the sentiments expressed in leading magazines and reviews. We have, at the present epoch, no good reason for assuming that leading statesmen, speaking in and out of Parliament, have now or will ever have again, the controlling voice in the councils of the country which they once had. Leading statesmen grow more and more into opportunists, and are more and more compelled to say, not what they themselves think ought to be said, but what, in their judgment, the audience they address would like to have said. We have not, it may be, got quite as far as France in this development, but it is clear that as time goes on our leading statesmen are compelled to give us less and less of their private individual views on any public question, and more and more of their official opinions—opinions that it is considered best suit the exigencies of the time. It is known and felt that the huge, unwieldy mass of public opinion has a momentum of its own which it is impossible for those in nominal power to check; the very utmost they can do is to try and prevent it breaking all bounds in a wrong direction. The argument a statesman holds with himself is something in this wise, "It may be true that, in my individual opinion, the current of public thought is taking a wrong direction, but if I throw myself into the flood I shall only be swept away by it. On the other hand, if I watch it carefully, I may by a dyke here and a sluice there, so work things as to at least split it up and prevent it from causing the ruin I foresee, were it allowed to have free course."

But the editor of a newspaper or a magazine, or the anony-

mous or free-lance writer therein is trammelled by no considerations of this kind. It may be true that the periodical, or the writer in it, addresses a constituency which it would not willingly break with, but this is not always, perhaps even usually, the case in regard to general questions. The selling success of the periodical is the editor's aim; and new and perfectly independent opinions are even more likely sometimes to enhance it than any mere gauging and attempting to deal directly with the current of public opinion. The editor's hands are therefore very much more free than those of any statesman in addressing the public. He is just as likely, perhaps even more likely, to draw success from a bold plunge into the stream, than from the "Shall I? Shall I?" attitude upon the brink, which Dryden in describing has passed into the language by way of a corrupted phrase, and which is forced upon the statesman. It is in the newspaper and the magazine that the movement of public opinion is initiated; and the instrument employed is either the anonymous writer or the named and independent thinker who speaks from the abundance of his heart.

These things have been singularly well illustrated in recent years by reference to the course public opinion has taken with regard to the navy. There is not the smallest doubt but that in the later seventies and the earlier eighties the naval position of this country was almost in a desperate condition when compared with that of France alone. Had France sought a quarrel with us about the year 1880 she would have met us at sea on terms so near equality that an accident might have turned the balance against us. The leading statesmen on both sides of the House were quite aware of the nature of the case. Statesmen of lesser rank, but of more complete knowledge of the naval position than any other men living, over and over again stated the facts with the greatest plainness. The country was absolutely irresponsive, and the Front Benches could not, and did not move. The dangerous position remained for years officially defended by the responsible Ministers and ex-Ministers. Independent and patriotic editors, with their hands free, and yet stimulated by business instincts, undertook the task which was impossible to statesmen and officials either in or out of office. They set the anonymous pens of the best-informed and keenest men in the country to work; they opened their columns to the free-lances of the navy, and in the earlier eighties initiated and stimulated a tremendous change in the public opinion of the country, reinforcing it in the later eighties, so that it has never since ceased to run in the direction then marked out for it.

But as the power is thus great in the hands of the modern editor, so must he regard his responsibilities. We have been able to see and to feel what the editors spoken of have done for the country in

establishing its naval power. Assurance and quiet possessed the mind of the people when it was suddenly confronted by an angry Germany and a distinctly threatening United States. It was a clear *quid pro quo* in money value. The great financial wheels went on revolving in this country with smoothness and regularity, while beyond it they crashed and jarred and seemed likely to break into fragments of distress and trouble. Public opinion aroused, led, and maintained by the action of the free editors of the newspaper and the magazine, rested in quiet upon the knowledge that we had a preponderating navy, and that, while this was so, international quarrels were unlikely to proceed beyond words.

Patriotic editors thus reaped where they had sown. It may be true that their interest and responsibilities coalesced to produce their action, but at least it has left the record of its power and their wisdom.

Such has been their peace action in postponing war. What will be their true and patriotic course, should war come upon us while this tremendous power and responsibility rests upon them? How shall they advise the public to act in regard to the executive which has to conduct the war? How instruct it in a true perception of the balances which in war avoid dangers and make successes? By what means shall approaches to panic or ill-considered counsels be met and checked? Patriotic editors will at such times need all their skill, and all the knowledge which they can assimilate from the best authorities. They must speak with caution or with boldness, as the circumstances require it; and their utmost wisdom will be exercised in deciding when the one and when the other utterance is to be adopted. Perhaps their hardest task will be to control comment on the details of operations, which they may be urged to treat as separate matters, but which are really determined and arranged by great principles which are not at all upon the surface.

It is perhaps not very easy to look forward to what will happen, and how we should be disposed to regard what will happen, on the outbreak of a war between this Empire and such an allied combination as would be a real threat to our position and power. Since Waterloo we ourselves have had nothing to guide us by way of experience, while France, Russia, Germany, and Austria have all passed through the fire, and know what it is. Our Empire in India was indeed threatened by the Mutiny, and quite reasonable alarm at first prevailed as to what the result of the struggle might be. But our position then was that of a financier who was doubtful of the success of a single though large operation. Our general credit was never threatened. Composition with our creditors was never for a moment in our minds.

So long as we keep a navy even nominally equal to that which

could be assembled by the two greatest naval Powers in the world, it is extremely improbable that any single Power would declare war against us, and if it did, it is scarcely to be doubted that the attack would be all on our own side, and that the peculiar character of the Crimean War would predominate. That is to say, alarm for our own position would never cross our minds, we should only be solicitous as to the economical success of our attacks. But given a hostile alliance of two States, such as France and Russia, against us, and there arises a possibility that a succession of mishaps could put us on our defence and make our position critical. At such a time it is evident that a strong public opinion, flowing in a wrong direction, might cause hesitation, if not error, in the councils of Government and make the critical position one of distinct danger. But before things grew to such a pass as this, public opinion, taking a strong and a wrong view of the conditions of the war, and of the nature of naval strategy and tactics—in the wide sense,—might easily waste our force by its wrong employment and lead us far on the road to serious reverses. Of this frame of mind we have had experience both in our own and in other countries.

Many prominent authorities are disposed to think that the next naval war will not only follow the exception in the method of its outbreak, but will accentuate it to an extraordinary extent. War according to routine, begins with strained relations, followed by the formal declaration, and then by acts of war. Very often, however, acts of war between ships have followed the strained relations, and preceded the formal declaration. This happened in the China-Japanese War the other day. Formal attack, however, either upon fleets or territories, or even the preparation of formal attack, did not often precede the declaration of war. Perhaps the most notable instance to the contrary was the preparation of France to open the war of 1757 by the capture of Minorca. The authorities in question now sometimes doubt whether we should be certain of the warning of strained relations, and seem to think that "the bolt from the blue" of sudden invasion; of a repetition of Sinope; or of a desperate night attack by torpedo-boats will simultaneously announce war, and score the first trick in the game. I am not myself inclined to accept this view. I doubt whether any nation or group of nations would so far defy international opinion as to adopt a course which, if it succeeded, would be some steps backward from the ordinary place of civilized war, and if, unsuccessful, would provoke such desperate reprisals. If a nation or group of nations could be found of such speculative temper, I doubt the possibility of keeping the purpose secret.

The more I reflect upon it, the more I feel satisfied that we cannot exaggerate the change which the post, steam, the telegraph

and news agencies have effected in the conduct of war. I think we are apt to overlook, in reading history, the extraordinary amount of information which reached Government in former wars, notwithstanding the crudeness of the means that then existed for collecting and conveying it. As an early instance of crudeness, take the capture of the Island of Goree by the British in the beginning of 1693. The news of it did not reach England till the middle of November, nine months after the capture, and then it came by way of Jamaica. In 1756, however, there was full warning of the French preparations and of their aim, and the Government had plenty of time to frustrate them had it been so minded. If we take any of these sudden attacks, the story of which is handed down to us, and interpolate the telegraph, the steamer, and the news agency into the middle of it, we find it quite impossible that such a thing could have been contemplated. I therefore think that we are most likely to have the strained relations and the formal declaration of war before any great overt act can be, or will be, put in execution.

If these stages warn us, and we are in case to take the sea with a predominant navy, or even with one equal to that of the Powers combined against us, I think we shall certainly throw ourselves into the attitude of shadowing the enemy in every quarter of the world, and in European waters of closely watching him in his own ports. How and by what class of ship that watch is to be set up and maintained may be a question quite settled before the next war breaks out. The question involves many technical details and considerations which cannot be entered on here. But these things appear to be certain. As in the past so in the future, the watching of the enemy in his ports must be carried on by two squadrons, one of which, under the old title of "the in-shore squadron," will endeavour as far as possible to keep actual sight of the ships in port, while another more powerful fleet, often called "the off-shore squadron," lies in wait, as it were, not in immediate proximity to the enemy in port, but ready to act on intelligence conveyed to it by the ships of the in-shore squadron. The only point that seems uncertain is how far distant this off-shore squadron may be placed so as to be kept most efficient and most ready to act. It seems quite possible on the face of things that soon after the outbreak of war, and when a sufficient detachment of battle-ships had been despatched to the Mediterranean to give us a marked superiority there, the bulk of the remainder would be kept in home ports ready to act on information brought from the in-shore squadron of the smaller vessels employed in watching the enemy's ships in their own ports. There seems to be a general consensus of opinion that battle-ships can no longer lie at anchor in the enemy's waters as they used to do in olden days, and as the Federal ships did in

Confederate waters during the Civil War. They must be, it is thought, made secure by physical obstructions from the night-attack of torpedo-boats, else officers and crews would break down from the wearing and ceaseless anxiety of the watch.

It is understood that more or less portable obstructions have now been devised which cannot be passed or broken in upon by any existing torpedo-vessel. It might, therefore, be that if anchorages, easily closed and barred in by these obstructions, could be found conveniently placed in the enemy's waters, battle-fleets might leave the home ports, and take up their positions in such anchorages as the off-shore squadron. And, of course, the enemy's battle-fleets would be less inclined to put to sea for purposes which required their evasion of our battle-fleets when the latter were fixed in closer proximity to the former.

The fact no doubt is that the existence of the torpedo-vessel, and especially since she has reached such excessive speed, makes the whole position obscure save in the one point—namely, that our naval position would be the advanced one in the enemy's waters. If it is not so, the enemy will be in our waters, and our position ceases to be Imperial.

What line would public opinion be likely to take on the face of things as we now stand? If it were wrongly led it might, if the battle-fleets were kept ready in the home ports, complain of their idleness; and this complaint would certainly be seconded by the officers and crews of the ships themselves, who would seem to be far removed from the horrors and glories of war, and to be leading a perfectly inactive life, while the officers and crews of the smaller vessels would be in constant touch with the enemy's smaller ships, and their names and their deeds would be in everybody's mouth. In such a case patriotic editors should seek to impress on the public mind that while the enemy's battle-fleets remained in port, our own battle-ships were fulfilling their highest functions. That they are the bullion in the bank, without which its notes could not sustain its credit abroad. They should preach patience to the officers and men following such a weary routine; reminding them that the officers and crews of the blockading fleets of their ancestors had all their weariness, all their monotony, all their dullness, with bad food, and little of it, superadded.

But it might be the other way. The battle-fleets might be sent into the enemy's waters and secured there. Wrong-thinking on the part of the public might then easily set it clamouring for a sight of their floating defences, the panic fear might spread that a port or a coast town undefended by something which could be seen was not defended at all; and as practically one of our very numerous ports is as open to attack—supposing attacks probable—

as another, the successful clamour of one port might raise and enforce the same demand for all, and the war-ships, recalled from their watching duties to scattered stations round our coasts, might leave the enemy free to do infinite mischief outside the defended circle.

This mood of public opinion is very much more likely, and infinitely more dangerous than the other. Even on the first hypothesis, when the battle-fleets were properly, and in full accord with the strategic conditions, distributed at Plymouth, at Portland or Portsmouth, and in the Thames, it might be almost impossible to persuade the inhabitants of Glasgow, of Liverpool, of Dublin, of Cork, of Bristol, of Hull, of Newcastle, and of Edinburgh that these southern fleets in the watching attitude were affording them the highest form of protection. The patriotic editors, especially in such cities as those named, would have a hard task to keep their heads, but their course would be plain. They should urge in general terms the admitted weakness of divided forces. They should rigidly close their columns to all cries for visible floating defences, and if the worst came to the worst, they should endeavour to turn the stream by using all their literary strength to urge local armaments, local volunteer service, local works with guns manned by local workers.

Much as I deprecate in peace time any large expenditure on the defence of ports by works, guns, and sub-marine mines, because excessive sums so expended would have been better spent on the moving navy, local panics leading to demands for localizing existing naval force had much better be turned in these directions than used to bring pressure to bear on the Admiralty as to the distribution of its ships.

In 1889, when there was considerable stir made about the defencelessness of commercial ports, there was everywhere the demand for the localization of naval force, and it was serious to note that the Admiralty admitted it in principle. It is the last thing it would now admit; and it even goes beyond the idea of such a localization of naval force as is in strict accordance with precedent and principle. Editors in commercial ports would have to use their very best skill in impressing on their townsmen the difference between legitimate and illegitimate localization of naval force. They would have to show that both parties to almost all wars have endeavoured to menace or capture belligerent shipping entering or leaving commercial ports. It is the first and easiest act of war; but it does not in the least presage any attack on the port or town itself. The latter attack must be by way of bombardment, or by the landing of men, or both, and in most cases time, preparation, and considerable force are necessary. On the other hand,

to attack or menace ships entering or leaving commercial ports requires no time, no preparation, and only the meanest or slightest of force. When the French after the Battle of Trafalgar could do nothing else, they were quite able to inflict on us very great damage by the use of great numbers of the cheapest and most insignificant of privateers. In 1810 they captured, chiefly in this way, more than 619 of our merchant ships, while in 1794, when they were still able to dispute the command of the sea with us, they only captured 644. All through these French wars, therefore, it was ordinary practice to attach small ships to our commercial ports all over the world, for the sole purpose of keeping depredators at arm's length, and preventing them from operating in localities where the shipping congregated, and where, therefore, captures were easy and could be many. Patriotic editors would not be wrong in asking that some amount of naval force of an insignificant character should be localized, not for the defence of the port, but for preserving freedom of passage in and out of it, which is indeed the real essence of a port.

But the patriotic editor should set his face steadily against demands for more extended or greater localization than this. The flaw for instance in the Australian naval defence arrangements is twofold, and its principle carried to an extreme here at home might have almost fatal consequences. The ships are larger and more powerful than necessary to be localized commerce protectors at the different ports; while supposing a serious attack in any one port, if such could be contemplated, the Australian naval force is not large enough to prevent it, and Australian ports are so far apart, that even if it were, it might have difficulty, if assembled for instance at Melbourne, in being able to strike in time to prevent a raid on Brisbane, though indeed it would be rash of an inferior force of the enemy to court its interference by such a raid.

But the Australain force, localized in Australia, is necessarily withdrawn from the watch on the enemy's ships in his own ports. By so much the watch is weakened; and by so much the contemplation of an attack on any Australian port is strengthened in the enemy's mind.

For an enemy watched is powerless till the watch is shaken off; but an enemy unwatched may be able to do infinite mischief before he is caught. When the watch upon the enemy is good, it is not to be shaken off by the main body of the watched force, and only small portions of the watched force, here and there, are likely to be able to evade it. Therefore watching the enemy is the strongest position it is possible for our navy to take up, and any withdrawal of the watching forces for the purpose of guarding localities which

may for the moment think themselves in danger, is the very thing to invite attack and to leave attack open. If ten ships are watched by ten ships, they are perfectly inoffensive as long as they are unable to shake off the watch; if they do shake it off, they are always liable to be followed, and met by the ten watching ships, and it is almost impossible for them to attempt any operation lest the ten watchers should appear in the middle of it. But if the ten watchers are withdrawn, and stationed in pairs at five ports, each equally open to attack, the unwatched ten ships may select any one of the five as their objective, certain of success so far as the naval defence goes, because it is only offered by two ships.

If our battle-fleets are detained at home, as assumed to be possible, it will be with no idea of guarding our shores. They will be so detained because in that position they can most efficiently watch the enemy's battle-fleets. Being at home, they undoubtedly do guard our shores, because their near presence does not allow the enemy to make a serious attack—supposing the in-shore watch to fail—for it does not allow him time enough to complete it before the watching battle-fleet is upon him.

All these arguments must be pressed upon the public by the patriotic editor, who can always strengthen his logic by the general proposition that those who are responsible for conducting the war are much more likely to conduct it properly, because of the fulness of their information, than any irresponsible advisers with imperfect information can possibly be.

But yet rulers and leaders in this land are notoriously faulty in their conceptions of strategy, and have at all times been noted for making profound fundamental mistakes in war. The one exception perhaps is Chatham. Possibly the reason is that strategy is in itself so exceedingly simple and commonplace an art, that the great mind of a statesman can rarely stoop to it. But when Government proposes to enter upon a course which, tried by the commonplaces of strategy, is a wrong one, the responsibility of those who control the Press becomes almost unbounded, and the difficulty of deciding on their course, well nigh insuperable. They must of all things guard themselves against hasty judgments, and be very careful that what might be called purely lay-views are kept back, as it is probably the lay-view of the statesman that is causing the danger.

They must endeavour to ascertain what the views of the best naval authorities are on the question, and they will have much difficulty in discriminating between superficial differences of opinion, which will be many, and essential differences, which will be few. Perhaps, at any rate, the safe plan will be to plead earnestly for the free play of naval opinion at the Admiralty, and

to endeavour to make sure that the lay-opinion is not in any way acting so as to turn it out of its natural path.

Supposing that all goes well on the outbreak of a war; that the patriotic editors have been able to see the right course, and to follow it; that therefore the hands of the Government have been from the first left perfectly free; and that the Government, acting on the judgment of the very best judges it has at command, has made no strategical errors, and that in no part of the world is there an enemy's naval force which is unwatched; what results may be anticipated, and how shall the patriotic editor deal with them in his initiation and direction of public opinion?

I think that a rise in prices must be an almost certain concomitant of the outbreak of naval war, and I am not sure that a fall in wages may not accompany it. With whatever country or countries we go to war, we are sure to have, at the moment of the declaration, a large business in exports and imports. That trade ceases instantaneously, and only begins to recover itself as new circuitous channels of intercommunication establish themselves, or as non-belligerent countries begin to offer substitutes in supplies and markets. The check to supply of food stuffs from the enemy is almost sure to raise prices at home, and according to the well-known law, will raise them far above the natural proportion. The check to export is an immediate check to the demand for labour at home: and it may be that this check will be at first much greater than the natural proportion. The leaders of public opinion in the Press will do well to be early in forecasting the probabilities, and better still in urging caution, patience, and hope, on the part of the working classes, who must certainly be the chief sufferers. To stimulate hope amongst these citizens will not only be a proud and righteous undertaking, but it is one largely encouraged by the teachings of experience. Readjustment of commerce to an altered environment can be depended on almost as firmly as that the day will follow the night. What encouragement to hope may not public opinion receive from the patriotic editors who watch and enlarge upon every indication of such readjustments?

But there may be still harder and more difficult tasks before the editor who sets himself to use his power for his country's good. However close the watch may be upon the enemy's warships, the absolute perfection of it which was the singular concomitant of the Crimean War, is very unlikely to be repeated. Great fleets and squadrons may perhaps be entirely held in check. The issue of commerce destroyers, especially of the smaller and weaker ones, it may be found impossible to check. It is no more than reasonable to suppose that the capture or destruction of our merchant ships and their cargoes will be our very earliest experience of naval war.

The check to commerce is here through the rise in insurance premiums, and it will probably be real, and possibly far above what the nature of the case compels. The effect on prices and wages may very likely be much more serious than that which the stoppage of trade with the belligerent state has produced. The latter is measurable, and is easily measured. The former is immeasurable, because it rests upon the opinion held about a fact, not upon the fact itself. Here is fine scope for the patriotic editor in using proportionate figures and checking the tendency to panic, and panic prices, which might, if unchecked, rise to such disastrous heights.

I have thus dwelt upon the duties of those who really initiate and control public opinion in such cases as we may almost certainly judge will arise upon the outbreak of a naval war, which does not promise ill-success. A wrongly directed public opinion might easily in this country lead us into a series of disasters, even to the point of real national peril. I do not think I need say very much on what is before the patriotic editor in face of such a crisis. I believe that then public opinion would be more spontaneous, because every citizen would be thinking more earnestly and more deeply of the facts before him. There are nations—we have seen them with our eyes—which seggregate in the face of peril. It has hitherto been our happy lot in times of peril to aggregate, to sink petty differences, to stand together as with one heart beating and one brain working amongst the mass. I believe we have not parted with that heritage, and that if real danger to our nationality should present itself, the troubles and difficulties of the patriotic editor will have disappeared, for he will be able to follow, instead of leading, public opinion in war.

P. H. Colomb.

THE MONTH IN AMERICA.

Washington, March 15th, 1897.

For the past four months the political capital of the United States has been in the small town of Canton, Ohio, and in the modest two storey frame structure in that hitherto unknown town policies have been shaped and plans formulated which for weal or woe will have much influence on the world during the next four years. The last two weeks have changed the scene. Canton once more sinks back into its former obscurity, to occupy two lines in some future encyclopædia as the home of one of the Presidents, and Washington resumes its proud pre-eminence as the nation's capital. McKinley is now President, he has dropped his prefix of "elect." With fitting ceremony and pomp he was inaugurated, and although the spectacle was tame in comparison with some of the great functions of Europe—the coronation of a czar, the jubilee of the Queen, or the marriage of an heir-apparent, for instance—it was dignified and impressive. After the heat and rancour of the campaign it was pleasing to note how men of all shades of belief and political opinion joined in paying proper observance to the office of President. Attended by the outgoing executive, the new President repaired to the Capitol on the fourth of March, to take the oath of office at the hands of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and to deliver his inaugural address in the presence of 40,000 spectators, not more than a thousand of whom heard a word, but who thought themselves recompensed by catching a glimpse of the new President. At the conclusion of this ceremony the chief magistrate stood for three hours on a stand and watched a procession of regulars, militia, and "political clubs" file past him. In the evening he went to the Inauguration Ball. With his wife on his arm, he promenaded around the room, and thus having done all the things prescribed by tradition, he was permitted to spend his first night in the White House, a much-bored and sadly-tired man.

The democracy of the new world is strikingly in evidence at an Inauguration. It is a curious thing that while the transfer of the government from one President to another is essentially a State affair, practically all the details in connection therewith, and all the attendant expenses, devolve on private individuals. The State is

largely a spectator. The chairman of a national committee of the dominant party appoints a committee to have charge of the general ceremonies in connection with the Inauguration. This committee has to arrange the details of the military and civic procession which escorts the President and President-elect from the White House to the Capitol on the fourth of March, to decorate the city and to provide for the ball. The ball is really the most important part of the ceremony, because it pays all the expenses. It costs the committee £10,000 for decorations and other things, and this money must either be subscribed by private individuals, or it must be returned by the sale of ball tickets. That is why a ball is always held. Anyone can go to the ball who cares to pay five dollars for his or her ticket, and some 10,000 people cared enough about it to buy tickets. Naturally this makes rather a mixed assemblage at a great State function. One meets there the President, the Ambassadors, Senators, high government officials, the cream of society from the leading cities and his grocer, butcher, and baker. There is no distinction, even the colour line is obliterated, and a respectably dressed coloured man possessed of the necessary ticket is just as good as his white brother. For convenience sake it is called a ball, as a matter of fact very little dancing is indulged in, and it resembles more a promenade concert than anything else. Presidents are seldom dancing men, nor would it be considered proper for them to indulge in any such frivolous amusement. The President and his wife and a small suite are expected to make a circuit of the ball-room so that everyone may have an opportunity to see the new stars in the firmament and get the full value of their money. And having done this the President goes to supper, while the multitude forgets all about its new ruler and enjoys itself in its own way.

The new President's Inaugural Message has created a most favourable impression, and the Democratic newspapers, as well as the Republican, commend it. It was generally expected that it would be a weak and colourless State paper, that it would express platitudes, but no positive convictions. On the contrary, it was forceful and direct, and Mr. McKinley's utterances on some of the vital questions of the day were amazingly frank. His unqualified endorsement of the general arbitration treaty was extremely gratifying to the friends of peace, and, in my opinion, insures its ratification. Equally as important were his expressions on the great question of bimetallism. He did not dodge that issue or seek to evade it. He boldly declared himself as a friend of the double standard, and the bimetallists both in and out of Congress believe that he will in all sincerity endeavour to bring about an agreement by which silver may be restored to its ancient estate as

one of the money metals of the world. The difficulties in the way are fully appreciated, and yet considerable confidence is expressed of a happy solution of this most vexatious problem. One other topic in the Message must be touched upon. Spain awaited with fear and trembling the advent of McKinley, and the whole country was interested in knowing how he would handle the Cuban question. What he said could cause no irritation, unless Spain is eager to provoke war; but reading between the lines one could see there a firm determination to quickly bring to an end the insults and indignities which Spain has heaped upon American citizens during the past year. It is evident that Spain is not anxious to anger the new Administration, and it has already shown this by promptly releasing American citizens who were arrested on flimsy charges and kept in gaol in defiance of law and treaty rights. Spain has no desire to see American war-ships anchored in Havana harbour; but the slightest insolence on the part of the Captain-General of the island will be the signal for the despatch of a fleet. That would be the beginning of the end.

The truth is the country is heartily sick of Cuba, and this aversion is largely due to the gross misrepresentations of the American newspapers. For months past some of these newspapers have almost daily fed their readers on horrors, which were no sooner published in one journal than they were stamped by the others as fraudulent, when they outdid their rivals by printing even more sickening details of revolting crimes, which they claimed were the only genuine and official horrors. The exaggeration and misrepresentation which has been indulged in can hardly be imagined by the readers of English newspapers, whose conductors care more for facts than sensations. Here is a typical example of the way in which news from Cuba appears in the American Press. A New York paper sent a well-known literary man, and an equally well-known newspaper artist, to the seat of war as its correspondents. One morning the paper gave great prominence to a picture representing Cuban suspects being searched on the deck of an American steamer by Spanish officials. The central figure of the picture was a young woman in *puris naturalibus;* surrounding her were a group of leering Spaniards. The descriptive account which accompanied the picture did not specifically state that the searching took place on the main deck of the steamer in broad daylight, but taken with the sketch the average reader would be justified in thinking that what the artist had drawn had actually occurred. This outrage, as it was called, aroused a tremendous outburst of indignation; and the owners of the vessel on which it occurred were so savagely condemned for having permitted it that, for their own

sake, they were compelled to investigate. The result of their investigations showed that the woman had been searched by female officials, not on the main deck, but in the seclusion of a cabin, just as a female prisoner would be searched in Holloway Gaol, and then the famous writer was forced to admit that his equally famous associate had not been present when the woman had been detained and searched, but had drawn the picture from what he had heard and his own vivid imagination. After this the indignation naturally cooled down, and people felt they had been tricked into a display of unnecessary emotion. This is only one of many similar cases, and they have been so frequent that the public now accepts with a good deal of caution the thrilling accounts sent from Cuba by special correspondents.

President McKinley is going through the experience of every new executive, who early learns what a tremendous grip the passion for office-holding has on the American people. The first few months of a new Administration cause the President more annoyance, as a general thing, than all the rest of his term put together. For every place at his disposal there are scores, sometimes hundreds, of applicants, each one of whom has the highest recommendations and is strongly supported by Senators, Representatives, and other prominent public men. The candidate files his petition, and then follows it up by a personal visit upon the President to impress upon him his qualifications for the office, and the great services which he has rendered to the party. Then come his backers, who are prepared to show to the President that their man is the only one of all the candidates worthy of the slightest consideration, and that his claims outweigh those of all the others combined. It may be mentioned in passing that the fitness of a man to successfully administer the office of collector of internal revenue or any of the other numerous places in the gift of the President cuts very little figure in his selection. It is all a matter of political influence—"pull" it is known in the argot of politics—and the man with the greatest "pull" is the one who generally lands in a snug berth. The consequence is that day after day, and week after week, the President does little else except listen to the plaintive appeals of place-hunters and hear with wearisome iteration and reiteration that if it had not been for the great efforts of Smith, of Michigan, or Jones, of Iowa, the Republican Party would have perished last November. Time that ought to be given to more serious matters is wasted in this fashion, and the strain on the Chief Magistrate is sometimes more than he can stand. For several days following the Inauguration of Mr. McKinley, several thousand persons called every day at the White House. Some of them were would-be

office-holders, a great many of them were merely there out of curiosity, and wanted to be able to say they had met the President. At first Mr. McKinley very obligingly saw everyone who called, but he is now more particular, and an audience with the President is not so easy as it was.

The cry for office, however, is not so great as it used to be, or rather perhaps it would be more correct to say that while the demand is just as keen the opportunities to satisfy it have vastly diminished. Before the introduction of civil service rules and the appointment of officials as the result of competitive examinations, the advent of every new Administration witnessed a horde of hungry place-hunters swooping down on Washington, and pestering the life out of the President until he gave them commissions. If history is to be believed, these office-seekers killed the first Harrison a month after he had been inaugurated. To go back only twelve years, I well remember when Mr. Cleveland was first elected. At that time the civil service system was still in its infancy, and nearly every appointment, from the lowest labourer to the member of the Cabinet, was the result of a "pull." The Democrats had been out of power for twenty-five years when Cleveland was first elected, and a very hungry set of men they were. For twenty-five years they had wandered in the desert of no offices and no salaries, and the prospect of a Democratic *régime* opened to them the vision of a land flowing with the honey of places and the milk of a Federal salary, which as a general average was three or four times more than they could earn in any other way at a third less effort. Under Cleveland the civil service system was rapidly extended; Harrison carried the good work along, and Cleveland during his second Administration practically completed it. The result is that Major McKinley finds very few places at his disposal. Appointments to the diplomatic and consular service, collectors of customs and collectors of internal revenue and postmasters are not affected by the civil service examination, but everything else comes within the rule. In the old days clerks in the various departments were turned out so as to make room for the new men; now that is no longer done.

Within the last few years there has grown up in this country a secret, oath-bound order called the American Protective Association, more generally known as the A.P.A., whose object is really to wage bitter and unrelenting war on Roman Catholics, and to prevent them, wherever possible, from holding political office. A thinly-disguised attempt is occasionally made to have the public believe that the objects of the order are simply to inculcate patriotism and "Americanism," but its real purposes are too well

understood. How great the membership of this order is it is impossible to say, as it maintains the greatest secrecy regarding its internal organization, but it is believed to number several hundred thousand, the majority of whom are in the Middle Western States. That the A.P.A. is a political factor has just been shown. In making up his Cabinet, Mr. McKinley selected Judge McKenna, of California, to be the Secretary of the Interior. This department has charge of all Indian matters, and among other things the education of adult and juvenile Indians. For several years all the missions to Indians have been in the hands of the Catholics, and at a great many reservations the Government made contracts with the Church, the Fathers maintaining schools, and for which they received a fixed sum *per capita*. These missions were known as "contract schools." The A.P.A. two years ago made a bitter attack on the appropriation of money for sectarian schools, and succeeded in having Congress reduce the amount very considerably, with the ultimate purpose of abolishing the appropriation entirely. When Mr. McKenna's appointment was announced, the A.P.A. objected most strenuously, because as Secretary of the Interior he would be in charge of the Indian school appropriation, and as a Catholic they feared he would unduly favour the mission schools. The opposition to his appointment was so strong, and the mutterings so ominous, that, fearful of the consequences, Mr. McKinley transferred Mr. McKenna from the Interior Department to the Department of Justice, the A.P.A. being satisfied with that compromise as a concession to their power. Mr. McKenna, it should be added, resigned his seat on the Federal Bench to accept a place in the Cabinet. He is not only a very sound lawyer, but a man of the most irreproachable character, broad-minded, tolerant, and liberal in his views. What the future of A.P.Aism will be no one can predict, but its present strength and the narrow creed on which it is founded excite some apprehension.

When the last campaign closed, political wiseacres of both parties predicted that William Jennings Bryan was dead beyond the hope of resurrection, and that in the future his would only be a name to excite derisive contempt and pity. For a man dead and supposed to be buried he shows a remarkable degree of vitality. He came to Washington early in the month, the first time he had been here since last summer, when he spoke to a large gathering on his way North. As an ex-member of Congress he is entitled to go on the floor of the House while that body is in session, and the day after his arrival he availed himself of that privilege and visited the hall where he first gained national prominence. His entry was the

signal for hearty applause from Democrats as well as Republicans, and so anxious were his former associates to meet him that for a few minutes the business of the House had to be suspended, and he held an impromptu reception. During the few days he remained here he was much sought after by prominent men of his own party, while others not so well-known but equally devoted to his cause thronged his temporary residence anxious to shake his hand and assure him of their best wishes. Since leaving Washington he has lectured in various cities; in some of the States the Legislatures with Democratic majorities have formally invited him to address them, and everywhere he has been an object of much interest. The wiseacres who predicted he was dead now revise their prediction, and say he should go into dignified retirement until the time comes when his party once more calls him to the leadership; that his present course is undignified and will hurt him in the estimation of the public. These opinions, naturally so unselfish and so unbiased, may be accepted for what they are worth. Mr. Bryan may be trusted for knowing what he is doing, and the fact that, although a defeated candidate, although holding no official position and having no offices to bestow, he is still the idol of thousands of his fellow-countrymen is proof that the cause he championed with so much ability and such vigour still lives, and needs only a passing gust to fan into roaring flame the smouldering embers.

In the last number of the Review I called attention to one of the causes of the industrial depression which this country during the past four years has experienced by pointing out that the time for a man "to keep ahead of the locomotive" has passed never to return, and that the West no longer affords the easy chance of existence it once did. Somewhat curiously Mr. E. V. Smalley, a well-known writer on economic subjects, has, in the current number of *The Forum*, an article elaborating that idea, and which has attracted a good deal of attention. Mr. Smalley says:—

"I by no means maintain that the progress of the West has ceased, but I insist that future advance in that region must be a matter of the steady filling up of the good lands in States already fairly well settled, and of irrigation enterprises which can be carried on successfully only when money is obtainable at low rates of interest."

He points out that the United States is now brought in sharp competition with other nations; that the great staples—wheat, cotton, and petroleum, must compete with the same products from other parts of the world. And most significant is his warning to his readers not to expect magical changes from the new tariff bill.

He says that times may grow a great deal better than they are, and still discontent will prevail.

This is almost the first note of warning we have had since the election of McKinley made it certain a new tariff law would be placed on the statute-books. It was proclaimed that the new tariff law would at once change existing conditions, and men professed to believe it because they wanted to. There may be, and doubtless will be an improvement in general business conditions; but whether they will be lasting is an open question, open for the present because the result is in the future. The Republicans say they will, and they trust to good fortune to vindicate their judgment. Democrats hope for the best; their interest in the material welfare of the country is just as great as that of any other men; but they have no confidence. Nor can any other unprejudiced observer. Tariff-tinkering is not the remedy. There are organic disorders which must first be removed; the knife must cut deeper than the surface. Conjuring with percentages and sleight-of-hand tricks with schedules may amuse the populace for the passing moment, but there must be something more than that if the great transformation scene is to be a success.

If McKinley lives up to the promises held out in his Inaugural Message, he can render the country a greater service than by signing a tariff bill. He called attention to the necessity of regulating the trusts, those tremendous aggregations of capital which threaten to crush the Republic in their insatiable maws. The spirit of Mr. McKinley's words was a determination to use all the means in his power to regulate the trusts: that, if the present laws are not effective, Congress will be asked for additional legislation. It has been demonstrated often enough not to need repetition that only the Federal Government can regulate these products of nineteenth century American ingenuity. States under the Constitution having merely local jurisdiction, and trusts generally operating through Inter-State methods, state legislation is powerless to affect them. A committee of the New York legislature has recently spent some time in investigating the subject, and has come to the conclusion that it is practically powerless in the matter. The revelations brought out before the Committee were amazing. It was shown that the price of certain great staples is made by the trust, and that dealers are absolutely at the mercy of the trust. Men must buy from them and sell as they direct, or else they are unable to obtain goods. It was shown that the managers of trusts have closed up factories, thrown men out of employment, regulated prices and wages all for the profit of the trust. The public, of course, pays these profits. Vast fortunes have been made by

organizers of trusts, as the testimony adduced. The general method followed is for a few men to get together, obtain the privilege of buying several manufacturing establishments, and then turn them over to the trust for double their value. The public comes in and either subscribes to the stock or pays tribute in other forms to the trust. Every trust has issued almost unlimited amounts of watered stock, on which dividends have to be paid. The disclosures before the New York Committee revealed a most disgraceful and dangerous state of affairs, and yet there is no remedy unless Congress acts. Of course, the removal of tariff duties and the throwing open of the American market to the competition of the world would be the greatest blow that could be inflicted upon the trust magnates, but that is a dream at the present time. Congress has already passed one anti-trust law which has been shown to be absolutely useless, and which the shrewd lawyers of the trusts have regarded as a huge joke rather than serious legislation. It remains to be seen whether the new Congress can be more successful than its predecessors, but it is certain that unless there is speedily a regulation of trusts the Republic will be menaced by a danger more to be dreaded than those which the fathers foresaw and guarded against.

In closing this article I am pleased to give to the readers of *The National Review* an important piece of news in connection with the plans of the new administration to bring about bimetallism. The House of Representatives added the following amendment to the bill introduced by Senator Wolcott, of Colorado, providing for the calling of an International Monetary Conference, which I quote in full:—

"And he [the President] is further authorized, if in his judgment the purpose specified in the first section hereof can thus be better attained, to appoint one or more special commissioners or envoys to such of the nations of Europe as he may designate, to seek by diplomatic negotiations an international agreement for the purpose specified in the first section hereof. And in case of such appointment, so much of the appropriation herein made as shall be necessary shall be available for the proper expenses and compensation of such commissioners or envoys."

President McKinley intends to appoint these commissioners or extraordinary diplomatic agents. He has announced that purpose to a few close advisers, at the present time probably not more than half-a-dozen persons being in possession of that information. For obvious reasons he does not care for that fact to become generally public. He does not want to appoint politicians or to have politicians clamouring for the places or the appointment of their political supporters. He intends to select men of the highest stand-

ing, qualifications, and knowledge of the subject; men in every way competent for their delicate tasks, and who will reflect credit upon the United States. They will be selected with the greatest caution, and although at the present time several names are being tentatively discussed no definite selections have yet been made. At least three commissioners will be appointed, and perhaps five. It is barely possible the President may appoint these commissioners before this article appears in print, but I do not think that is likely. He intends to proceed with great caution, and other matters requiring his more immediate attention will necessitate a slight delay.

The importance of his decision cannot be overestimated. It proved conclusively that President McKinley will do anything that lies in his power to bring about an international agreement on silver. He has said so in explicit and exact words. I am not permitted to quote private and confidential conversations; I can merely say to the readers of *The National Review* that the President has said that he is sincerely and honestly anxious to bring about an agreement, and may be relied upon to work to that end as a man should work, who having made a promise is determined to execute it to the fullest without reservation or evasion. It must be self-evident that in appointing these special commissioners, Mr. McKinley goes further than any other President or any other government ever has in the effort to bring about international bimetallism. The men to be appointed will be able to ascertain in advance of the meeting of a conference what the Governments of Europe will do, and in their conferences with members of Cabinets and heads of Governments, visiting them in a confidential capacity, and yet clothed with official position, they can discuss the situation with greater freedom, they can make broader suggestions, than could delegates to a public conference when every word uttered will be officially reported. Naturally much of what the commissioners may have to offer or suggest, will only be regarded as tentative, but it is the expectation among those few persons who have been admitted to the President's confidence that these commissioners can do in a month or two what a formal conference could not accomplish in six times the same length of time. In fact, the friends of bimetallism believe that tangible results will follow from the appointment of these special diplomatic envoys and their hopes are vastly encouraged.

The purpose of the President stamps as a lie the mendacious statements which the New York correspondent of the London *Times*, who is fast becoming an international scandal, has seen fit to cable your side regarding the alleged policy of Mr. McKinley on this subject. Here we do not understand the motive either of *The Times*

or its correspondent in their constant policy of misrepresentation. It cannot be due to ignorance, it must be with purpose, but what that is no one can fathom. It is self-evident that a man in New York has no means of knowing what goes on in the inner government circles at Washington except as he may pick up scraps in the newspapers or gather them at his club. New York, as I have before pointed out, is not the Union. It is only one corner of it, as little in touch with the great empire west and south as Timbuctoo is with Paris; and yet *The Times* would hardly expect to receive its French news by way of its special correspondent in Central Africa.

But the bimetallists of the United States have not only to complain of *The Times*, they feel they have been stabbed in the house of their friends. In the closing hours of the last session, Senator Dubois, of Idaho, read in the Senate the following remarkable letter :—

"25, CHESHAM PLACE, S.W., *February 7th*, 1897.

"MY DEAR SENATOR DUBOIS,—In the latest paper to reach me, I read with the greatest regret that you have lost your re-election to the Senate from Idaho. I feared when I left America that it would be so, but you have been making so gallant a fight that the three weeks past it had looked to us over here that this further untoward incident of the campaign of 1896 would be spared us.

"As to currency affairs on this side of the sea, you will before long get a report from Wolcott, who, after seeing all our people here, left for Paris a fortnight since, and is now in Berlin, I believe. Never have I known the movement for currency reform so apparently hopeless and headless as it is in England to-day. Even Balfour, who has hitherto inspired us with hope, seems to recognize that the opposition within the Cabinet and in the city is quite invincible. The prospect of international action, as far as I can see, depends entirely on whether some country can be found brave enough to put its foot down. Now that our bankers and exporters no longer fear what they did fear, a gold premium in New York, they treat the entire question with ridicule. From your side of the sea, also, the news reaches England in all the same way. I was lunching yesterday with one of the Cabinet, who had just received a letter from Smalley, the correspondent in New York of the London *Times*. Smalley asked my host whether he had seen Wolcott, and went on to add that his so-called mission had no significance whatsoever; that the gold standard had won the fight and had come to stay. And I have no doubt whatever that Smalley looks upon Wolcott's visit as mere politics. The fact is, times here are fairly good. We have been drawing in our loans from all over the world; the banks are consequently stuffed with currency; and in the city they have had a succession of mining booms, which employ a portion of the speculative wealth of the community and earn high rates of interest, to be, for the time, some set-off for the very low loan rates. The extreme lowness of prices—that is to say, the great purchasing power of the sovereign here—this and the luxury of modern London is bringing millionaires to spend their money here from all parts of the world. As matters stand, nothing but fresh convulsions on the part of our debtors will rekindle the embers of the silver question. The only prospect, a prospect no one anywhere can desire, is that further disasters on your side may carry conviction to your people. I cannot believe that any tariff amendments can bring you any prosperity while you are obliged to export

to Europe in competition with the exports of all those nations in Asia and South America which are bonused by a gold premium in their ports of from 100 to 250 per cent. premium on gold.

* * * * * * * *

"Believe me, dear Senator, sincerely yours,

"MORETON FREWEN."

But despite what Smalley may say and Mr. Frewen tacitly endorse, Senator Wolcott has returned to Washington extremely hopeful and greatly encouraged as the result of his European labours. He went as the confidential agent of the President, and to the President alone he made his report. It is, therefore, not possible to quote him, nor would it be becoming under the circumstances. I can only add to what I have already said that Mr. Wolcott, a shrewd man of affairs and of excellent judgment, returns from his self-imposed mission more hopeful than he ever was in his life that the future of international bimetallism is brighter than it has been at any time since the organized and intelligent effort to rehabilitate silver commenced.

SOME READABLE BOOKS.

Believing that a monthly table of selected books may be of service to the readers of *The National Review*, we have drawn up the appended list which comprises a few recently published volumes, which may be safely recommended.

Memoirs of Baron Lejeune.—Translated by Mrs. Arthur Bell (N. D'Anvers). With an introduction by Major-General Maurice, C.B. (Longmans, Green & Co., London. 2 vols. Price, 24s.). Although the Napoleonic literature is already a drug in the market, such memoirs as those of Prince Berthier's aide-de-camp will always be an unfailing delight to their fortunate readers. The writer was an artist as well as a soldier, and he made the best of his abundant opportunities. His narrative possesses a singular charm as well as distinct historical value.

The Recollections of Alexis de Tocqueville. — Translated by Alexander Teixeira de Mattos. (Messrs. Henry & Co., London. Price, 13s. net). This is another translation from the French which requires, however, no recommendation to English readers. All who are seriously interested in political institutions or have any respect for wisdom applied to public affairs consider their education incomplete so long as they leave unread anything from the profound and prophetic mind of Alexis de Tocqueville. These recollections are, moreover, far from strenuous reading as the philosopher is a charming *raconteur*, and there is no one with whom it is a keener pleasure to watch a political crisis—and he was in the thick of things.

Essays in Liberalism.—By Six Oxford Men (Hilaire Belloc, Francis W. Hirst, J. Allsebrook Simon, J. S. Phillimore, J. Lawrence Hammond, and P. J. Macdonell). (Published by Cassell & Co., London. Price, 3s. 6d.) It is always encouraging to find fresh evidence that politics still attract the educated youth of the country, and no Conservative need feel dismayed at the discontent of young Oxford Liberals with the present trend of the Liberal Party. Though somewhat sceptical as to the alleged revival of any form of Liberalism—whether Old or New—in Oxford, we should be sorry to say the book is wholly without significance, and much of it is written with freshness and insight. Its appearance is opportune, and it may be cordially recommended.

With the Red Eagle.—By William Westall (Chatto & Windus, London. Price, 6s.). This exciting story is being rapidly discovered by the novel-reading public. It is full of exciting incidents which stir the blood, and is enjoyable to all who have the good taste to like good fighting.

Lord Stratford de Redcliffe.—By A. L. Lee. With an introduction by W. E. H. Lecky, M.P. (James Nisbet & Co., London. Price, 1s. 6d.). This is an abridgment of Mr .Stanley Lane Poole's excellent life of our greatest, if not our only great, ambassador, and is now issued in connection with the Eastern Question, which Lord Stratford de Redcliffe with a free hand could have solved. The present volume strikes us as being too "abridged," but it is better that people should read ninety pages about a great statesman than nothing at all, which would probably be the alternative.

Confidences of an Amateur Gardener.—By A. M. Dew Smith (Selby & Co., London. Price, 6s.). This little volume has a flavour of its own—a quality of *dolce far niente* which is becoming so rare in modern literature. Gardeners will, we fancy, be enthusiastic in its praise, while laymen will enjoy it as a book.

The Lost Stradivarius.—By J. Meade Falkner (Blackwood & Sons, London and Edinburgh. Price, 6s.). We desire to call attention to a novel which, though two years old, has never received the recognition it deserves. The writer has a fascinating power of relating the mysterious, which reminds us of that master, Sheridan Le Fanu.

Clarissa Furiosa.—By W. E. Norris (Methuen & Co., London. Price, 6s.). One of Mr. Norris' very best novels. There are few writers so thoroughly in touch with the thoughts, habits, and prejudices of the class he portrays. He can describe ladies and gentlemen in their ordinary lives without making them or himself absurd. This is a great and rare art.

Landscape in Poetry.—By Francis T. Palgrave (Macmillan & Co. Price, 7s. 6d.). A collection of all the best poetry descriptive of landscape, through which one is taken by an admirable, because suggestive, learned, and well-balanced, critic.

Canada.—By J. G. Bourinot, C.M.G., LL.D. (T. Fisher Unwin, London). Owing to an *erratum* in the author's name last month, which we regret, we have an opportunity of renewing our recommendation of this admirable history of Canada.

A Village Politician.—The Life Story of John Buckley, with an introduction by Right Hon. A. J. Mundella. Edited by J. C. Buckmaster (T. Fisher Unwin, London. Price, 6s.). As this is vouched for as being a *bonâ fide* biography it is extremely interesting.

The New Siberia.—By Harry de Windt (Chapman & Hall, London. Price, 14s.). Though an avowed apologist for the Russian penal system, the writer is always worth reading. It must be added that he somewhat overdoes his part, *e.g.*, a great point is made of the abolition of capital punishment in Russia, but this does not protect men from being flogged to death in the most barbarous manner.

Occasional Papers.—By the late Dean Church (Macmillan & Co., London. Price, 10s.). One of the most delightful collections of essays that has appeared for a very long time. The style, the temper, and the knowledge of the writer are, it goes without saying, beyond all praise.

EPISODES OF THE MONTH

(*continued*).

AUSTRALIAN FEDERATION.

The federation of the Australian Colonies, which has hung fire for so many years, is believed by optimists to be approaching accomplishment. Two years ago a Conference of Australian Premiers at Hobart decided that the only prospect of effecting a Federal Union lay in taking the question as far as possible out of the hands of the various Colonial Parliaments which have consistently declined to interest themselves in it. To this end it was agreed to ask the Parliaments to pass an Enabling Act transferring the settlement of the question directly to the people. By this Act the Federal Constitution is to be passed by a Convention consisting of the representatives from each colony elected *ad hoc* on the Legislative Assembly Franchise. When three or more colonies have completed their elections the Governors shall summon the Convention, which shall frame the Constitution and then adjourn for a period of from thirty to sixty days to permit of criticism. When adopted by the Convention, the Constitution will be referred directly to the electors for ratification or rejection. If accepted by three colonies, it will be presented for Imperial endorsement. During the last two years the Enabling Act has received the approval of the Parliaments of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Western Australia, and Tasmania, and these colonies have elected their delegations during the last month. Queensland is not participating, and New Zealand, being a thousand miles away from Australia, elects to stand aside, but the fifty representatives of the co-operating group met for their momentous work at the end of March. The admirable writer of "The Colonies" in *The Times* calculates that the Convention's labours will be over by the middle of May, that it will reassemble by the middle of July, and that the verdict of the electors of the five colonies may be pronounced in August. So the question of Australian Federation should be definitely settled one way or the other this year. The Convention will probably be guided to a considerable extent by the Commonwealth

Bill drawn up at the Sydney Convention of 1891, and largely credited to that most able jurist Sir Samuel Griffith, the Chief Justice of Queensland, whose colony is unfortunately not sending representatives to the present Convention. That Bill proposes that the Federal Parliament shall consist of two Houses as in the United States, the Lower representing the population, and the Upper the States — each State being entitled to eight senators. Victoria and New South Wales, as far the most populous States, are firmly opposed to this "equality of States," while Western Australia, South Australia, and Tasmania are determined upholders of the American principle.

EQUALITY OF STATES.

It will thus be seen that there is a somewhat serious conflict of interests between the small States, which dread being swamped if population is made the sole legislative basis, and the great States, which fear that their greater population and resources may be to some extent handicapped by the inevitable deadlock that they foresee in a Senate elected on a purely State basis. As Nevada with its 40,000 people has for years past neutralised New York and its 6,000,000 people, so New South Wales and Victoria resist their own neutralisation by Tasmania or South Australia, though the disparity of population among the Australian colonies is not comparable to that among the American States. Still, a combination of South Australia, Western Australia, and Tasmania would, under the Commonwealth Bill, elect 24 Senators to the 16 representing Victoria and New South Wales, *i.e.*, one-third of the population of Australia could overrule the wishes of the remaining two-thirds. There is, on the other hand, no reason to anticipate such a political grouping in a Federal Senate. Victoria and New South Wales are far more likely to take opposite sides than to co-operate, and their division would redress the inequalities of population. Joint action has never been their strong point, and their differences of political temperament are very strongly marked, and indeed are largely responsible for the frustration of federation so far. What Australia really needs is the electric spark which will galvanize her into another Canada. Perhaps some orator will supply it during the forthcoming debates. We shall all rejoice if Australian statesmanship brings off the great event and consummates a united Australia, but successful federation, it should be remembered, has always been a plant of slow growth, and all efforts to force it on reluctant communities, whether attempted by Mr. Gladstone in the British Isles, or by Mr. Rhodes in South Africa, have been dismal fiascoes. The proceedings of the great convention will be most keenly and sympathetically watched by Great Britain, though

our newspapers keep their readers on painfully short commons as regards serious Imperial news, while surfeiting them with the most trivial European doings.

THE SOUTH-AFRICAN COMMITTEE.

We have not the space in these pages to keep our readers posted in the proceedings of the South-African Committee—interesting and important though they be. The enquiry so far has been chiefly concerned with the Raid, and until the whole story has been told it would hardly be fair to comment on the fragments. It is already abundantly clear that a Select Committee of the House of Commons is the very worst tribunal in the world to discharge a judicial function. Members of Parliament lead such strenuous and absorbing lives as to be unable to devote the necessary time and attention to an arduous extra-Parliamentary business. The Committee sits but twice a week in sessions of barely three hours apiece, during which a surreptitious lunch is snatched to the detriment of the dignity of "the great State Trial" as it was pompously declared to be. The case has already lasted six weeks, during which only some thirty hours have been devoted to the investigation, and so far but five witnesses have been examined. There is also an air of amateurishness about the whole proceedings, and very few pointed questions have been asked—and when asked they have not been answered—as the art of cross-examination is one of the most difficult in the world; it cannot be learnt in a day even by a Member of Parliament. The Committee obviously contains a considerable percentage of men who are unable even to affect a judicial attitude, such as Mr. Labouchere, Mr. George Wyndham, and Mr. Bigham—their signatures would add no weight to any report. Mr. Labouchere is very insulting to every Rhodesian witness, Mr. George Wyndham is an utterly infatuated Rhodesian, while Mr. Bigham is apparently the Labouchere of the other side, and his function is to insult the independent witnesses. His treatment of Mr. Schreiner, the ex-Attorney-General of Cape Colony, was most offensive, and was, no doubt, intended to deter independent evidence from being tendered to the Committee. One cannot help noting with regret, though everyone foresaw it would happen, that as the enquiry develops party prejudice is asserting itself. While the Opposition members are ranging themselves on one side, there is a tendency on the part of the Ministerialists to take up the other. The witnesses called have been Mr. Rhodes, Mr. Louw and Mr. Venter (two Dutch Africander members of the Cape Parliament who were brought forward to show what backing Mr. Rhodes

really has from the Dutch in spite of the Raid*), Sir Graham Bower, the Imperial Secretary, and Mr. Schreiner, who was Mr. Rhodes' Attorney-General. The case Mr. Rhodes wishes to set up was expounded in a sworn statement that he put in before giving oral evidence. This document was to the effect that "as one largely interested in the Transvaal" he shared in and sympathized with the Uitlander grievances, and, moreover, regarded the Transvaal Government's persistent unfriendliness towards Cape Colony as the great obstacle to common action among the various States of South Africa. "Under these circumstances I assisted the movement in Johannesburg with my purse and influence," and "acting within my rights" (as managing-director of the Chartered Company) in the autumn of 1895 he placed a body of troops under Dr. Jameson prepared to act in the Transvaal in certain eventualities. "With reference to the Jameson Raid, I may state that Dr. Jameson went in without my authority." In all his actions Mr. Rhodes was greatly influenced by a belief that the Transvaal Government designed "to introduce the influence of another foreign Power into the already complicated system of South Africa." In his subsequent examination and cross-examination Mr. Rhodes sought to substantiate these points, but it would not be fair to criticize his narrative until the other actors have spoken.

MR. SCHREINER'S EVIDENCE.

We attach great weight to the testimony of Mr. W. P. Schreiner—and can deal with that part of it which discusses the general situation in South Africa—for not only is he one of the most influential, able, and upright men in Cape Colony, but his career entitles him to be regarded as an impartial man. For years past he has been one of Mr. Rhodes' most devoted admirers, and has participated in the closest political and personal companionship with the ex-Premier, whose Attorney-General he was up to the Raid. He dropped many phrases showing a warm regard for Mr. Rhodes' personality, and performed the difficult task of exposing the folly and wickedness of the Raid without a trace of personal bitterness against its author, of whose treachery he has perhaps more right to complain than anyone else owing to the terms on which he lived with Mr. Rhodes. It is a very great misfortune that men like Mr. Schreiner, Mr. Rose Innes, Mr. Hofmeyr, and others, who represent the best opinion in South Africa, have not hitherto had the opportunity of speaking out in this country, for they would have neutralised the virus of misrepresentation with which the British public have been persistently inoculated during the last year and a half.

* They have since been emphatically repudiated by the Afrikander Bond, the great political organisation of Dutch Afrikanders.

Fortunately, though late it is not too late for the real facts to be brought home to the nation. Mr. Rhodes' attack on the Transvaal, for which there was no jot or tittle of justification, has set up a friction between the two white races in South Africa of a truly dangerous character. It will require all the patience, all the forbearance, and all the resolution and statesmanship of the Imperial Government to avert a disaster. We are convinced that Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Alfred Milner, the new High Commissioner, will exercise these qualities, and will stubbornly set their faces against what is misnamed "a forward policy," which would throw South Africa back nearly a hundred years. Mr. Schreiner's evidence was really one long plea for patience, which cannot fail to have impressed his auditors. In discussing the anxious days following the Raid, the first intimation of which reached him on the day after Dr. Jameson had started, Mr. Schreiner dwelt on the great service rendered by Mr. Hofmeyr, who suggested to the High Commissioner the issue of the famous Proclamation calling on all British subjects to abstain from giving any countenance whatever to Dr. Jameson. Mr. Rhodes opposed the issue of this Proclamation, and defended his action in so doing when before the Committee. Mr. Schreiner, it must be remembered, was a member of Mr. Rhodes' Cabinet at the time, and gave the following account of the transaction:—

"You heard no more about the proclamation until you saw it in *The Gazette* on the Wednesday morning?—That is so. I should like to say this—and I think it is only fair I should have the opportunity of saying it, and it is germane to the matter—that Mr. Rhodes spoke of the proclamation as having had its origin owing to ouside interference. I would like to say this in reference to that. Mr. Hofmeyr has been a Minister of the Crown, and is now a member of the Executive, which corresponds to the dignity of a Privy Councillor in England. He has been, during the six years of Mr. Rhodes' tenure of office, the Prime Minister's constant confidant on every matter of public importance—so much so, that one could never see a matter of any large policy in any way entered upon without Mr. Rhodes having taken counsel with Mr. Hofmeyr. I think it right I should put that before the committee in order to protect Mr. Hofmeyr against the insinuations that he was doing something unusual or unpatriotic, or out of the common, when, Mr. Rhodes having declined to take any steps to stop Dr. Jameson, Mr. Hofmeyr begged the High Commissioner to vindicate the dignity of the Empire and to protect the interests of South Africa.

"So far from thinking Mr. Hofmeyr's intervention was improper, you think that he took the course which, from his position, he ought to have taken, and was bound to take?—I say he saved the situation. There would have been war in South Africa if it had not been for Mr. Hofmeyr.

"You regard the issue of this proclamation, and the haste with which it was issued, as absolutely essential to prevent hostilities in South Africa?—Of course one cannot say what would have happened if it had not been issued: but every reasonable man, I think, would say that but for the issue of the proclamation the high probability is that there would have been a race war in South Africa."

THE EFFECT OF THE RAID.

Mr. Schreiner was asked as to the effect of the Raid on South Africa, and he gave a very lucid and practical reply:—

"The feeling of confidence has been grievously shattered, and is not restored. People do not trust each other. You cannot have the most absolute trust and confidence in a leader, speaking now for the Cape Colony, and lose it in the way we did when we lost our leader, and very quickly pick up new confidences and new trusts. That is, broadly speaking, the most important factor in the harm that has been done by secret conspiracy instead of by an open constitutional movement, such as the Johannesburg movement was. The Johannesburg movement, so long as it was constitutional, had very great sympathy from all parts. This conspiracy has nothing but execration from all right-thinking persons. That is broadly the practical result. We have lost our railway through the Orange Free State. The colony has thus lost control of the trade up to the very gates of the Transvaal which formerly it held and would have continued to hold, because the little Republic of the Orange Free State was not in a hurry to incur a national debt for its railways. It was doing very well under the then arrangement, but directly after the Raid it took over the railway."

Sir William Harcourt asked the witness—"But how does that arise as a consequence?" and he replied:—

"Because the Orange Free State is united by the treaty of 1889 with the South African Republic against external attack. When the Raid occurred the Free State was stirred up to a pitch of excitement which caused the Government to have more than twice the number of men they actually commandeered ready to go and fight against the invaders. The Prime Minister of the Cape Colony was primarily responsible for the Raid; and the Raad of the Free State—which was perfectly within its rights—then determined to take over our railway which ran through the Free State, although it is a small pastoral country, not gifted for such railway administration. Secondly, the Raad determined by a considerable majority to refuse their sanction to the railway convention which I personally had negotiated in December. That was a most important point, because if the convention had been carried through it would have done a great deal to solve the future of South Africa. It would have given us as a certainty another seven years' control of the railway system in the Orange Free State.

"Sir W. Harcourt.—Then the first consequence of the Raid is, in your opinion, a very serious injury to the commercial interest of the Cape Colony?—That is a very serious aspect of it."

In reply to a further question Mr. Schreiner explained:—

"The race feelings, which were coming near to be lost sight of, have been revived, and that is a lamentable thing. I speak for myself and for a great number of Cape Colonists who are thoroughly loyal and devoted to the Imperial Government. Rightly or wrongly—and I say wrongly—there is the supposition that such a policy is tolerated or has the support of the Imperial Government, and that lowers the prestige, honour, and dignity of England in South Africa. I do not wish to convey that there is a large number of people who hold these, as I call them, erroneous opinions; but those who are most offended are most suspicious. What we feel and hope will be the result of the deliberations of this Committee is the vindication of the honour and dignity of the Imperial Government in South Africa."

THE UITLANDERS' GRIEVANCES.

Mr. Schreiner was fresh and suggestive on the thorny question of the Uitlanders' grievances. In every young country, he pointed out, it is a very difficult thing to immediately adapt the existing system to

the entirely altered condition produced by a sudden influx of population containing with many desirable elements some that are less desirable:—"The Uitlanders' grievances have had the sympathies of the colonists so long as they have been genuine grievances. But we have felt that time will cure and heal those grievances. Take the franchise question. It it not to be supposed that the children of living men will not have the franchise. But those who most realize the grievances are not those who are most prominent in fomenting this agitation. Those who feel the lack of the franchise are mostly South Africans, born and bred, who have made the Republic their home, and feel very keenly that, after crossing a certain river, they are excluded from recognition. I, as a South African, feel strongly on that point. I should like to see that grievance removed." In distinguishing between the various grievances, he referred to the education question, which is being solved by the establishment of a board to administer a fund devoted to the creation of schools along the Rand for instruction in the English language—"that is a tremendous step to gain." He also pointed out with regard to the grievance as to the unwise grant of monopolies that even had the Raid succeeded it would have been necessary to respect these monopolies until their expiry, and he suggested that the Transvaal is alive to the unwisdom of renewing such as the dynamite monopoly. Mr. Schreiner added: "As regards the liquor law, I only wish we had such a good law in Cape Colony as they have now in the South African Republic (the Transvaal). The supply of liquor to the natives is the cause of the destruction of labour. This is a law that has been passed even since the invasion, so that, while not everything has been done that might be done, the Republic moves and is moving." Another observation he made about President Kruger should also be borne in mind:—"Is President Kruger able of his own *fiat* to control the Raad?—Absolutely not. He is only, after all, a constitutional sovereign——Mr. Bigham: A what?—Witness: A constitutional sovereign, and I do not think he is able, by having to depend on expert advice, to give full effect to the policy of conciliation and redress of grievances. He is not himself a man, by reason of his lack of ordinary education, who is able to lay down the chapter and verse of reform, and his skilled assistants rather urge him to a policy of isolation than of harmony." In a subsequent part of Mr. Schreiner's evidence the following additional information on the Uitlander question is given:—

"By Mr. Buxton.—The list of grievances which he had given to the Committee was not an exhaustive one. He had made no reference to that to which Mr. Rhodes attached much importance—the heavy import duties and the heavy

taxation on gold mines. In reference to that matter, he would like to say that he was astonished to find that, as a whole, the South African Republic tariff was denounced as being an excessively high tariff. As a matter of fact it was a lower tariff than their Cape Colonial tariff taken as a whole. He thought Mr. Rhodes was thinking more of the importation from the colony of colonial produce. He thought he ought to say, in fairness to Mr. Rhodes, that he spoke of that not so much as a grievance of the Uitlander as of the Cape Colony. It was very much felt by a considerable section of their farmers that, whereas they had been working for ten years and more to try and get the principle established of free trade in South African produce, they were met with a strong opposition in the South African Republic. It would not be fair for him to endeavour to criticize in detail what Mr. Rhodes said on the taxation of the gold industry, but the prosperity of a very large number of these companies, the very high prices their shares had reached, and the information which he had received from those on the spot, led him to suppose that the grievance was a little bit exaggerated."

THE AFRIKANDER BOND.

Perhaps the pith of Mr. Schreiner's testimony is to be found in the following lengthy passage which we make no apology for inflicting on our readers, as Mr. Rhodes' unblushing partisans unceasingly assert that the Dutch have condoned the Raid owing to their affection for its author, and that we should continue to regard him as a safe pilot of our South African policy :—

"What effect, in your opinion, have these transactions had upon the relations of the Dutch and British races?—The feeling of difference of race having been stirred up, which had been slumbering—and no one did more to make it slumber than Mr. Rhodes—the relations are more strained, but they are by no means so strained but that we shall be able to work back to the good understanding of the past. They are more strained because of the fact that the person who strained them had been so deeply in the confidence of the other side. He thought Mr. Rhodes always had, and still had, very considerable sympathy with what he called the old population of the country ; but they thought that Mr. Rhodes had not been fair to them, and naturally the feeling to which Sir W. Harcourt referred had been very much accentuated. The Afrikander Bond was at present in Congress, and, according to the telegrams in the papers that morning, they had unanimously adopted a resolution, that all considerations of national self-respect, political interest, and good faith, made it impossible for the Afrikander party to give Mr. Rhodes the least support, whether in politics, in the public press, in Parliamentary elections, or anywhere else. The Congress further declared itself to be decidedly opposed to any demonstration or agitation in favour of Mr. Rhodes, and expressed the opinion that he should never again have a seat in Parliament. That resolution was adopted at a meeting of the strongest political organization in Cape Colony, and he quoted it to show that it would be erroneous to suppose that Dutch feeling in Cape Colony had not been deeply wounded by what had taken place. Knowing the Dutch people of Cape Colony very intimately, he could say this of them—that they were thoroughly loyal. There was no grosser falsehood perpetrated than the constant attempts that were made to make them out disloyal. Perhaps they were patriotic as well. It was, at all events, a slander on them to say that they were disloyal. They considered that what had taken place had been utterly inconsistent with the honour and dignity of the Empire of which they were thoroughly loyal subjects. They felt the attack on their kinsmen in the North very much, and they felt that a small grievance such as the hostile exclusion of a wagon of wine from the market of the South African Republic was quite insignificant

when compared with it. The Afrikander Bond was an organization which followed a previous assembly, the Dutch name of which signified 'the Union of Farmers.' The first principle in its platform was loyalty to the Crown. Though he would not say that it did not include any men holding extreme views, it was a loyal association, and had a very healthy influence in politics. It represents almost entirely what may be called the country district. It was the exponent of the opinions of the old country party in Cape Colony, and it was very considerably represented in the Parliament of Cape Colony, and though it was not numerous enough to maintain a ministry in office, it could bring considerable influence to bear on any government."

OUR FUTURE POLICY.

With regard to the general policy in South Africa, Mr. Schreiner showed much detachment. He is apparently opposed to the substitution of the Imperial rule for that of the Chartered Company, and also to any permanent exclusion of Mr. Rhodes. "You cannot eliminate a man altogether and it is no use making a martyr of anybody," but he strongly urged that the Company's administration should be controlled and regulated by strong men of the best material.* Mr. Schriener protested also against any policy aimed at the overthrow of the Transvaal Government, for against such a course the Dutch of the Cape Colony "would feel immensely strung up."

* "You gave your view as to the question of the future of the Chartered Company in reply to Sir William Harcourt. Do I understand the line you take to be that you have no objection to the continuance of the charter if it were under more direct Imperial control?—Yes. We appreciate very much what has been done in that direction. What we feel—a good many of us—is that the ultimate control should be in such hands as should be directly responsible to the Imperial Government, so that it would be impossible for an event of this kind to recur through influence being left in the hands of others to do those things which in the past have led to such consequences.

"You are aware that at the present moment the police and military forces are under the direct control of the Imperial Government?—Yes.

"And is it your wish that in regard to the civil administration the Imperial Government should have some direct representative?—The thought that has been in my mind is that there should be a high Imperial officer, paid by the Empire and not paid at all by the Chartered Company, who should be in the position, on the spot, of practically controlling the whole situation.

"As you are aware, there is an Administrator and a Council. Would you have the Administrator an Imperial officer or a member of the Council an Imperial officer?—I should rather have the Administrator an Imperial officer if possible.

"Under the direct control and in the pay of the Imperial Government?—Yes. The private arrangements, its rights to lands, its rights to minerals, its rights to government over officials, and its rights to appointments—all those, I think, so far as I know, are very safely placed under the Chartered Company; but I should like to have someone there on the spot who could, if anything of the kind were to recur, be referred to, and to whom you could say, 'You ought to, and must, have known what was occurring, and you are directly responsible for it.' The objection to the system in the past has been that we do not know whether this gentleman or that gentleman is responsible. For the future, if a strong, a thoroughly strong, man were appointed and put there by the Imperial Government, I think it would give enormous satisfaction to South Africa."

The Dutch are dead against a policy of aggression towards the Republic, but they would not side with the latter if it failed to observe its treaty obligations:—"Your opinion is that a policy such as that which I gather Mr. Rhodes advocated—a change from outside—is one which would involve great danger of a racial war in South Africa?—That is my deepest dread to-day. You believe that what is most to be desired is to pursue a course which should reconcile the feelings of the two races in South Africa which you describe as having been greatly strained by what has occurred?—The witness assented. The idea of the European garrison in South Africa, consisting of about 800,000 whites, cutting each other's throats, when they were in the midst of a population of about six million blacks, was revolting, and was a thing too awful to contemplate." The witness quoted with great approval Mr. Chamberlain's speech of 13th February last year, in which he said, "I think I may say for myself, as for my predecessor, that we are prepared to go as far as the Dutch sentiment will support us; and it is a very serious thing, involving most serious consequences, if we are asked to go in opposition to Dutch sentiment," and defined the correct attitude of the Imperial Government towards the Transvaal as "a policy of patience coupled with firmness—a firm insistance on the performance of treaty obligations." That policy has the right Imperial ring about it, and is the only possible policy for us to adopt. We have singled out Mr. Schreiner's evidence, and treated it copiously, not because it supports any preconceived notions we may have formed—we strongly differ from him as to the advisability of maintaining the Chartered Company in Rhodesia—but because he throws a flood of light on a situation that so many agencies are combining to obscure. What Mr. Schreiner brings home to the British mind is that the policy of forcing things in South Africa would be one of sheer madness. Our jingoes must possess their souls in patience or volunteer for service in Eastern Europe—there is no scope for their swords or their pens in South Africa. We can go no farther than the public opinion of Cape Colony—which is mainly Dutch—will sanction, which means that there will be no quarrel with the Transvaal, unless it is picked by President Kruger. We believe that he on his side realizes the position thoroughly though it may be a question as to how far he can control the Boer Ashmead-Bartletts.

THE FRENCH INVASION OF BOUSSA.

The only cloud in connection with the successful campaign of the Niger Company, has been the incursion of a French force into Boussa — a riverain State on the Middle Niger—which has been long recognized as within the Niger Company's territory.

First of all there was a treaty entered into in 1890, between the Emir and Chiefs of Boussa on the one side and the Niger Company on the other, by which Boussa was placed under British jurisdiction with an undertaking to accept the British Protectorate when required to do so; secondly, the Powers received notification of this Protectorate in January, 1895; and thirdly, there was an Anglo-French agreement entered into in 1896, according to which in return for a concession made by England to the North of Say, all territory to the South of a line drawn from Say to Barrua, on Lake Tchad, was recognized as within the British sphere of influence—and Boussa becomes thus included, unless it was intended there should be an extraordinary deflection of boundary on the Western side of the Niger territory. We have little doubt but that the French raid was organized by some ill-informed officer residing at Dahomey, who did not know he was precluded from entering the Boussa State, and there is every reason to suppose that the French Government will promptly disavow his action and order his immediate withdrawal.

THE BENIN EXPEDITION.

This punitive expedition has also been brought to a successful termination, though the actual responsibility for the massacre of the British party has not been brought home. The Sheik of Benin, who fled upon the capture of his city, had sent messengers to "beg the white man," but was informed that he must come in person. The effects of the Englishmen who were murdered were found in his house. Some of the chiefs in Lower Benin are accused of being implicated in the crime, they having sent word to the Sheik that the peaceful expedition which was massacred was coming up with hostile intent. A considerable number of officers and men belonging to the expedition suffered from fever: most of them have probably acquired the seeds of malady for life. We again enquire how long do we intend to pursue the fatuous policy of crippling our fleet by sacrificing its officers and men upon expeditions in deadly African climates when the obvious course is to organize an African Black Legion officered by Englishmen, such as the Niger Company possesses, which would execute all needful punitive expeditions on the West Coast. Black troops could not be employed in a better cause than that of suppressing the raiding of their fellows, and they are acclimatized. The whole force landed from the fleet lost eleven men killed and forty-eight wounded, as well as five who died from sunstroke. Seven officers and seventy men were down with fever.

THE MISSION TO ABYSSINIA.

The British Mission to Abyssinia is well on its way now. Mr. Rennell Rodd is its capable leader, and among its members are Colonel Wingate, also Count Gleichen, a cousin of the Queen, and Lord Edward Cecil, a son of the Prime Minister. The party was expected to reach Aden on March 16th, and thence to proceed by special steamer to Zeila. The caravan was to be formed at Zeila—mules and camels supplying the means of conveyance. The Emperor's headquarters should be reached in the middle of April, *i.e.*, four weeks after leaving Zeila. In the meantime Ras Alula, the able Abyssinian general who defeated the Italians at Adegrat, is dead. He was generalissimo of the national forces, and a sworn enemy of the British on account of their alliance with the Italians. Previously he had been rather friendly to us. The object of the present mission is to establish friendly terms with Abyssinia. Mr. W. F. Prideaux, who spent three years in Abyssinia, wrote an interesting letter in *The Times* (March 2nd). He urges that Abyssinia should be secured as an ally to England who would be of great service in connection with our operations on the Nile and our intended recovery of Khartoum. He declares that Abyssinia has never had a chance of prospering for the want of a maritime outlet: the Turks by seizing the Red Sea littoral having placed an effectual bar to all hopes of progress from exterior sources. It seems that years ago, before the Italians had set foot in Erythea, Sir Samuel Baker recommended that Massowa, Boges, and Galabat should be acquired by Abyssinia, and that the Atbara river, so far as Sofi, should become the boundary. The policy of establishing the Italians in Erythea has hardly been a successful one, and Italy would, doubtless, be gladly quit of the whole region. Still it is doubtful whether Italian pride would permit her to entertain a proposal to cede Massowa to her triumphant enemy, although the results of the General Election recently held in Italy shows that she is not devoured by African ambition.

THE NILE CAMPAIGN.

Let us not forget amid the various exciting questions that interest the Empire that there is one which more than any other depends upon our steadfast perseverance and persistent energy. We have to recover the Nile territories as far as Khartoum, which we so basely abandoned twelve years ago. At present we are engaged in consolidating our position at Dongola, Debbeh, Korti, and Merrowi, and the railway slowly creeps in construction towards the front. Our policy is to hold the most advanced post we can along the various desert

tracks and at the larger wells by means of friendly Arabs under their own Sheiks. These tribes are distinct from the riverside population and cultivators of the soil and boatmen, upon all of whom the Arab on his camel looks down with some contempt. Some of these tribes have been completely wiped out by the Khalifa's Baggara horsemen. As an instance of this it may be mentioned that the Kabbabish tribe used to carry on the whole trade of Darfur and Kordofan between Debbeh and those places, carrying enormous caravans of goods. They owned some 10,000 camels before the Mahdi appeared. To-day they are almost extinct, and have hardly a hundred camels left. They have been killed out or taken into captivity, men, women, and children, and the whole of their female camels were carried off. It may be imagined how tribes that have been almost exterminated loathe the Khalifa and welcome the Anglo-Egyptian advance. All they want to be assured of is—that we shall not desert them again. At present things on the frontier are quiet, the Dervishes are cowed and do not attempt raids on the river population, although from Dongola to Merrowi we have 200 miles of frontier to protect and the Nile is low.

THE DESTRUCTION OF OUR INDIAN ARMY.

Another terrible Indian affliction has disclosed itself to the general public during the past month, though it has been common talk in army circles for some years. A Parliamentary paper, consisting of the Report of a Departmental Committee consisting of Lord Onslow (the Under-Secretary for India), Sir James Peile, Surgeon-Major-General Taylor, and Surgeon-Colonel Richardson, which was appointed by the India Office last November to enquire into the health of the British troops serving in India, has been issued. Its contents are startling and shocking—they cannot be shirked, though the subject is a most disagreeable one for public discussion. In 1888 one of those fatal resolutions which the House of Commons finds it so easy to pass condemned the existing Lock Hospital system, but the effect of this resolution was somewhat mitigated by a Cantonment Act which in the following year gave power to establish and regulate cantonment hospitals for the treatment of persons suffering from any disease and for the removal of such persons as the commanding officer might deem desirable. This system was, however, condemned by Mr. G. W. E. Russell's Committee, and an amending Act was passed prohibiting the compulsory examination of women and excluding victims of venereal diseases from the category of persons who might be removed from cantonments. Between 1888 and 1890 the returns of disease among British troops in India increased greatly, and after a drop in 1891 they rose rapidly until in 1895 they

actually reached the appalling figures of 522·3 per 1,000 of the whole strength, or 536·8 per 1,000 of troops in cantonments only—*i.e.*, excluding those on field service. In other words, more than half the British troops serving in India were afflicted with some form or other of this disease during a single year. Of the 5,882 men detailed for field service with the Chitral Relief Force 462, or nearly 8 per cent. were actually rejected as unfit for service owing to this disease, while 279 more, or an additional 4½ per cent., had to be transferred from the field hospitals to the base. From these figures it is estimated by the Committee that out of our whole white army of 71,031 men, no less than 8,800 would have to be written off as useless for fighting purposes from this one cause, *i.e.*, 11 per cent.! Comparing the returns for our army with those from foreign armies the Committee obtained the following contrast :—

RATIO OF ADMISSION PER 1,000 STRENGTH FOR ALL FORMS OF VENEREAL DISEASE.

Year.*	Germany.	Russia.	France.	Great Britain. Home.	India.
1890.....	26·7	43·0	43·8	212·4	503·6
1891.....	27·2	41·5	43·7	197·4	407·7
1892.....	27·9	44·6	44·0	201·2	409·9
Mean for 3 years ...	27·3	43·0	43·8	203·7	438·0

*In the case of Germany the years are 1889-90, 1890-91, 1891-92.

Germany whose troops are entirely quartered at home has the lowest rate of any Continental army, while the United States, also quartered exclusively at home, shows rather a large figure—the difference being undoubtedly due to the fact that while German troops are protected from the spread of the disease, those of the United States are not, probably from the same misguided sentiment that is responsible for the terrible calamity that is visiting our troops in India. No one will suppose for a moment that British or American troops are less moral than those of France and Germany; but while the latter are surrounded by safeguards, the former are wholly unprotected.

NETLEY. The Committee paid a visit to Netley Hospital and speak strongly of the conditions prevailing there. Out of 263 cases, 196 or 74 per cent. had a history of syphilis, and it is recorded that never have so many or such bad cases been sent home as during the last five years. The report gives a truly hideous picture of the patients. "Before reaching the age of twenty-five years these young men have come home presenting a most shocking appearance; some lay there having obviously but a short time to live; others were unrecognizable from disfigurement by reason of the destruction of their features, or had lost their palates, their eyesight, or their sense of hearing; others, again, were in a state of extreme emaciation, their joints

distorted and diseased. Not a few are time-expired, but cannot be discharged in their present condition, incapacitated as they are to earn their livelihood, and in a condition so repulsive that they could not mix with their fellow-men. Their friends and relatives refuse to receive them, and it is inexpedient to discharge them only to seek the asylum of the poorhouse; so they remain at Netley in increasing numbers, which, as matters now are, seem likely to continue to increase." The report points out that "the present condition of the army in India, yearly sending home thousands of men infected with constitutional taint, is a great and growing source of danger to the whole community." As the disease is easily communicable and passes by descent to the third and fourth generations, "the influence which it is liable to exercise upon the health of the home population," the report observes, "is one of the gravest aspects of the whole question." That the growth of this fearful evil is not due to any wave of wickedness passing over British soldiers, is shown by the fact that drunkenness and crime have greatly decreased. It is also noted that successive commanders-in-chief, conspicuously Lord Roberts, have done much to provide recreation rooms, libraries, regimental workshops, exercises, and sports to keep Tommy Atkins occupied and amused, and the Army Temperance Association and the Army Health Association have been valuable coadjutors in encouraging self-control. The epitome (quoted below) in *The Times* puts the governing fact in this odious business clearly and concisely, and the courageous articles in *The Times*, *St. James Gazette*, *The Daily Telegraph*, &c., which deserve the greatest credit for grasping this horrid nettle, have done much to drive the lesson home that free trade in contagious disease must be suppressed:—

"In a despatch dated November 4, 1896, the Government of India state that they have been careful to adopt such means as lie in their power to protect the British soldiers from temptation likely to lead to the contraction of venereal disease; but they express their strong conviction that without some fresh powers no instructions or regulations can have any material effect in mitigating this scourge. The short-service system does not appear to be responsible for any increased tendency to sexual indulgence during the last few years. The hard fact remains that among a body of men mostly very young and nearly all obliged by the conditions of the service to remain unmarried, removed from home ties and restraints into a country where climate and environments conduce to sexual indulgence, comparatively few are able to control the strongest passion in human nature, with the disastrous consequences under present conditions which the preceding paragraphs have described."

APPENDIX.

Reply of the Bimetallic League

TO THE

Memorial of the Gold Standard Defence Association.

*22nd June, 1895.**

To the Right Honourable

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.

SIR,

The Executive Council of the Bimetallic League, observing that a Memorial has been presented to you by certain "Merchants and Bankers in the City of London, in reference to the discussion which has lately taken place in Parliament on the question of the Currency," beg leave to address you on the same subject.

Differing altogether from these Memorialists in the views which they express, we rejoice at that which they justly describe as "the growing agitation in favour of what is called Bimetallism," for the following reasons which we have the honour to submit.

It is true that our present system of currency has prevailed in the United Kingdom from 1816, without intermission, up to now. But we think it is misleading to assert, as the Memorialists allege, that it was under the operation of that system that "the commercial supremacy of Great Britain and the financial ascendancy of London have been established and maintained."

Those results were achieved before the adoption of the Gold Standard in this country. It must also be remembered that during the chief part of that period, for nearly sixty years after 1816, all the business of this country and the world was conducted under the dominating influence of the Bimetallic System.

So long as that system was maintained by the action of Foreign Countries, there was little, if any, fluctuation or divergence in the relative values of gold and silver; the parity between the two metals, for all practical purposes, was steadily maintained; the Standard of Value was comparatively stable, and the Commerce of this Country was conducted with equal facility, whether with gold or silver using Countries, in all parts of the world.

These results were of incalculable importance to a Country such as ours, pre-eminent in Commerce, and endowed with vast Colonial and Indian possessions.

We acknowledge that so long as those conditions were maintained, the

* Though nearly two years old it will be noted how strikingly applicable to present conditions are the terms of this reply.—(EDITOR, *N.R.*)

Gold Standard sufficiently supplied our needs. But the experience of recent years has entirely convinced us that these important results were due, not to the operation of our single Standard, but to the universal effect of the Bimetallic Law.

We are confirmed in this opinion by the fact that, with the abandonment of Bimetallism the immense advantages we have referred to have entirely disappeared.

Since that event occurred and silver was dethroned, an attempt has been made for the first time in history, to conduct the business of the Western World upon a gold basis alone.

This novel and great experiment has been followed by its natural results —a wide and increasing divergence, with constant fluctuations, in the value of the precious metals which have hindered and embarrassed Trade; and a progressive fall in prices, which has been seriously injurious to industrial undertakings.

Under this experiment, it cannot be denied that we have been liable to all the evils which were indicated in the Resolution accepted by the Government and unanimously passed by the House of Commons; or that in some of the chief requirements which are expected of a Standard of Value, such, for instance, as Stability, the Single Gold Standard has lamentably failed.

Moreover, it is the fact that most of the evils which the Memorialists apprehend, from any change or modification in our Currency have overtaken us already, under the operation of our present system.

Contracts have been disturbed, the burden of the debtor has been increased, property has depreciated, and enterprise has been checked, with a corresponding loss of capital embarked in industry, and of employment to the Working Classes.

Surely these are matters of grave and serious importance, which deserve and should command attention, and yet they appear to be entirely ignored by the Memorialists, and not even to have entered into their consideration.

We think, with great respect, that in view of general and widespread depression in the Textile, the Coal, the Iron, the Shipping, and other great industries in the Kingdom, with a Parliamentary Committee sitting even now to enquire into the condition of the Unemployed; and with Agriculture grievously affected, and in many districts well nigh ruined, it may be well for the Memorialists to remember that it is upon the welfare of her Commerce and her industries, even more than on her banking interests, that the prosperity of a country, and its people, ultimately depends.

We observe that they were not concerned to offer an opinion, so long as it was proposed to apply the Bimetallic principle to foreign nations only. But the general effect of re-establishing Bimetallism would be the same to us, with or without our concurrence with other nations.

In view, however, of the vastness of our commerce, of the burden of indebtedness which is borne by our Colonies and India, and of the fact that we have three distinct systems of currency within the Empire at present, we think that no people in the world is more interested in this object than ourselves, and that we ought heartily to co-operate with Foreign Nations in the endeavour to achieve it.

The experience of history, the teachings of science, and the conclusions of authority as expressed in the unanimous Report of the Gold and Silver Commission, unite in supporting the opinion that under the operation of this system the relative value of the metals was successfully maintained, and that under any conditions to be reasonably anticipated similar results must be expected in the future.

The recent statements on behalf of the French Government, the Resolutions of the German Reichstag and State Council, as well as of both Houses of the Prussian Diet, and the emphatic declarations of the Government of the United States, in favour of International Bimetallism, are proofs of the desire on the part of France, of Germany, and the United States, to join with the United Kingdom in a serious endeavour to accomplish this great end.

None of the alarming consequences, which are foreshadowed by the Memorialists, occurred under Bimetallism in the past, and while experience proves that it has co-existed with a period of the greatest prosperity, no argument or reason has been hitherto adduced to warrant the assumption, that these consequences would be likely to arise if it was adopted in the future.

On the other hand, it is not denied that since the Mints of Foreign Countries have been closed to the Free Coinage of Silver, new conditions have arisen, which have seriously affected the operation of our single Standard, and all the business transacted by its means.

In the presence of evils which cannot be denied, we hope that Her Majesty's Government will not suffer hypothetical danger to special interests, or prophetic but unsupported assertion of possible harm to Industry and Commerce, to deter them from hearty co-operation with other Powers in such measures as may seem to be desirable for securing a fixed par of exchange between the metals, and a more stable standard of value than we possess at present, and we respectfully remind you of the Resolution of the House of Commons on the 26th of February last, to which we have already referred,—and to this Resolution we ask you to adhere. In the list of our supporters are included not only Merchants and Bankers in the City of London, but representatives of nearly every Industry in the country, besides well-known leaders of the Working Classes, and recognized authorities on Economic Science, and for your information we append some representative names from amongst them.

I have the honour to be, Sir, on behalf of the Executive Council of the Bimetallic League,

Your obedient Servant,

HENRY HUCKS GIBBS,

President, Bimetallic League.

BANKERS.

CHARLES HOARE, of Charles Hoare & Co., Bankers, London.

ALFRED HOARE, of Charles Hoare & Co., Bankers, London.

THOMAS SALT, Chairman of Lloyd's Bank, London; Chairman of North Staffordshire Railway Co.

SAMPSON S. LLOYD, Director of Lloyd's Bank, Ltd., London.

JOHN NUTT BULLEN, of Kettlewell, Bullen & Co., Merchants, London, Director of the London and Westminster Bank, Ltd.

E. F. DUNCANSON, of T. A. Gibb & Co., Merchants, London; Director of the London and County Banking Co., Ltd.; Director of the P. and O. Steam Navigation Co.; Chairman of the London Committee of

the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation.

James Parlane, Deputy Chairman of Williams, Deacon, and Manchester and Salford Bank, Ltd., London.

James Eckersley, Director of Williams, Deacon, and Manchester and Salford Bank, Ltd.

Sir Horace B. T. Farquhar, Bart., Director of Parr's Banking Co. and the Alliance Bank.

Sir Thomas Sutherland, K.C.M.G., M.P., Chairman of the P. and O. Steam Navigation Co.; Director of the City Bank, London; Director of the Suez Canal Co.; Director of the Bank of Australasia.

J. Howard Gwyther, Director of the City Bank, London; Chartered Bank of India, Australia, and China; Anglo-Egyptian Bank; London, Paris, and American Bank; Trustee of the Bankers' Guarantee and Trust Fund.

Isaac Hoyle, Director of the City Bank, London.

Marquis of Ailesbury, Director of the Capital and Counties Bank, Ltd.

Henry Wethered, Director of the London and South-Western Bank.

J. R. Heaven, Director, Consolidated Bank.

Alfred Crewdson, Director, Consolidated Bank.

Robert Neill, Jun., Director, Consolidated Bank.

Sir Samuel Montagu, Bart., M.P., of Samuel Montagu & Co., Bankers, London.

The Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation.

The Chartered Bank of India, Australia, and China, London.

Sir Charles Tennant, Bart., of Charles Tennant, Sons, & Co., London; Chairman of the Union Bank of Scotland; Deputy Chairman of the North British Ry. Co.; Director of the North British Steam Packet Co., Ltd.; Hon. President of the Steel Co. of Scotland, Ltd.; Hon. President of the United Alkali Co., Ltd.

Duke of Abercorn, K.G., Governor of the British Linen Co. Bank; President, British South Africa Co.

A. Von André, of André, Mendel & Co., Merchants, London; Director of the International Bank of London, Ltd.

The Bank of China, Japan, & the Straits, London.

F. B. Blake, of Blake, Boissevain & Co., Bankers, London.

Sir Henry Cunningham, K.C.I.E., Director of the Chartered Bank of India, Australia, and China.

The Delhi and London Bank, Limited, London.

Henry Coke, of David Sassoon & Co., Merchants, London, &c., &c.; Director of the Imperial Bank of Persia.

Baron Emile d'Erlanger, of Emile Erlanger & Co., Bankers, London.

Sir E. Robert P. Edgcumbe, of Elliot, Pearce & Co., Bankers, Weymouth and Dorchester.

Thos. Glaister, of Blair & Summer, Bleachers, Bolton; Chairman of the Bank of Bolton, Ltd.

Sir Lepel H. Griffin, K.C.S.I., Director of the Imperial Bank of Persia.

Alban G. H. Gibbs, M.P., of Antony Gibbs & Sons, Merchants, London; Director of the Bank of Australasia.

Vicary Gibbs, M.P., of Antony Gibbs & Sons, Merchants, London; Director of the Queensland National Bank.

Augustus Helder, Director of the Whitehaven Joint Stock Banking Co.

J. F. Horley, Manager of the Royal Bank of Scotland, London.

The Imperial Bank of Persia, London.

Wm. Jackson, Director of the Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd., London.

Andrew Kingsmill, Manager, British Linen Co. Bank, London.

Wm. Keswick, of Matheson & Co., Merchants, London; Chairman of the Imperial Bank of Persia; Director of the Indo-China Steam Navigation Co., Ltd.

The London Bank of Mexico.

David McLean, Director of the Imperial Bank of Persia, and of the China Mutual Steam Navigation Co.

E. C. Morgan, Director of the Agra Bank, Ltd., London, and of the National Bank of New Zealand, Ltd.

Sir James Mackay, K.C.I.E., Director of the Chartered Bank of India, Australia, and China; of the East Indian Railway Co.; of the British India Steamship Co.

John Musgrave, Chairman, Whitehaven Joint Stock Banking Co.

J. A. Maitland, of Thorne & Co., Ltd., London; Director of the Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd.; of the China Mutual Steam Navigation Co., Ltd.; of the British North Borneo Co., Ltd.

Herbert B. Praed, Banker, London, Director of the Bankers' Investment & Trust, Ltd.

Wm. Paterson, of Paterson & Simons, East India Merchants, London; Chairman of the Chartered Bank of India, Australia, and China; Chairman of the London, Paris, and American Bank, Ltd.

W. Pomfret-Pomfret, Banker, Ashford, Kent.

Henry M. Read, Manager of the London Bank of Mexico, London.

E. M. Hutton Riddell, Banker, Newark.

E. P. Squarey, of Rawlence & Squarey, Westminster; Director of the Wilts and Dorset Banking Co., Ltd.

I. Seligman, of Seligman Bros., Merchants, London; Director of the Anglo-Californian Bank, Ltd.

C. I. Sassoon, Merchant, Manchester; Director of the Mercantile Bank of Lancashire, Ltd.

Edward Sassoon, of David Sassoon & Co., Merchants, London; Director of the Imperial Bank of Persia.

M. G. Schilizzi, of M. G. Schilizzi & Co., London; Director of the Banque de Constantinople (London Board), and of the Ionian Bank, Ltd.

John Thomson, of Stewart, Thomson & Co. Merchants, London and Manchester; Director of the Lancashire and Yorkshire Bank, Ltd.

Ccl. Mildmay Wilson, of Peacock, Wilson & Co., Bankers, Sleaford.

Sir Alexander Wilson, Chairman of the Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd., London, and Chairman East India Coal Co.

Y. Nakai, of the Yokohama Specie Bank, London.

MERCHANTS.

Rt. Hon. Wm. Lidderdale, London.
Hon. Evelyn Hubbard, of John Hubbard & Co., Merchants, London.
Thomas Baring, Director of Baring Bros. & Co., Ltd., London.
Herbert C. Gibbs, of Antony Gibbs & Sons, Merchants, London.
Sir Robert Jardine, Bart., of Matheson & Co., Merchants, London, &c., &c.
Hugh M. Matheson, of Matheson & Co., Merchants, London, &c., &c.
Edward Howley Palmer, Dent, Palmer & Co., Merchants, London.
Reginald E. Johnstone, of Ed. Johnstone, Son & Co., Merchants, London.
Sir Albert A. David Sassoon, C.S.I., of David Sassoon & Co., Merchants, London.
Reuben Sassoon, of David Sassoon & Co., Merchants, London.
J. F. Ogilvy, of Ogilvy, Gillanders & Co., Merchants, London; Director of the National Discount Co., Ltd.
W. Murray Guthrie, of Chalmers, Guthrie & Co., Merchants, London.
A. Zimmern, of L. Reiss, Brothers & Co., Merchants, London.
Sir John Muir, Bart., of James Finlay & Co., Merchants, London and Glasgow.
Jasper Young, of E. Boustead & Co., Merchants, London.
W. M. Strachan, of W. M. Strachan & Co., Merchants, London; Director of the China Mutual Steam Navigation Co., Ltd.
Henry G. Hayter, of Hayter & Hayter, Merchants, London and Bradford.
Francis G. Hayter, of Hayter & Hayter, Merchants, Bradford.
H. D. Stewart, Stewart, Thompson & Co., Merchants, London; Director of the China Mutual Steam Navigation Co., Ltd.
David Murray, D. & W. Murray, Merchants, London and Adelaide, S. A.
E. Iveson, of Iveson & Co., Merchants, London.
G. A. Batchelor, of Haines, Batchelor & Co., Merchants, London,
C. Bill, of Messrs. Clark, Wilson & Co., Merchants, London, Glasgow, Manchester, and Calcutta.
Alexander Adam, Director of Adam, Sons & Co., Ltd., Leith.
John A. Beith, of Beith, Stevenson & Co., Merchants, Glasgow and Manchester; Director, Manchester Royal Exchange.
Robert Barclay, of Robert Barclay & Co., Merchants, Manchester.
Arthur D. F. Culbard, of Hutton & Co., Merchants, Liverpool.
W. E. Dorrington, of George Fraser, Sons & Co., Manchester; Director, Manchester Royal Exchange.
Geo. Handasyde Dick, of G. Handasyde Dick & Co., Merchants, Glasgow.
John S. Dods, of Dods, Kerr & Co., Manchester.
W. & C. Dunlop, Bradford.
H. T. Gaddum, of H. T. Gaddum & Sons, Merchants, Manchester.
Robert Gladstone, Liverpool.
Thomas Henthorne, Oldham; Chairman, Oldham Cotton Buying Co.
J. Arthur Hutton, of J. F. Hutton & Co., Shippers, Manchester.
Henry Lathbury, of Lathbury & Co., Merchants, Manchester.
J. M. McLaren, Merchant, Bradford, Yorks.
John W. Miller, Oil Merchant, Brighouse.
Charles Macdonald, of Macdonald, Miller & Co., Merchants, Manchester and Bombay.
Duncan Matheson, of Messrs. D. Matheson & Co., Shippers, Manchester.
Samuel Ogden, of Samuel Ogden & Co., Merchants, Manchester.
T. O'Hanlon, Londonderry.
A. E. Rodewald, of Rodewald & Co., Merchants, Liverpool.
Edward J. Reiss, of Reiss Bros. & Co., Merchants, Manchester.
J. W. Southern, Timber Merchant, Manchester.
Walter A. Sandeman, of George G. Sandeman & Co., Merchants, London.
J. Schack Sommer, of Sommer & Co., Merchants, Manchester.
William Sargant, of W. T. Sargant & Co., Colonial Brokers, London.

MANUFACTURERS, &c. (not otherwise classified).

Alfred Arnold, Manufacturer, Halifax.
Ely Andrew, Manufacturer, Ashton-under-Lyne.
Edward Cox, Cox Brothers, Manufacturers, Dundee.
Alfred Emmott, of Thomas Emmott & Sons, Cotton Spinners, Oldham.
Sir Edward Green, Bart., of E. Green & Son, Wakefield.
Edward H. Greg, of Robt. Greg & Co., Manufacturers, Manchester.
George C. Haworth, of Richard Haworth & Co, Manchester and Salford, Director of Geo. Fowler, Son & Co., Ltd.
Frank Hardcastle, of Thomas Hardcastle & Son, Bleachers and Colliery Proprietors, Bolton.
Lewis Haslam, Director of Haslams, Ltd., and of John Haslam & Co., Ltd., Manufacturers, Bolton and London.
Thomas Heginbottom, Manufacturer, Ashton-under-Lyne.
Walter J. Houldsworth, Ironmaster, Coltness, N.B., Director of the Caledonian Railway Co.
J. H. Howell, of Llewellin & James, Engineers, Bristol.
Howard Asten Allport, Colliery Proprietor, Barnsley.
James Houldsworth, Coltness Iron Works, Wishaw, N.B.
Joseph Jackman, Persberg Steel Works, Sheffield.
W. C. Jones, of Jones Bros. & Co., Manufacturers and Shippers, Manchester.
John King, Spinner and Manufacturer, Manchester.
Joseph Lees, Manufacturer, Oldham, Director of the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Co.
Charles H. Neville, of Strines' Printing Co., Manchester.
P. H. Normand, Manufacturer, Aberdour-on-Forth.
David Spence, of Peter Spence & Sons, Chemical Manufacturers, Manchester.

W. A. Secretan, Director of Horrockses, Crewdson & Co., Ltd., Manufacturers, Preston and Manchester.
J. L. Thackeray & Son, Manufacturers, Nottingham.
Wm. Taylor, Manufacturer, Blackburn.
George Walthew, Manufacturer, Stockport.
Sir Thomas Wright, Manufacturer, Leicester.
I. Crewdson Waterhouse, Director of Horrockses, Crewdson & Co., Ltd., Manufacturers, Manchester and Preston.
E. W. Wrigley, of Lees & Wrigley, Cotton Spinners, Oldham.
S. Bourne, Manufacturer, Nottingham.

LABOUR ORGANISATIONS AND LABOUR LEADERS.

Thomas Ashton, Secretary, Oldham Operative Cotton Spinners' Association, Oldham.
The Amalgamated Associations of Operative Cotton Spinners.
Joshua Barrows, Padiham, Organizing Secretary, Northern Counties' Weavers' Association.
A. H. Cottam, Secretary, Weavers' Association, Blackburn.
J. Curle, Secretary, Bristol Trades Council.
David Holmes, Burnley; Chairman, United Textile Factory Works.
G. A. Hirst, Huddersfield; Secretary, Huddersfield Trades Council.
George D. Kelley, Manchester; Secretary of the Manchester and Salford Trades Council; and General Secretary Lithographic Printers' Association.
Thomas Mawbey, Derby.
Edward Mellor, Chairman, Oldham Cotton Spinners' Association, Oldham.
James Mawdsley, Secretary, United Textile Factory Workers, Manchester.
Wm. Mullin, General Secretary, Card and Blowing Room Hands', Operative Association, Manchester.
Northern Counties Weavers' Association, Accrington.
The United Textile Factory Workers.
W. H. Wilkinson, Accrington, Secretary Northern Counties' Weavers' Association.

LANDOWNERS AND AGRICULTURISTS (not otherwise classified).

Lord Ashburton.
Marquis of Abergavenny, K.G.
The Duke of Beaufort, K.G.
Thomas Bell, Whickham, Durham.
The Marquis of Conyngham.
Earl of Carlisle.
Lord Castletown.
The Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, K.T., LL.D., F.R.S., Chairman of The Wigan Coal and Iron Co., Ltd.
Earl of Donoughmore, K.C.M.G.
Marquis of Exeter.
The Earl of Ellesmere.
Duke of Fife, K.T., Chairman British South Africa Co.
The Earl Fortescue.
The Earl of Feversham.
Earl Grey, Director of the British South Africa Co., and the North Eastern Railway Co.
Lord Gerard.
W. H. Gibson, Haddington, N.B.
Antony Gibbs, Tyntesfield.
C. W. Gray, Halstead, Essex.
Sampson Hanbury, Colchester.
A. Raymond Heath, Horncastle.
J. Sancroft Holmes, Harleston, Norfolk.
Lord Knightley.
Capt. F. C. Loder Symonds, Faringdon, Berks.
The Marquis of Londonderry, K.G.
H. Liversidge, Jun., York.
Earl Manvers.
H. L. B. McCalmont.
Tonman Mosley, Uxbridge.
The Duke of Portland.
Lord Penrhyn.
Lord Rendlesham.
The Earl of Radnor, Director of the South Eastern Railway Co.
Lord Rowton, C.B.
Clare Sewell Read.
Lord Rookwood.
Lord Sherborne.
Lord Suffield, K.C.B.
The Duke of Sutherland.
The Marquis of Winchester.
Sir Geo. O. Wombwell, Bart.
The Earl of Yarborough.

MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS (not otherwise classified).

John Addison, Q.C., M.P.
Gilbert Beith, M.P., of Beith, Stevenson & Co., Merchants, Glasgow and Manchester.
Wm. W. B. Beach, M.P., Director of London and South Western Railway Co.
Col. the Hon. F. C. Bridgeman, M.P.
Rt. Hon. Jacob Bright, M.P.
Gerald W. Balfour, M.P.
C. A. V. Conybeare, M.P.
The Marquis of Carmarthen, M.P.
Alexander Cross, M.P., of Alex. Cross & Sons, Glasgow.
C. W. Cayzer, M.P., of Cayzer, Irvine & Co., Shipowners, Glasgow, Liverpool, and London,
R. Lacey Everett, M.P.
Lord Elcho, M.P.
Coningsby R. Disraeli, M.P.
Capt. H. T. Fenwick, M.P.
G. H. Finch, M.P.
Marquis of Granby, M.P.
Rt. Hon. E. Heneage, M.P.
George Howell, M.P.
Sir W. H. Houldsworth, Bart., M.P.
J. Henniker Heaton, M.P.
Sir Henry H. Howorth, K.C.I.E., M.P.
Rt. Hon. A. Staveley Hill, M.P.
Sir Alfred Hickman, M.P.
Rt. Hon. Sir Henry James, M.P.
Sir F. Seager Hunt, Bart., M.P., Chairman of Earle's Shipbuilding and Engineering Co., Ltd.
Lord F. Hamilton, M.P.
J. Jordan, M.P.
Wm. Jacks, M.P., of W. Jacks & Co., Iron and Steel Merchants, Glasgow and London.

H. Knatchbull-Hugessen, M.P.
H. Seton-Karr, M.P.
Edmund F. Vesey Knox, M.P.
Wilson Lloyd, M.P., Dep.-Chairman Sandwell Park Colliery Co., Ltd.
Sir Leonard Lyell, Bart., M.P.
Elliott Lees, M.P.
Sir H. M. Meysey-Thompson, Bart., M.P., Director of the North Eastern Railway Company; Director of the Barrow Hæmatite Steel Co., Ltd.
A. B. Freeman Mitford, C.B., M.P.
John Wm. Maclure, M.P., Director Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway Co.
Cumming Macdona, M.P.
R. Jasper More, M.P.
Hon. J. Scott Montagu, M.P.
Sir Donald H. Macfarlane, M.P.
J. Pinkerton, M.P.
Sir Richard H. Paget, Bart., M.P.
A. D. Provand, M.P.
James Rankin, M.P.
Sir Geo. Russell, Bart., M.P.
Right Hon. Sir M. White Ridley, Bart., M.P.
Lord Stanley, M.P.
Ernest Spencer, M.P.
T. H. Sidebottom, M.P., of T. and W. Sidebottom, Manufacturers, Hadfield.
J. W. Sidebotham, M.P., Colliery Proprietor.
Sir George R. Sitwell, Bart., M.P.
Col. T. M. Sandys, M.P.
Sir Mark J. Stewart, Bart., M.P.
Samuel Smith, M.P., of Smith, Edward & Co., Merchants, Liverpool.
W. E. M. Tomlinson, M.P., Colliery Proprietor.
Viscount Valentia, M.P.
C. E. Howard Vincent, C.B., M.P.
R. Grant Webster, M.P.
George Whiteley, M.P., Manufacturer, Blackburn.
Stephen Williamson, M.P., of Balfour, Williamson & Co., Merchants and Shipowners, Liverpool.
George Wyndham, M.P., Director of the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway Co.

ECONOMIC AUTHORITIES.

Professor H. S. Foxwell, M.A.
F. J. Faraday.
Professor E. C. K. Gonner, M.A.
Henry Higgs, B.A., LL.B.
J. S. Mackenzie, M.A.
Professor Mavor, M.A.
Professor J. S. Nicholson, D.Sc., M.A.
L. L. Price, M.A.
Professor J. H. Poynting, F.R.S., D.Sc., &c.
Professor J. Ryan, D.Sc., M.A., LL.M.
J. Barr Robertson.
Professor Henry Sidgwick, D.Litt.
William Smart, M.A., LL.D.
Professor J. E. Symes, M.A.
Philip H. Wicksteed, M.A.

GENERAL.

The Most Rev. Archbishop Walsh, Dublin.
The Peninsular & Oriental Steam Navigation Co.
Abraham Haworth, of James Dilworth & Son, Manchester.
Geo. W. Allen, C.I.E., London.
W. Lockett Agnew, Manchester.
John Andrews, Proprietor, "Cotton Factory Times," Ashton-under-Lyne.
Rev. Martin Anstey, M.A.
H. R. Beeton, of Woolston and Beeton, London.
Walter M. Blackie, Glasgow.
The Right Hon. Lord Charles Beresford.
Rev. H. F. Burnaby, M.A.
Lord Henry Bentinck.
Commander Hastings Berkeley, R.N.
Sir David Barbour, K.C.S.I., Director of the East India Railway Co.
Col. Thos. Brooke, Huddersfield.
Fred S. Bishop, Swansea.
Rev. C. A. Barlow, London.
Sir W. J. R. Cotton.
Lieut.-General Sir Andrew Clarke, G.C.M.G., C.B., C.I.E.
Alfred L. Cohen, of Louis Cohen & Sons, London; Trustee and Manager of the London Stock Exchange.
Admiral Sir J. E. Commerell, K.C.B.
Rev. Canon Cromwell, M.A.
John Corbett, Droitwich.
A. J. W. Douglas, Dundee.
Ernest Cassel, London.
Frank C. Capel, of James Capel & Co., London.
A. Cassella, London.
J. T. Calvert, Sunderland.
R. B. Chapman, C.S.I., London.
A. Cotterell-Tupp, London.
W. H. Duignan, Walsall.
Sir John Whittaker Ellis, Bart.
Thomas Fielden, Todmorden; Director of the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Co.
H. C. Field, Birmingham.
James Guthrie, London.
W. H. Grenfell.
H. R. Grenfell.
R. S. Gundry, Hon. Sec. China Association, London.
J. E. Hall, Bristol.
Cornelius Hanbury, London.
Capel Hanbury, Romford.
Sir Hector M. Hay, Bart., of Moccatta, Goldsmid & Co., Bullion Brokers, London.
J. P. Heseltine, of Heseltine, Powell & Co., London.
Sir W. Guyer Hunter, K.C.M.G.
Sir T. C. Hope, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.
Thomas Hanbury, London.
Lord Claud J. Hamilton, Chairman, Great Eastern Railway Co.
Alex. T. Hunter, Chartered Accountant, Edinburgh.
Andrew K. Hichens, of Hichens, Harrison & Co., London; Trustee and Manager of the Stock Exchange.
C. J. Harcourt, Birmingham.
A. Johnstone-Douglas, Ruthwell, N.B.
J. Boyd-Kinnear, Ladybank, N.B.
Peter Kevan, Chartered Accountant, Bolton.
Gen. R. H. Keatinge, V.C., C.S.I.
Hon. and Rev. Edward Lyttelton, M.A.
Edward Langley, London.
Arthur Lee, Bristol.
Joseph Larmor, D.Sc., F.R.S., Cambridge.

JOHN MARK, Manchester.
W. S. MILLER, Brecon.
J. H. MANNERS-SUTTON, Newark.
SIR GUILFORD L. MOLESWORTH, K.C.I.E.
REGINALD E. MIDDLETON, London.
SIR JOSEPH N. MCKENNA.
B. J. MANTON, Birmingham.
ELPHINSTONE V. A. MAITLAND, London.
ERNEST NOEL, London.
SIR CHARLES NICHOLSON, Bart.
WILLIAM NOTON, Oldham.
T. E. POWELL, of Heseltine, Powell & Co., London.
J. F. L. ROLLESTON, Leicester.
A. G. RENSHAW, of Renshaw, Kekewich & Smith, London.
W. T. ROTHWELL, Manchester.
GEORGE D. ROWE, London.
J. D. SANDARS, of Sandars & Co., Gainsborough.
D. E. STEPHENS, Carmarthen.
A. G. SHIFF & Co., London.
J. B. STANHOPE, London.
HERMANN SCHMIDT, of M. Corgialegno & Co., London.
R. W. GRANVILLE SMITH, London.
ERNEST SEYD, of Seyd & Co., London.
LIEUT.-GENERAL RICHARD STRACHEY, C.S.I., Chairman of the East India Railway Co.
T. C. TAYLOR, Batley.
H. S. TROWER, London.
COLONEL CORNWALLIS WEST.
EDMUND WALLER, Gloucester.
THOMAS A. WELTON, of Welton, Jones & Co., Chartered Accountants, London.
H. E. WOLLMER, Manchester.
JAMES DUNDAS WHITE, M.A., LL.M., London.
PROF. ROBERT WALLACE, Edinburgh.
REV. J. F. A. HERVEY, M.A.

THE

NATIONAL REVIEW.

No. 171.—MAY, 1897.

EPISODES OF THE MONTH.

A Canadian View of the Eastern Question.

Lord Rosebery has observed with the sagacity that usually marks his utterances on Imperial questions, that England's politics, and especially her foreign policy, will henceforward be more and more swayed by the public opinion of her Colonies. We have noticed, however, one very remarkable omission in the avalanche of information with which the great London papers have overwhelmed us on the Eastern Question during the last few months. There has been, so far as we have been able to observe, no reference—certainly no conspicuous or sustained reference—to the view taken by our fellow-subjects in Greater Britain on an issue which affects them as closely as it does ourselves, and which we may be sure they follow not less keenly. Do they approve Lord Salisbury's policy? Has it in their eyes been too weak or too resolute? Is the Eastern Question a sufficiently Imperial interest to justify the Home Government in persistently playing a prominent part in its solution? The criticism of a responsible friend is a valuable contribution to any controversy, and the events of the last two years would seem to suggest that we must not look for friendly criticism beyond the limits of the British Empire. All the more important is it for the British

Government and public to know how their policy is viewed by the British outside these islands, with whom we have a common destiny, and whose honour and welfare would be as profoundly affected by a dishonourable peace or a disastrous war as our own. Lord Salisbury's speeches show how fully alive he is to this aspect of the question; indeed, no statesman has ever held office in this country more conscious of the increase of responsibilities which the remarkable expansion of the Empire has brought, or of the imperative need of consulting public opinion on foreign affairs, whether it be expressed in Toronto, Melbourne, or Capetown. In the April number of that excellent review *The Canadian Magazine*—whose editor is a valued contributor to our number—there is an able exposition of the Eastern Question ("Current Thoughts") giving what may be accepted as the view of thoughtful Canadians. It consists of a short summary of the main incidents of the past year, and shows how closely Canadian and English sentiment correspond. The writer begins by declaring that "the point to be borne in mind in all discussions of this question is that the Great Powers of Europe are convinced that the forcible intervention of any one of them in Turkey would cause the dismemberment of that weak State, and that to divide the spoils satisfactorily would require a general European war. That Great Britain fears such a war, or, at least, is not ready for it, is clearly proven by the refusal of Her Majesty's Government to, single-handed, coerce the wicked Sultan. It has consented to stand by and witness Armenian massacres which have curdled the blood of Christian peoples, and to watch without aiding the game struggles of the Greeks, which brought temporary hope to not a few. In spite of the strong imprecations of a united Christian Press, in spite of an adverse desire on the part of the English-speaking people, the British Government has clung to the European Concert, and refused to face the results of an armed coercion. As a result the Christian inhabitants of Turkey are still unprotected, and Crete is still an island of sorrows and lamentations."

An "Ill-judged Raid."

Our Canadian critic reverts to the Armenian attack on the Ottoman Bank of last August, which was followed by the massacre of 6,000 obviously innocent Christians in Constantinople under circumstances showing the privity of the Porte and the furious outburst of impotent indignation which followed in Great Britain. The autumn agitation "caused an increased distrust of Great Britain among the nations of Europe, gave great power to the crack-brained assassin that misrules at Constantinople, and precipitated further trouble in Crete. For a time it seemed that all Europe would arm against

Great Britain, and that Britannia's supremacy was at last to be put to the test. Lord Rosebery declared that there was a fixed and resolute agreement on the part of the Great Powers of Europe, all of them, or nearly all of them, to resist by force any single-handed intervention by England in the affairs of the East." Then "on November 9th Lord Salisbury made a speech in which he practically told the Continent that they might hold Great Britain in check, but that she would not conciliate the Great Powers by 'splendid renunciations,' that 'Her Majesty's Government did not see in the present problems of the East any cause either for abandoning the policy which had hitherto been pursued, or for relinquishing a single acre of land that they at present occupied.' Thus were allayed any doubts that France might have had with regard to an evacuation of Egypt, and that nation learned that the land of the Nile was to be given up only under a pressure which she (France) could not hope to bring to bear. The French people at once accepted this statement, and the meaning that was apparently intended." The Czar's visit to England and France is touched upon with its intangible though probably beneficial results. As time passed, "the prospect of an armed Continent against Great Britain faded slowly away," the "course of diplomatic intercourse appeared to become smooth, and the Continental Press became less and less aggressive and insulting," though no sign appeared of Russia's becoming a willing party to the reform of Turkey. In February came the Cretan outbreak and "the restoration of Anarchy in that island before the Concert's reforms (drawn up last year) had been carried out; then the despatch of Colonel Vassos from Greece. The towns are at present (written in March) occupied by the troops of the Concert, and their vessels are blockading the ports. King George and the Greeks are ready for war against Turkey on the mainland, and Colonel Vassos floats his flag defiantly in the centre of Crete." The article concludes with this admirable appreciation of British policy, which shows at once how humane, but yet sober and responsible, is the judgment of foreign affairs formed in the best Colonial circles:—

"To sum up, it would seem that for over a year, Lord Salisbury, backed up as he must be by the best opinion in Great Britain, has laboured hard to bring the European Concert to settle the Eastern Question by demanding and insisting upon immediate and radical reform in the Turkish dominions. At times, he has seemed to be on the point of failing, but again he seems to have almost gained what civilization, humanity, and organized society, are pressing him to demand. Greece has not been content to await this peaceful settlement, and has interfered by a raid which must seemingly result as did that ill-timed and ill-judged attack in South Africa. Whether there is a peaceful solution for this Eastern Question remains to be seen."

GREECE AND CRETE.

A somewhat belated Blue Book containing further information on Cretan affairs has just been published. It gives a somewhat disagreeable appearance to the attitude adopted by Greece towards Crete. The correpondence closes on December 23rd of last year, but in conjunction with the subsequent newspaper telegrams from Crete it corroborates the suggestion, which we had hitherto ignored, that Greece has not played straight either with the Powers or the Cretans. One of the earliest documents in the Blue Book (which covers the period between September 12th and December 23rd) is curiously enough a despatch from the British Minister at Athens (13th September) conveying, at the request of M. Delyanni (the Greek Prime Minister), the thanks of the Greek people for the action of Great Britain and the other Powers for obtaining "a favourable solution of the crisis in Crete." The subsequent facts may be summarized as follows*:—The story opens with the rapid return of Cretans to the island, then follows the recall of seventeen battalions of Turkish troops (23rd September); the new International Commission was now being formed, and on October 1st it was agreed that the Greek Consul-General should participate in the control. On 19th October Sir A. Billiotti, the British Consul, gives reasons for "doubts as to the sincere co-operation of the Greek Consulate-General in the establishment of the new system. The object of these politicians (*en rapport* with the Consulate) is to maintain the Christians in an interrupted state of dissatisfaction, in order that they should always place in Greece their hope of rescue." Three weeks later (7th November) Sir A. Billiotti again complains of Hellenic politicians and the Greek Consul-General, while a few days later the Sultan, under pressure from the Powers, withdraws a Vizirial order they had objected to. During the latter part of November the Porte stubbornly resisted the Powers on various points, but was steadily overruled, *e.g.*, on 27th November the Porte objected to the appointment of a Greek representative and suggests the selection of a Mussulman Judicial Commissioner. The objection and the suggestion were alike ignored. On 25th November M. Delyanni, on being attacked in the Greek Chamber for having joined the European Concert, defended himself and admitted that a tolerable autonomy had been accorded to the Cretans. During the debate "M. Limbriti, member of the Cretan committee, spoke to the effect that the Cretans did not ask for union to Greece, but only for an improvement in their condition. The subscriptions which came in from the Greeks of Egypt were

*See "Blue Book's" letter ("Who is responsible for the War?") in *The Times* of April 24th.

most valuable, but the aid of the officers who went to Crete was the reverse."

A Suggestive Recital.

"Blue Book" effectively epitomizes the facts disclosed in the Blue Book (which we have had to cut very short): "To sum up, we may say the Commission has been established: Greece is thankful for it; Greece has a delegate upon it, Turkey has none; the Sultan makes difficulties, but is promptly suppressed on every occasion by the Powers; the Greek delegate from almost the first day makes difficulties; the Greek Government admits that it is acting with the Concert; and a member of the Cretan committee openly declares in the Chamber that Crete does not want union with Greece and does not want Greek officers in Crete."* The subsequent story may be told by extracts from *The Times* correspondent in Crete (a Greek), which may be tabulated as follows: 10th December—Consuls demand that the Porte shall recall Suadeddin Pasha. 13th December—"Excellent effect has been produced by the arrival of the Commissioners." 15th December—Suadeddin Pasha is recalled. 8th January—Sultan objects to Christians being enrolled as gendarmes. Powers insist. 14th January—"Tranquillity in Crete is now restored." Porte accepts gendarmerie scheme. 21st January—Greece mobilizes her fleet. 23rd January—Porte objects to Major Bor as head of gendarmerie. 1st February—Major Bor is appointed as head of gendarmerie. 6th February—Major Bor due in Crete, and Powers at last have their executive officer in command of the gendarmerie, co-operating with an International Commission, to which Greece has assented, and of which she forms a part. 7th February—A Greek squadron puts to sea. 10th February—Prince George leaves the Piræus with sealed orders. Has Greece been a true liberator of Crete? Or has she sacrificed the interests of Crete and the peace of Europe to her own selfish ambition? It is unfortunate that the publication of the Blue Book should have been delayed until the outbreak of a European war completely overshadowing the Cretan crisis, but those who desire to form a fair judgment of the policy of the Concert prior to the Vassos raid will procure and peruse this correspondence (Turkey, No. 8, 1897). The steady persistence of the Powers in creating an autonomous administration in Crete, the steady resistance of the Porte to the proposals of the Powers, and the steady insistance of the Powers on the acceptance of their proposals are the chief features of the narrative, together, we regret to add, with considerable evidence of Greek *mala fides*. Although the habitual clumsiness and frequent incoherency of the Concert are a constant damper to enthusiasm, we think it must be conceded

* *Times*, April 24th.

that their policy ("Liberation in Crete and Peace in Europe," as defined by Mr. Balfour) has been loftier in its aim than that of Greece, which appears to have been "the capture of Crete or war in Europe." Both policies have attained some success—Crete has been finally liberated from Turkish rule, and war has commenced in Europe.

THE WAR.

Having been foiled in her attempt to annex Crete, Greece mobilized all her available forces on her frontiers and adopted a pugilistic attitude, partly with the object of intimidating the Powers and partly to threaten Turkey. Turkey responded to the Greek menace by concentrating a large and well-equipped army on her side of the frontier. These armies glared at one another for so long that one at last hoped they might withdraw without fighting. Diplomacy seems to have been unresting, though confused in its efforts, to preserve the peace, and pressure was alternately applied to Greece and Turkey. It is not disputed, we think, that the latter was the more amenable of the two, and was really anxious to avoid war. Greece, on the other hand, was exceedingly ferocious, and it was consistently said by the best informed local observers that the Monarchy and Ministry had no alternative between war and revolution. However, the 6th of April (the anniversary of Greek independence) passed off without the expected explosion, and the prospect of peace was believed to be much brighter. The Concert took the opportunity of addressing a significant hint to possible combatants. "The Powers being firmly resolved to maintain the general peace, have decided not to permit the aggressor in any case to reap the least advantage from such aggression." Hard on this announcement there followed an elaborately organized raid into Turkey under the auspices of the great secret society of Greece, the Ethnike Hetairia. A desperate and doubtful encounter ensued. Both sides claimed a victory. The incident inevitably increased the tension, but Greece disowned her guerillas and Turkey hesitated to declare a war to which at this time she was clearly averse, for the provocation was sufficient to constitute Greece "the aggressor" warned by the Powers. However, after a short pause, during which there were repeated rumours that the Sultan was being egged on by his patron the German Emperor to take the offensive, Turkey rather suddenly declared war on the 17th April in a formal circular to the Powers. In this document the Porte attributed the whole blame to Greece, disclaimed all idea of conquest, and undertook to make peace if Greece evacuated Crete, and withdrew her army from the frontiers. The Greek Government at once took up the challenge, and in a note to the Turkish Envoy the Greek Foreign Minister

stated that Greece rejected the responsibility of the war, that Turkey had violated neutral territory, and that Greece was only defending herself. The general impression made by the events of the last six weeks is that Greece has been spoiling throughout for a fight—an attitude greatly applauded by her foreign admirers, who incur a grave responsibility if things go ill with her—while Turkey has refrained from any aggressive act until the very last moment, when, either because she felt war to be inevitable or desirable, she took the irrevocable step. At the time of writing there has been desperate and valiant fighting, but Greek enthusiasm is being overborne by superior numbers. The Turkish army has carried the Malouna Pass commanding Thessaly, and a decisive battle is expected at Larissa. So far the Balkans have not broken into a blaze, and the Concert stands by ready to mediate at the first favourable opportunity.

THE NAVIES. The naval and military forces of the combatants on the outbreak of the war may be briefly reviewed. There is all the difference between the "paper" and the "effective" navy or army. Thus on paper the Turks have an overwhelming preponderance over the Greeks in ships and sailors. The rival fleets are nominally as follows:—

Greece.		Turkey.	
Battle-ships	—	Battle-ships	2
Port-defence vessels	2	Port-defence vessels	7
Cruisers, first-class	3	Cruisers, first-class	9
Cruisers, third-class	20	Cruisers, third-class	50
Torpedo craft	17	Torpedo craft	37
Total	42	Total	105
Officers and men	3,165	Officers and men (say)	40,000

Thus the Turks have apparently an immense superiority in every department, but so little is thought of their sea-power that no account of it appeared in the last *Naval Annual*, which merely gave the usual table of ships headed by the significant note, "A number of ships in these lists have probably no fighting value, but trustworthy information is wanting." They have, or might have, one modern armoured cruiser of 10,000 tons (*The Abdel-Kader*), but as she is "building" in "Turkey" she is hardly expected to influence the present contest. The Turkish battle-ships are over thirty years old, while her most modern cruiser was launched in 1885. In fact, the Turkish navy is considered to be absolutely worthless, and so impartial an observer as *The Standard* correspondent thus describes its latest appearance:—

"Coming up the Dardanelles I saw both the first and second Turkish squadrons. To those who, like myself, remember the appearance of the Fleet when Hobart Pasha was in command, the spectacle of utter neglect was pitiful. The guns are

of a calibre ridiculous for modern warfare, six-inch guns appearing to be the heaviest that any of them carry. The torpedo-boats seldom make even the shortest run without breaking down, and the Fleet in general is wholly unfit for sea. The German Admiral von Hoff, who has been inspecting the ships, has just returned from the Dardanelles bearing a round robin from all the captains of the Fleet declaring all the ships, and especially the torpedo-boats, to be unfit for sea. The latter have, in consequence, been ordered to return, but are to come in singly, so as to avoid attracting public attention."

On the other hand, the Greeks are born sailors and are the fortunate possessors of three armoured cruisers, the *Hydra*, the *Prara*, and the *Spetzai*, which, though of no great size (4,889 tons), are only seven years old and of the best French construction. They are considered capable of coping with any number of Turkish "squadrons" that may put to sea. So the paper superiority in favour of Turkey is in practice reversed to the advantage of Greece. The part played by the Greek sea-power will be watched with the greatest interest.

THE ARMIES.

The disparity between the Turkish and Greek armies, on the other hand, is believed to be very marked, though here again it is not as overwhelming as on paper. Both military systems are based upon general conscription, but whereas the Ottoman Empire can draw upon a population of twenty millions, and raise in case of need a mobilized army of 700,000 men, Greece, with a population of under two and a quarter millions (less than the West Riding of Yorkshire, or the State of Massachusetts), could not in the crisis of her fate raise more than 170,000 men, of which the odd 70,000 would be worth very little. This comparison is, however, fallacious, as it would be quite impossible for Turkey to concentrate the fighting men of her distant Asiatic dominions on the Greek frontier. To make a practical comparison, it is advisable to take on the Turkish side the first three army corps whose headquarters are Constantinople, Adrianople, and Monastir, together with their second reserves, which were ordered to mobilize on the declaration of war. This army stands approximately as follows :—

Arm.	All ranks.	Guns.
Infantry	177,000	—
Cavalry	11,500	—
Artillery	6,260	270
Total	194,760	270

Greece can place on her frontier an infinitely larger proportion of her fighting population, owing to the compactness of her territory, and the careful estimate* we are quoting from credits her with the following available troops :—

* See *The Daily Graphic*, April 23rd.

Arm.	All ranks.	Guns.
Infantry	80,000	—
Cavalry	3,000	—
Artillery	4,000	200
Engineers and other units	6,000	—
	93,000	200

The field state of the two armies on the completion of mobilization is summarized as follows:—

	Infantry.	Cavalry.	Artillery.	Guns.
Turkey	177,000	11,500	6,260	270
Greece	80,000	3,000	4,000	200

Besides their numerical superiority, the Turks are said to be better trained and equally well armed, while the reports of their commissariat and transport arrangements, their discipline and health have all contributed to the belief that the Greeks stood no chance of successful resistance to a Turkish invasion.

STEADINESS OF STOCKS.

One of the most striking features of the present crisis has been the steadiness of our securities in the face of a European war, of minor proportions it is true, but full of large possibilities. A few years ago the British investor would have rushed in to "unload" on the first rumour of international complications, but now he is positively prepared to keep Consols at 112 with a war raging! *The Daily Graphic*—which is ever ready to point the right moral on questions of national defence—credits some of this steadiness to a general confidence in the solidity of the European Concert, but agrees with its correspondent, Sir George Clarke, that as the same phenomenon was observable last year when Germany was supposed to be threatening us, and the Flying Squadron was despatched, the true reason for the commercial calm must be sought in "the tardy restoration of the navy" to its former supremacy. The credit of this achievement is entirely due to the ability, knowledge, and devotion of a small band of Englishmen who have never received any recognition for the great national services they have rendered. By their persistency they eventually impressed on the public mind a vivid conception of the perilous condition in which the want of a decent navy placed an island fed, clothed, and employed by means of sea-borne produce. The policy of a strong fleet was finally forced upon Parliament after the usual official resistance—fortified by the usual official optimism—had been beaten down. Now the need for a strong navy is a commonplace with both parties, but this should not make us oblivious of the distinguished public servants —in the literal sense of the term—to whom this salutary change of opinion is due. The cash value alone of their labours would run

into many millions during the last year and a half if we could calculate the commercial catastrophes that would have been our portion had the navy and the nation been allowed to slumber on as of old. Among those to whom the British Empire is most indebted for its present security, are, besides Captain Mahan: Lord Charles Beresford, Mr. Spenser Wilkinson, Lieutenant-Colonel Sir George Sydenham Clarke, Mr. J. R. Thursfield (*The Times*), Admiral P. H. Colomb, Mr. Arnold Forster, Mr. W. T. Stead (*Pall Mall Gazette* in old days), and one lady, Miss Flora Shaw, who, we have always understood, first revealed her remarkable powers in a series of articles upon the navy. The grateful recognition of their fellow-subjects throughout the Empire goes out to them and to others who have played a no less influential part.

ISMAIL KEMAL'S WARNING.

An inside view of the Turkish Empire is particularly interesting at the present moment. *Le Temps* has obtained possession of a memorandum presented to the Sultan in February by Ismail Kemal Bey, the ex-Governor-General of Tripoli. It is a most important State paper, being so far as we know the first official recognition of the decay of Turkey. The *Temps* compares it to the famous report drawn up by Necker in 1782. As it occupies three columns in French, while its abridgment fills nearly a column of *The Times*, it is impossible for us to do it any justice here. But it is a highly-significant document which would make one feel that the downfall of the Ottoman Empire must be near at hand were it not for the events of the last hundred years, which form a history of unfulfilled prophecies of the coming collapse of the Turkish Government. The Bey draws a fearful picture of the rottenness of the Turkish administration, and roundly tells the Sultan that his system is "drying up the blood of the Government and of his subjects of all classes." He reminds his Sovereign that before the Ambassadors drew up their scheme of reform for Armenia he himself, as a faithful servant, had urged the application of similar reforms which would have obviated the interference of the Powers. His recommendations had been merely used by the "wretches" who deceive the Sultan for the purpose of damaging their author in his master's eyes. All the reforms of the last twenty years have been a dead letter, and the Padishah's dominions have become the great arena of anarchy. The "army is tainted, the navy is *nil*, the arsenals having become a source of private profit. The finances are utterly ruined, the oppressed people being unable to pay their taxes and others unable to pay their debts." The Sultan has become "the prey of a band of rascals." His administration is regarded by the world at large as "a model of

oppression and iniquity," while he himself has been christened "The Red Sultan." Ismail Kemal believes in the durability of the Concert and (we quote from *The Times'* abridgment)

"He goes on to prophesy—it is only an artistic device the better to conceal the real intent of the writer—namely, to give honest counsel—the chief items of the project of reforms to be drawn up by the Powers. One thing, he insists, is needful at the very outset—a clean sweep of the Palace band to make way for the intelligent and honest men of the younger generation, who are shocked at the corruption they see around them. Whatever may happen, there will be an inevitable diminution of the autocratic power of the ruler. The time, he adds, is short; there is not a moment to be lost. The Sultan has but one hope of salvation—namely, to rely on his people, to alter completely the form of administration, to change the relations with the foreign Powers so as to prove his appreciation of the glory of being admitted to the Concert of the Western Powers. Ismail Kemal appeals eloquently to the past, to the prowess and genius of the present Sultan's ancestors, and finally he proposes the convening of an assembly consisting of notables for the ascertainment of the necessary reforms and the elaboration of a constitution to be later on promulgated by the Sultan. If he will only do this, says Ismail Kemal Bey, never will such exclamations of gratitude and praise have resounded anywhere, and the name of Abdul Hamid will be thrice blest."

We wish we could share the Bey's belief that the European Concert is capable of reforming Turkey, but in truth Turkey is beyond reform, and of this Ismail Kemal's paper removes any lingering doubt. The only possible solution of the Eastern Question is the dismemberment of the Ottoman dominions by the Great Powers assembled in Conference, and when shall we see such a Conference?

MAHAN AND NELSON

Several members of the British Ministry have spent a thoroughly profitable and enjoyable holiday in company with the classic which has just come from the incomparable pen of Captain Mahan.* We confess to having shared the nervousness spoken of by some of the critics in opening *The Life of Nelson.* Would it and could it be worthy of the subject and the author? The former is the greatest sailor and statesman who ever went to sea, the latter is the founder of a philosophy of Sea Power which will make his name and work as enduring as that of the most illustrious naval heroes. A perusal of any typical passage in these two masterly volumes at once sets at rest the most jealous admirer of Nelson and the most appreciative reader of Mahan. There can be no hesitation in pronouncing that he has written, not a biography of Nelson, but *the* biography of Nelson; and it is because the biographical qualities of the book are so remarkable that it will attract even the lazy reader, who may

* *The Life of Nelson—the Embodiment of the Sea Power of Great Britain.* By Captain A. T. Mahan (United States Navy). Two vols. Price 36s. Sampson Low, Marston & Co., London.

have found the author's previous volumes on *The Influence of Sea Power* "stiff." The greatness of Nelson's fascinating and complex character—which we are glad to observe there has been none of those feeble attempts to whitewash, such as a weaker writer might have indulged in—shines with renewed glory as the great episodes of his career are marshalled by a sure and sympathetic hand. It is sometimes asserted that the English are as unappreciative of foreign praise as they are indifferent to foreign blame. But England, we are sure, will be worthy of this splendid tribute from America to the greatest Englishman that ever lived. A discussion of the book is deferred until next month, and we can only make one observation now upon its moral. If one takes it up with literary nervousness, one lays it down with another kind of nervousness as one realizes the extent to which our national welfare was due to the genius of Nelson. He was indeed indispensable to our existence. What would have happened if another Power had had Nelson? What will happen to us without him? But there is no occasion for pessimism, as those who know the British Navy believe that never before was the general standard of its officers so high, never was the profession more likely to produce a great commander of the sea than to-day. Nowhere will the teaching and preaching of Captain Mahan find more receptive audiences than on British ships.

MR. BALFOUR.

The successful conduct of the Voluntary Schools Bill is but one example of the industry, strenuousness, and dexterity which Mr. Arthur Balfour has exhibited in the leadership of the House of Commons throughout the first portion of this Session. The complaints that were so loudly made against him last year were always more accepted outside than inside the House itself. They were somewhat artificial, and they were largely fostered by political foes. Still, as was inevitable, the leader of the House was generally held responsible for the disappointments of last Session. But this Session, on the contrary, the arrangement of business in the House has been successful beyond expectation. The Government have made good progress with their legislative programme. Supply, thanks to the smooth working of the new Rules, the carriage of which was entirely due to Mr. Balfour, is in an exceptionally forward state, although there have been full discussions on all those heads of the estimates in which much public interest was taken. It is impossible any longer to hint that the leader does not spend enough time in the House, when it is obvious that for three months he has done all the work, and most of the speaking, for the Government Bench. In fact, Mr. Balfour has, to a quite exceptional extent, stated the

case for the Government in debates on resolutions when it might have been expected that this task would have fallen to the lot of the Minister whose Department was specially concerned. But his three principal colleagues have been remarkably silent. Mr. Chamberlain, it is said, has been absorbed in the anxieties of his office. Sir M. Hicks-Beach has been preoccupied with the disposal of his surplus; Mr. Goschen, it is plain, has no inclination for more than departmental activity. Other Ministers apparently have had no ambition to engage in general debate; and so it has happened that whether the motion before the House has been one for the disestablishment of the English Church, or one for the creation of State granaries, it has been the leader of the House, and not the departmental Minister, who has summed up the debate for the Government. It is an open secret that the two Education Bills owe their designs, and, to a large extent, their drafting, to the statesman whom last year it was not unfashionable, even in Unionist circles, to stigmatize as casual and lazy. It is believed that the ultimate form of other of the principal measures of the Government has been shaped by the industry and decision of Mr. Balfour. So much for one of the accusations that used to be brought against him.

THE ONLY LEADER.

And then it used to be asserted that he was too easy-going, that he cared too much for other things, and took but a languid and half-amused interest in the business of the House of Commons. It is satisfactory to note that the Radical Press now is sounding a totally opposite complaint. They are horrified at the indignation and the wrath he has displayed in some of his speeches and replies on foreign questions. Anyone who listened to Mr. Balfour's reply to Mr. Carson last Session in Committee on the Irish Land Bill, or to his denunciation of the suspicions of Sir Henry Howarth this Session, knew well how deep a capacity he had for the display of just and passionate indignation. But on those occasions it was some jar to his sense of personal honour or private friendship which excited this unusual wrath. It is well that the House of Commons should have seen this Session that public action and political arguments can move his soul to the expression of equally virile and effective scorn. And no one who has listened to his recent speeches on the Eastern crisis can longer question Mr. Balfour's capacity to be profoundly affected by the gravity of public affairs. As mere pieces of Parliamentary debating, his exposure of the relevancy of Sir William Harcourt's employment of the Parable of the Good Samaritan, and his last reply to the same

antagonist on the adjournment for the Easter Recess, have been masterly performances. In fine, Mr. Balfour has more than recovered any damage that last Session rightly or wrongly inflicted on his reputation. He stands out once more as the successful and the only possible leader of the Unionist Party in the House of Commons.

NECESSITOUS BOARD SCHOOLS.

The Government have brought in a scheme under which a carefully graduated amount of relief is distributed to districts which are heavily burdened by the cost of Board Schools. The problem of graduating relief was clearly a difficult one. And necessary limitations have increased the difficulty. Many poor districts have unavoidably been left unhelped. It would not have been reasonable to deal in the present measure with the incidence of rates other than School Board rates. Poor districts whose rate is high but is not increased by expenditure on Board Schools are therefore left unrelieved. The problem is complicated also by the different factors in School Board expenditure. This expenditure may be high, not because the district is a poor one, but because money is wasted on showy buildings or costly sites, or because all the children in the district are taught in Board Schools and nothing is saved by the assistance of Voluntary Managers. For, of course, the central fact in the position is this, that the most effective relief to rates is the existence of Voluntary Schools. Where there are no Board Schools, there is no school rate. Where Voluntary Schools are as numerous and as large as the Board Schools, the rate is greatly reduced—where there are few Voluntary Schools and many Board School children, the rate is high. In the two first of these cases, the ratepayers have in effect received the best possible relief from the assistance given by the Government to Voluntary Schools. More relief is, however, needed in the remaining cases, where the Voluntary Schools are few or non-existent. A measure had to be framed which would allow money to flow freely to really poor districts where the task of educating is not relieved by Voluntary Managers, and where the heavy rate would be heavy even if the money is carefully spent.

AN ADMIRABLE SCHEME.

The Government scheme is an admirable answer to this problem. In the most crying cases, which occur apparently in Sir Charles Dilke's constituency, the small School Boards will receive 10s. or 12s. a head on their children, more than twice as much as has been granted to Voluntary Managers In such towns as West Ham, with

few Voluntary Schools, and somewhat low rateable value, the contribution for each child comes to 8s. or 9s. And the amount diminishes according to necessity, such towns as Leicester and Nottingham, rich, but with something less than an average number of Voluntary Schools, receiving 1s., 2s., or 3s. a head on all their Board School children. The sums seem to be very properly proportioned to the needs of the case. It would appear absurd to give larger amounts in similar circumstances. Such towns as Nottingham are not in need of more lavish assistance; the impoverished country parishes need considerable help and will get it. London gets nothing. The rates in London are no doubt quite high enough. But the School Board rate, though it is said to be exceptionally unpopular, is not exceptionally high. Much of it is due to the unusual costliness of education in London. Having far more than average wealth, London has less than average need of assistance. The terms of the Bill allot a contribution to other districts where the rate is no higher, but they do so because in these cases the rate is less productive in proportion to the number of children. The sum required for the scheme is £110,000, in addition to the £40,000 or £50,000 already paid annually to over-burdened School Boards under the Act of 1870. And the Opposition take much pleasure in comparing this sum with the £600,000 allotted to Voluntary Schools. The answer to such criticism is clear enough: the Government are giving ample help when money is wanted; the districts which don't want it ought not to get it. It must be remembered also that Voluntary Schools, taken as a mass, need more money, because owing to their poverty they are now spending too little. Teachers in these schools work for lower salaries and often with inferior apparatus. And again it cannot be too often repeated that to save Voluntary Schools from extinction is far the most effective relief to the rates. This answer is of course no answer to opponents who wish to abolish Voluntary Schools: the answer to such is that they are not practical politicians.

War and Food.

Mr. Seton Karr, a Lancashire Member of Parliament, recently introduced a motion in the House of Commons declaring that the dependence of the United Kingdom on foreign imports of the necessaries of life and the consequences that would arise therefrom in the event of war demanded the serious attention of the Government. The national annual consumption of breadstuffs (wheat and flour) is over 28,000,000 quarters: 19,000,000 quarters are imported from foreign and possibly hostile countries, 3,000,000 to 4,000,000 quarters are

imported from India, Canada and Australasia, while the balance of from 4,000,000 to 5,000,000 quarters are produced at home. Five out of every six of our population are fed on imported breadstuffs, and of these five, four are fed on foreign imports. The speaker estimated that our reserve of breadstuffs never exceeds three months' supply, and often sinks below one month's; *e.g.*, on January 1st this year the total amount of maize, wheat, and flour in stock was only 2,133,000 quarters, or less than three weeks' supply, and war under such conditions would involve a monopoly in bread and immediate famine prices. All the other great Powers are practically self-supporting, while Russia and the United States, besides feeding their own population, are two of the largest grain exporting countries in the world. "At their good pleasure they feed more than four-sevenths of our population." Mr. Seton Karr, who has evidently studied Mr. R. B. Marston's vigorous presentment of the case in *War, Famine and Food Supplies*, foresees a prohibition on export by Russia as in 1891, coupled with a shortage or failure of crops in the United States, or even an embargo on the export of wheat proclaimed in both countries should they be in alliance against us. But one may ask, would the producer consent to be ruined in order to starve the consumer? Mr. Seton Karr suggests three ways of escape from our parlous condition: (1) Commercial Federation with the Colonies; (2) The increase of home-grown wheat by a revision of our fiscal system; or (3) The establishment of State granaries.

MINISTERIAL RESPONSIBILITY.

Mr. Yerburgh, the Member for Chester, in seconding the motion, cited the French declaration of rice as "contraband" when she was at war with China in 1885, and the action of the Powers blockading Crete in declaring necessaries of life for the forces operating in the interior as contraband. So, in a war against us, wheat would be treated as contraband, if only on the ground that it was destined to feed our volunteers. Thus hostilities would commence with wheat at an alarming price; even during the French war of 1793-1812, when we were practically self-supporting, "there were serious riots in consequence of the high price of provisions." (Does not this admission, by the way, rather vitiate the contention that to ensure comfort in war we must become self-supporting?) Mr. Yerburgh demands State granaries, the cost of which might be met by reimposing the old shilling registration duty upon wheat which was taken off by Mr. Lowe. This would produce between £1,000,000 and £1,200,00 a year, without raising the price of bread, as "from enquiries among the bakers he understood it was the invariable custom of the trade not to add

anything to the price of the loaf until wheat had gone up 5s. a quarter." We are with Mr. Yerburgh, Mr. Seton Karr, and other speakers, in deploring the decay of what has always been the greatest British industry—agriculture—and consider the absolute failure of British statesmanship to attempt even to arrest it as a piece of unmatched ineptitude. We should be willing, on economic and political grounds, to see a reasonable registration duty imposed on foreign wheat, with a discrimination in favour of Imperial wheat. But to insure a safe and steady influx of our food and raw materials of manufacture (which are *equally* vital to us) in time of war, we must, above all, maintain a navy capable of prevailing over any combination likely to be formed against us. By keeping command of the sea, and in no other way, can we insure this country against the fate foreboded by Lord Carnarvon. "Great Britain, with its imports of raw materials interfered with, would be in danger of becoming, instead of a great Empire, a pauperized, discontented, over-populated island in the North Sea." Mr. Balfour, who is a great admirer of Mahan, wound up his admirable speech in reply with a spirited and satisfactory declaration, frankly recognizing the Government's responsibility for the maintenance of our sea power, which is, after all, the A, B, C and X, Y, Z of the question:—

"But I frankly accept on my own behalf, and on behalf of the Government, the responsibility which the resolution throws upon us. In the last resort, as I have said, it means responsibility for our navy, and when my hon. friend asks the House to lay down the proposition that the strength of our navy, not merely for the purpose of defending our shores but our commerce—whether that commerce be commerce in food stuffs or other raw materials on which, only in a little less degree, we are dependent—rests with the Government, I heartily accept it. It is a matter which, in the words of the motion, 'demands the serious consideration of the Government,' and that serious consideration it most certainly will have, and my right hon. friend the First Lord of the Admiralty is the last occupant of his great office who is likely to watch with otherwise than the keenest and most vigilant attention the naval construction and programme of other nations with whom—though far be the possibility of its ever happening—we might by some conceivable mischance be brought into collision. We recognize the necessity under which this country lies for having that navy; we recognize that we, the Government, are responsible for the adequacy of that navy, and the House is right in throwing upon us responsibility for that navy; and in assenting to the motion we only give another proof that it is a responsibility we do not fear and from which we have no desire to shrink."

A Suggestion.

Should war break out would it not be the part of a wise Government to adopt the suggestion of the late Admiral Tryon and Sir George Clarke (see *The Navy and the Nation* *), and insure every British vessel against war risks by undertaking to pay the value of every cargo

* *Vide* also *The Spectator* of April 10th.

and ship seized? This would effectually put a stop to panic prices due to the high premiums charged by the underwriters without involving alarming liabilities. We hope that this plan of national insurance, which is entitled to consideration on account of its advocates, may be brought to the notice of Mr. Balfour and the Cabinet.

THE WOLCOTT COMMISSION.

The appointment of a Special Commission by the President of the United States to visit Europe in order to negotiate an international settlement of the monetary question was anticipated in the April *National Review*. The appointment has been made during the past month. The *personnel* of the new Commission (Senator Wolcott, General Paine, and Mr. Adlai E. Stevenson) is an absolute guarantee of the sincerity with which Mr. McKinley is seeking to redeem the most important promise in the programme on which he obtained the Presidency last November. The St. Louis platform pledged the Republican Party to promote bimetallism by international agreement. The Republicans have not let the grass grow under their feet in fulfilling this promise. One of their very first acts after their victory was to depute Senator Wolcott to make an informal visit to Europe to ascertain whether the leading commercial nations of the old world were in a sufficiently favourable frame of mind to make further steps advisable. He saw all the chief statesmen of England, France, and Germany, and realized that a considerable change had come over the sentiment of Europe on this question. With characteristic sagacity he allowed absurd reports of his "rebuffs" to go uncontradicted, and great was the rejoicing of the New York gold bugs; and proportionate was the confidence and respect he inspired in British and European statesmen by his easy indifference to gossip and misrepresentation. The Senator had not come in search of advertisement, but to do a definite piece of work, and when he had done it he returned to his own country. An inferior man would thereupon have made a great splash in the Senate, as he could have done, for Mr. Wolcott, who was thoroughly discouraged at the outset of his journey, was thoroughly encouraged by its results. Again, he showed a wise reticence in the face of a temptation, which to the orator *par excellence* of the Senate must have been considerable. He kept his report for the President, who was delighted to receive so unexpectedly favourable a document from a thoroughly reliable envoy. Mr. Wolcott now receives his reward by being given a regular commission (in conjunction with two congenial colleagues who will loyally second his efforts) to follow up his informal *pourparlers* by definite negotiation with the statesmen he recently sounded. The great ability, tact, judgment

and masterly reserve Senator Wolcott has already manifested in the cause in which he has merged all thought of, or wish for, personal glory, give us great confidence in the labours of the new Wolcott Commission. That they be crowned with success is the fervent desire of every well-wisher of the American people who realizes what a cruel injustice the unearned increment of an appreciating standard of value inflicts on a great producing and debtor nation. That America will not remain in the gold standard is, humanly speaking, certain.*

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

Senator Wolcott's Commission will receive the cordial co-operation of the British Government. Even Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who is the only monometallist in the Cabinet, desires to see a settlement of this question. We quoted in April from his last year's speech in which he suggested a negotiation on the monetary question in the following words: "As I have said, we (the British Government) are willing, we are anxious, seeing that there are evils in the present low value of silver, and in the fluctuations in the value of the two metals, to enter into a conference, or into negotiations, which certainly I believe at the present stage would be much better than a conference with other countries on this subject." Public opinion in England, as we have so frequently explained, is not ripe for the reopening of the London Mints, which were closed to silver eighty-one years ago, but short of that everything that can be done will be done by Great Britain. Our shrewder London editors are beginning to realize the profound importance of the question, though *The Times* continues to crackle like thorns under a pot, and *The Pall Mall Gazette*, which, as the private property of Mr. Astor, surely belongs to New York, manifests impotent wrath whenever the subject of bimetallism is mentioned. Mr. Astor is welcome to his opinions, but when Americans read cabled extracts from *The Pall Mall Gazette* they should always bear the paper's ownership in mind.

THE AWAKENING OF AGRICULTURE.

English bimetallists have been somewhat discouraged in the past by the supineness of our great agricultural interest in finding "economic" salvation. While the Western American farmer and the French peasant have shown a keen appreciation of the principal cause of their woes—the contraction of the currency by Germany, France, and the United States in 1873, and by the closing of the Indian

* *Vide* Mr. A. Maurice Low's most interesting contribution from Washington in this *National Review*.—[EDITOR *N. R.*]

Mints in 1893—the agricultural classes in Great Britain have to some extent shirked the intellectual effort demanded by a study of the money question. Our agricultural societies have undoubtedly been behind the times. It is, therefore, highly gratifying to note that at the council meeting of the National Agricultural Union, held in London on April 8th, Alderman Grummit in the chair (in the absence of the Earl of Winchilsea), it was unanimously decided to include in the Parliamentary programme of the National Agricultural Union, "The establishment by international agreement of a stable monetary par of exchange between gold and silver." The National Agricultural Union which now "comes out" for bimetallism, was founded some years ago by Lord Winchilsea, to promote the interests of British agriculture. It is far the most important agricultural organization in England. It is strong, popular, and greatly respected by candidates seeking Parliamentary election in the counties, for it consists of landlords, farmers, and labourers, the three classes being given equal representation on the District Councils and Central Council of the Union. It has active branches all over the country, and an extensive staff of local lecturers. The action of the ruling council of such a society in adopting bimetallism is very significant, and confirms the view continually expressed in these pages that the time is ripe for an international settlement, such as Senator Wolcott seeks. We venture to remind the distinguished Irish landlords who contribute to this number of *The National Review* that the only pretext for plundering them by Sub-Commission has been the disastrous fall of agricultural prices during the last twenty years. This fall is due to the appreciation of gold in terms of produce. The appreciation of gold is due to the increased demand for gold, owing to that metal's being called upon to do singly, what it did jointly with silver until twenty years ago, when silver was demonetized and prices began to fall. Remonetize silver and you will stop the fall in prices. Stop the fall in prices, and even an Irish Sub-Commissioner must cease cutting down a rent based on prices. That this is not a party question and that all classes in Ireland stand to gain by the restoration of bimetallism and are awakening to their concern therein, is proved by the remarkable meeting recently held in Dublin under the auspices of the Dublin Trades Council, at which a resolution in favour of international bimetallism was unanimously passed. Mr. William Field, M.P. (Nationalist), occupied the chair.

CUBA. Spain has had another of those strokes of luck in Cuba which she so ill deserves, and of which she shows herself totally incapable of profiting. The "rebel" leader

Rivera (Riviera?), Maceo's successor in the command of the "insurgents," in the province of Pinar del Rio in Cuba, has been captured. The news is accompanied by the usual announcement that this event is regarded as "a deathblow to the insurrection." An opportune letter from the thoroughly reliable *Times* correspondent in the island dissipates this delusion. The rains have now set in, and campaigning will be impracticable for several months, not that this matters very much as the operations of the past season have been as indecisive as those of its predecessor. No single province is held effectively by the great Spanish armies, and even in Pinar del Rio, which has been "pacified" so often, "the watchfires of the insurgents were lately to be seen from the streets of the provincial capital at night," and railway communication with Havana could only be conducted under military escort, and was occasionally interrupted by the wrecking of trains. The Spaniards are undisputed masters of the coast towns and their immediate surroundings, but in all other parts of the island where they hold any ground they are exposed to the constant harassment of guerilla warfare, and they have won no lasting victories. On the withdrawal of Spanish troops from any district the rebels—if men who have successfully defied the greatest force that has ever crossed the sea for more than two years can fairly be called rebels rather than belligerents—return and resume command of the country. The economic condition of Cuba is past praying for. The garrison towns are full of starving women and children whom General Weyler—incapable of coping with their husbands and fathers—has expelled from their country homes. Wheat and other provisions are rapidly approaching famine prices, and the prospect is dismal in the extreme. It is calculated that Spain may be able to keep her army in the island for another year, though its pay is about £10,000,000 in arrears. That Spain herself will be in bankruptcy and convulsions before long appears to be the view of those best acquainted with her economic and political condition. The Carlists are on the move, the Republicans are becoming restive, and the suffering of the industrial classes is intense, as may be gathered from some of the British consular reports. All the elements of a cataclysm are at hand, while the Spanish papers continue to feed their readers with "glorious victories over the Rebels."

AN AMERICAN CRETE.

Some months ago we should have said that the one hopeful element in the situation was the possibility of American intervention. Mr. Heseltine, the American writer, however, who gives as close and more acute attention to foreign affairs than perhaps any

of his countrymen, and who has warmly sympathized throughout with Cuba's effort to cast off the unspeakable Spanish yoke, states in his *North American Review* article ("The Foreign Policy of the New Administration") "that the Cuban revolutionists may count upon being recognized by the United States 'as belligerents' in the course of the coming twelvemonths"! If that is all that Americans who favour a spirited foreign policy as Mr. Heseltine consistently does, can hold out to the unfortunate Cubans who have received a great deal of material support and moral encouragement from the United States, it makes one feel that the European Concert's handling of the Cretan Question is by no means as contemptible as its critics imagine. There is incomparably more suffering in Cuba than in Crete. Spain has demonstrated her incapacity to subdue the insurrection and has thereby forfeited all moral right to hold the island. The United States has had a perfectly free hand to suppress a scandal at her very doors which she declares that no other nation has any right to interfere in. Moreover, its continuance is odious to the overwhelming majority of her citizens. But their Government has never attempted to intervene, and, according to Mr. Heseltine, will not take cognizance of the Cuban revolution for perhaps another year. The moral of it is that it is very difficult for anyone outside a government to pass judgment on a question of foreign policy. Ministers have knowledge and are conscious of responsibilities that are inaccessible, or only dimly accessible, to outsiders. We recommend our indignant contemporary, *The Daily Chronicle*, which is so humiliated by the incompetence of the British Foreign Minister (who has been acting in concert with five conflicting European nations), to give its attention to Cuba, over which America claims a quasi-suzerainty, while she allows Spain to bleed the island to death. America is the best judge of her own interests, and there is no want of profound humanity in the American people; but under the circumstances one would imagine that some charity should temper their comment on the "infamy" of European policy on the Eastern Question. At any rate, we suggest that some American writer should be at pains to distinguish between the case of the American Crete and the European Cuba.

THE WORKS DEPARTMENT.

The Report of the Special Committee appointed to enquire into the Works Department of the London County Council has been presented. As to accounts, the committee have no further scandals to reveal, and no fresh explanation to offer. The staff conspired to falsify the appro-

priation of expenditure for no pecuniary gain, but to relieve themselves from friction with another department. It is something that the Council was deceived only, not robbed, and similar malpractices are in future to be made at least more difficult. On the main point—the continuance of the Works Department—the Committee were equally divided, and the Report was carried by the casting vote of the Chairman. The majority are for maintaining the *status quo*, the modifications they suggest being scarcely more than colourable. The Works Department is to remain, but to be under a Board instead of a Committee: the Board will consist of nine nominees from the Spending Committees, whereas the Committee was a body of twenty elected by the Council. But there is no reason to expect that the Board will either know more about building operations, or be less of partisans. The Manager's position is to be a little altered, but he is still to be independent of the Architect and Engineer, yet to be checked by them: so departmental friction will go on. And as contractors cannot be altogether dispensed with, a mild attempt is made to conciliate them by qualifying some of the repellant terms of contract. The Minority would abolish both the Works Department and the Works Committee; all architectural works to be executed by contract: simple engineering works, when undertaken by the Council, to be entrusted to its Engineer with a free hand, subject only to financial control. Findings contradictory indeed, but no wonder. The Moderates seek only to put a business matter on a business footing, and extinguishing an arrangement which is a source of perpetual schism. But to the Progressives the Works Department is a matter of *haute politique*—the "Municipalization of Labour under Trade Union Auspices." So the Council must have its Works Department and its Works Committee, or its Works Board, which may or may not include persons with experience of building operations, but would be imperfect without Trade Union representatives of "light and leading"; there must be Central Works with £100,000 worth of capital sunk in them, and a yearly turn-over of a quarter of a million, and some two thousand workmen in the service of the Council, which thus stages it as a "model employer."

"I will apparel them all in one livery that they may agree like brothers and worship me, their lord."

WHY, INDEED? To persons with such views, expense of course is a secondary consideration. But the majority assent boldly that in executing architectural operations the Works Department costs the Council no more than a contractor does. In this, however, they give neither facts nor figures. The minority give both,

and insist that the loss has been at least £10,000, due chiefly to the impossibility for the Council to obtain from its workmen a full day's work for a full day's pay. Assuming, however, that during the three years there has been no loss, ratepayers may ask with Mr. Gruning, the assessor, why should a municipality already anxious about its rates, and overburthened with necessary duties, gratuitously incur the notorious risks and heavy cares of a building business when it can devolve them upon contractors, who, as shown by the report, produce work of equally good quality, and on conditions equally favourable to the workmen employed? Why, indeed?

THE CASE FOR THE TRANSVAAL.*

I.

Early in the present century a good deal of interest was excited by the publication of a little book entitled *Rejected Addresses.* It seems almost as though the proceedings of the South African Committee might give occasion for the publication of a volume under the title of *Rejected Evidence.* One of the contributors to such a volume would doubtless be Mr. W. E. Fairbridge, the Editor of *The Rhodesia Herald,* who contributed the substance of his rejected testimony as an article in a recent number of *The National Review.* By the kind permission of the Editor of this Review, I propose to contribute a second instalment.

It may be sufficient to say that the evidence I ventured to tender to the Committee had reference to the general state of affairs in the South African Republic prior to the Jameson Raid, and was founded on an intimate personal contact with men and things in the Republic through a space of some five or six years.

It will be necessary, as briefly as possible, to explain my previous attitude with regard to questions affecting the Transvaal and the general course of politics in South Africa. It may be convenient to start from the publication of my book *Blacks, Boers, and British,* in 1881, in which it was pointed out, I believe for the first time, that the South African problem was essentially a "three-cornered problem," and that the secret of a successful handling of that problem was to be found in a minimum of outside interference, and in the strict observance of a policy of equal justice to all classes of the population.

It fell to my duty to advocate this policy in the columns of *The Natal Witness,* from August, 1881, to August, 1887. For some years, I must admit, owing to the political disturbance created by the Transvaal War of Independence, my advocacy of

* It will be understood that the author of this article has no official connection with the Transvaal Government, and writes as a British subject who has had, perhaps, exceptional opportunities of becoming acquainted with the matters of which he treats. At the same time, so far as this article is a statement of facts, it may be regarded as generally expressing the views held in official circles in the Transvaal. We are glad to afford our readers an opportunity of saying *audi alteram partem.*—[Editor *N.R.*]

this policy was anything but popular or profitable. By 1887, however, the whole of South Africa, Colonies and Republics alike, seemed to have settled down to an acceptance of the idea that direct Imperial interference in South Africa was at an end, and that, without any prejudice whatever to the position of Great Britain as a friendly and protecting Power, South Africa would thenceforward be left to hammer out its own future—a future one of the clearly indicated conditions of which was a drawing closer of the bonds of internal unity.

That I was at that time in complete touch with the general run of political feeling in South Africa, I think is made apparent by two little incidents. First, the presentation of an appreciative address by a number of British colonists in Natal on the occasion of my leaving that colony for England in September, 1887. Next, the reception accorded me in Capetown, on my way to England, by leading members of the Afrikander Bond, including Mr. Hofmeyr, Sir James Sivewright, Sir Jacobus de Wet (then a member of the Cape Ministry), and other well-known representative men of the same way of thinking.

The year 1887 may thus be said to have been marked by a happy conjunction, so far as South Africa was concerned, of peaceful and progressive influences, all making for the realization of a South African unity, under the friendly protection, to say nothing else, of Great Britain. I will venture to say that in that year not one single person in South Africa had, or could have had, the faintest suspicion that in less than ten years the work then accomplished would be undone, and the whole South African problem once more plunged in a chaos of racial antagonisms and unintelligent interferences from without.

Whose has been the fault? There can be no question that the discovery of rich gold deposits in the Transvaal has exercised a tremendous influence over both the internal and external conditions of the South African problem, and it has been very widely assumed that the friction that has so visibly arisen is due to the failings or faults of the burgher population of the Transvaal, who are accused of following an ungenerous and illiberal policy towards those who, attracted by the prospects of the new gold-fields, had taken up their abode in the Republic. It will be my endeavour to show, by reference to personal experience, that there is another side to this question, and that in fact, instead of being animated with enmity towards the new population, the Transvaal burghers and Government have, while doing their utmost to encourage the gold industry and those who lived by it, been unwillingly compelled to stand on the defensive against repeated and persistent attacks on the independence of the country.

So much by way of prelude.

II.

My personal acquaintance with the Transvaal commenced from the first days of March, 1890, when, having resigned the editorship of *The Natal Advertiser* in Durban, I arrived in Pretoria to undertake the editorial control of *The Transvaal Observer*. I may say that, in accepting an offer made to me from Pretoria, I was largely influenced by the hope of being able to serve the interests of Natal. That colony, owing to its having been so closely associated with the annexation of the Transvaal in 1877, was still regarded with suspicion in Pretoria, insomuch that there seemed very little likelihood of its being allowed to reap any commercial advantage from the rapidly expanding gold industry at Johannesburg.

I passed through Johannesburg on my way to Pretoria a day or two after the occurrence of the famous "flag incident"—an incident which, according to Mr. Rhodes, was the outcome of a deep-seated general discontent, and had given rise to serious apprehensions in the mind of President Kruger. To my surprise, the incident, which had formed a topic of excited conversation in the little town of Heidelberg, some four or five hours from Johannesburg, was hardly referred to in the latter town, while, as will be seen presently, any apprehensions that existed were apprehensions entertained by the respectable portion of the population as to the possible results of the folly of a very small and very noisy minority. A week or two after my arrival in Pretoria, President Kruger, who had been to meet the High Commissioner at Fourteen Streams, returned to his capital, driving into the town with an immense escort of mounted and armed burghers, whom the President proceeded to address from a platform erected in front of the Landdrost's office. I do not speak or understand Dutch, but a friend at my elbow gave me the substance of the speech as it proceeded. As regards both the British Government and the foreign population, it was in every respect generous, kindly, and encouraging, the "flag incident" being disposed of by a good-natured reference to the "long drinks" in which the less responsible portion of the Johannesburg population were in the habit of indulging. There was one attempt at interruption on the part of a British subject who had himself, no doubt, temporarily become a victim to "long drinks." He was promptly removed to the police-station, and discharged with a caution next day by the Landdrost.

A few days later I had my first, and I may say my only, interview with President Kruger, being accompanied to the Presidency early in the morning by my friend Dr. Krause, who was then State Attorney. The interview was notable in two respects—first, by

reason of the President's explanation of his scheme for a Second Volksraad, and next by reason of his allusion to the "flag incident" at Johannesburg. With regard to that incident, I made some remark to the effect that the feeling excited by it had quieted down. "Yes," replied Mr. Kruger, "but what would have happened if I had not kept my burghers in check?" With regard to the Second Volksraad, he explained that he intended it to act as a "bridge," for the purpose of getting over the time during which the old Conservative Members of the Raad would be disposed to regard the foreign element with suspicion. "When," he went on to say, "the old burghers see the new-comers taking part in the work of legislation, and that no harm follows, then the two Raads can be joined together again with the foreign element duly represented."

On the first Monday in May, a few weeks after this interview, the Volksraad commenced its annual session, and the measures which it sanctioned are conclusive and irrefutable evidence of the friendly spirit in which the members were disposed to deal with the claims of the foreign population. The proposal for admitting *Uitlanders* to a share in the government of the country by the establishment of the Second Volksraad was carried by a large majority, and that notwithstanding the feeling that had been aroused by the "flag incident" a few months before. Mr. Rhodes has declared that at this time the Transvaal Government and Volksraad were violently opposed to the construction of railways. So far was this from being the case that the resolution in favour of the construction of railways to meet the Cape system, then being extended through the Free State, was carried by acclamation. The Gold Law, moreover, was substantially amended to the complete satisfaction of the Johannesburg Chamber of Mines, officially representing the gold industry. Here it will be well to quote from the Report of the Chamber of Mines for the year 1890, as presented at the annual meeting held on the 29th January, 1891. Under the heading of "Railways" the following passage occurs:—

> "During the early part of the year the Chamber's chief work lay in advocating the speedy construction of railways. His Honour the President visited Johannesburg in March, and was waited on by a deputation of the Council. The President gave public assurances of early railway extension, *and these have since been vindicated by the resolution of the Volksraad.* The construction of the main trunk line is now being proceeded with at several points within the State. . . . It may be fairly hoped that the fields will enjoy railway communication with the sea within eighteen months." (Page 11.)

This anticipation was fulfilled. By the latter part of 1891 the earthworks were all but completed, and in September, 1892, the line was opened through to Johannesburg.

With regard to the Gold Law, this is what appears at page 12 of the same Report:—

"The amendment of the Gold Law in various respects has also received continuous consideration, especially with the object of securing a fixed tenure of gold-mining property. The Government favourably considered our representations, and amendments on the lines suggested by the Chamber were introduced at the last session of the Volksraad."

On page 45 will be found a resolution passed at a special meeting of the Chamber of Mines, held on the 28th June, 1890, expressing gratitude to the President and Executive Council "for the measure of relief and support which has been afforded to the mining industry by the clauses of the amended Gold Law, and for the great degree of sympathy with the wants of the population, which the Government have manifested in recommending these amendments to the Honourable the Volksraad." This is followed on the same page with a vote of thanks from the Chamber to the Volksraad, and a letter of thanks from Mr. H. Eckstein to the Minister of Mines. It may, perhaps, also be mentioned here that page 18 of the same Report contains a resolution of regret passed by the Chamber in respect of the "flag incident" of the preceding March.

There was another incident to which allusion may be made. In the winter of 1889, owing to a dry season and the difficulties of wagon transport through want of grass, Johannesburg had been brought perilously near to the miseries of a famine, the scarcity giving opportunities to sharp business men to fill their pockets at the expense of the community. In view of the probability of a similar state of things arising in the winter of 1890, organised attempts were made, on the part of merchants in Johannesburg and in the Colonial seaports, to form a "ring" for the purpose of raising the prices of food to an exorbitant level. The Transvaal Government, animated by a sincere desire to consult the interests of the great bulk of the foreign population, defeated this nefarious scheme by purchasing cargoes of Australian flour to be held in reserve in case of emergency. Owing to this action on the part of the Transvaal Government—action for which it was abused by journals representing the capitalists—the proposed "ring" came to nought, and the population of Johannesburg were able, in spite of the want of railway communication, to enjoy the benefits of cheap food.

I think it will be seen from the above-mentioned facts that, up to the middle of the year 1890, the Transvaal Government and Volksraad were animated by a sincere desire to consult the interests of the foreign population in every possible way, and that the friendliness of their disposition was acknowledged and appreciated by the great bulk of the population of Johannesburg.

III.

Now let us mark what happened.

In 1890, after the defeat of the Sprigg Ministry on a question of railway development, Mr. Rhodes became Premier of the Cape Colony. His ascent to this position practically made him a South African dictator. The High Commissioner—Sir Henry Loch—who had but a few months before arrived from England, was absolutely at the mercy of Mr. Rhodes' ideas, and was able to work the Imperial Government exactly as Mr. Rhodes thought advisable. At the beginning of July, 1890, there did not seem to be the very faintest hint of any kind of disagreement between the British Government and the Transvaal. Suddenly the air became alive with rumours of relations so strained, that, unless the Transvaal Government gave prompt satisfaction to British demands, it would find itself placed in a position altogether antagonistic to the independence of the Republic. As I was in Pretoria at this time, I can bear witness to the astonishment aroused by this unexpected turn of events. It soon became known that the difficulty had arisen in connection with the question of the ultimate destination of Swaziland, and that unless the Transvaal Government was prepared to make very substantial concessions at the shortest possible notice, Swaziland would become a British province, and be lost for ever to the Transvaal. Already it became known that steps were being taken in Natal to organize a police force for the occupation of Swaziland, and leading politicians in Natal wrote to me in much trepidation with regard to the probable effect that these steps would exercise in still further emphasizing the suspicion with which Natal was regarded by officials in Pretoria.

The climax of the situation was reached when Major Sapte, Military Secretary to the High Commissioner, arrived post haste in Pretoria with the text of a convention which the Transvaal Government and Volksraad were immediately to accept and ratify, under penalty of the complete and final forfeiture of those claims with respect to Swaziland which had been fully recognized by a special commissioner acting on behalf of the British Imperial Government. The convention expressed two demands made on the Transvaal Government by the High Commissioner—first, the surrender of that prospect of expansion to the North which had been left open by the London Convention of 1884; next, the surrender of the commercial independence of the Republic by its becoming a party to the Customs Union entered into a year or two previously by the Cape Colony and the Orange Free State. It may fairly be said that public feeling in Pretoria, both within the Volksraad and outside it, stood aghast at the nature of these demands and the manner in which they were urged. It was seen at once that it was not really the policy of the Imperial Govern-

ment which was thus being forced upon the Transvaal, but the policy of Mr. Rhodes as representing both the Chartered Company and the Cape Colony. The Chartered Company was, of course, interested in securing a clear field for its operations in the North, free from interference by any possible rivals, and sought to make the Transvaal its policeman along the line of the Limpopo River. The Cape Colony was interested to some degree in securing the free importation of Colonial wines and brandies into the Transvaal, but in a still greater degree it was anxious to aim a blow, through the Transvaal, at the enterprising Colony of Natal, which had dared to persevere in a liberal fiscal policy which was an offence to mercantile interests at the Cape.

The first impulse of the Transvaal Government and Volksraad was to decline utterly to accede to the demands made from Cape Town, and all the more so because it was clear that, under cover of an Imperial policy, an assault was being made on the commercial independence of the Republic in purely local interests. It is not necessary to allude at any length to the negotiations that took place, nor to that somewhat mysterious visit of Mr. Hofmeyr to Pretoria for the alleged object—so his friends have stated—of avoiding a war for which not the very slightest provocation had arisen. It is enough to say that the Convention was signed and ratified, on the understanding that the Articles referring to the Customs Union were to remain in suspense. The moral, however, of the whole situation was that the Transvaal Government, which had believed itself to be on perfectly cordial terms with Great Britain, and was in every way prepared to consider the interests of the new population in a generous spirit, found itself obliged to adopt a defensive policy against an enemy located in South Africa, and apparently supported by the Colonial section of the Afrikander population.

It is in this fact that the key to the political history of the Transvaal during the last five or six years—ever since, in fact, Mr. Rhodes became the leading figure in Cape politics—is to be found. The Transvaal has been accused of unfriendliness towards the Cape Colony. As a matter of fact, it has been the Cape Colony which, at the instance of Mr. Rhodes, has committed itself to a policy of aggression against the Transvaal. All the defensive measures which the Transvaal has been compelled to adopt—the placing of greater difficulties in the way of the acquirement of political privileges by aliens, the appeal for the moral support of other European Powers—are the result of Rhodesian aggression, the real nature and spirit of which was unmistakably made manifest when, at the close of 1895, the Rhodesian group of capitalists spent a quarter of a million in organizing revolution in Johannesburg, and

sent the Chartered Company's forces across the Transvaal border to support that revolution. If the history of the revolutionary agitation at Johannesburg is impartially studied, it will be found that that agitation proceeded entirely from a small group of capitalists from the Cape Colony, who, having established themselves at Kimberley by the aid of De Beers, proceeded to capture, if they could, the mineral resources of the Transvaal, together with the complete political control of that country.

IV.

In 1891 the aggressive attitude of the Cape capitalists was once more illustrated in connection with what has generally been spoken of as the "trek question." Early in that year a movement commenced among farmers in the Cape Colony, the Free State, and the Transvaal, to act upon a concession said to have been obtained from certain independent chiefs in Mashonaland, and to "trek" beyond the Limpopo with the view of founding a government of their own. It is noticeable that *The Natal Mercury*, a thoroughly representative British journal, in an article published on the 18th May, 1891, expressed the opinion that the rights of the Chartered Company were not a bit more tenable than the rights conferred by the concession under which the "trekkers" were acting. Once more the High Commissioner, acting really as the agent of the Chartered Company, threatened pains and penalties against the Transvaal. By a singular perversion of the principles of justice, the Transvaal Government was held responsible, not only for the acts of its own burghers, but for the acts of Free Staters and Cape Colonists who might be disposed to take part in the northward movement. Under such pressure, and for the sake of peace, President Kruger issued a proclamation which had the effect, to use a phrase which has become historic, of "damping the trek." With the view of testing the position, a certain number of the would-be "trekkers" travelled with their wagons to the Limpopo Drift, the most influential man among them being a Mr. Van Soelen, a well-to-do resident of Ladybrand in the Free State.* No attempt whatever was made to cross the river, the "trekkers" being content to find that their presence as a body in Mashonaland was not desired by the Chartered Company.

A remarkable feature of the political situation at this juncture was the extraordinarily strong feeling of antagonism that arose between a large section of Cape Colony Afrikanders and Transvaal

* The story that Colonel Ferreira was the leader of this expedition is entirely groundless. Colonel Ferreira was not at all the kind of man to be trusted by the "trekkers," and though he was present at the Limpopo Drift, he had nothing whatever to do with the "trekkers'" movements.

burghers. It was no uncommon thing to hear the former make use of expressions of this kind—"We shan't stop another Warren expedition from invading the Transvaal"; while in club circles in Pretoria the sense of hostility almost led, in some cases, to personal violence. Naturally, the exhibition of this feeling on the part of Cape Colonists served to confirm the burghers of the Transvaal in their conviction that the Cape Colony, as represented and led by Mr. Rhodes, was an enemy to be carefully watched and guarded against. It is, moreover, essential to the understanding of the situation then existing that no bitterness of feeling was entertained by the Transvaal Government, the Volksraad, or the burgher population generally, against the British Imperial Government. This fact was brought to my knowledge in a very marked manner. In an interview I had with the "trek" committee in Pretoria, I strongly urged them to send a memorial to the High Commissioner, praying that the British Government would take over the direct control of the territories to the north of the Limpopo. The suggestion was very seriously considered, and it was perfectly evident that while the elimination of the control of the Chartered Company was most earnestly desired, there was no great strength of objection to the idea of the establishment of direct British control. The proposal, however, was finally rejected on the ground that it was "too British," although members of the Transvaal Volksraad, whom I also had an opportunity of consulting, admitted that it was worthy of serious and very careful consideration, and that the time might come when its soundness would be recognized. My opinion to-day is that the "trekkers" would have done well if they had accepted my suggestion.

V.

The close of 1891 was marked by a new development in Cape Colony politics. It became evident to the Cape Government that, if they were to make any headway in competing with Natal for the traffic from the coast to Johannesburg, an extension of the Cape railway system to the Rand at the earliest possible moment was an absolute necessity. The value of the Johannesburg traffic is forcibly illustrated by the fact that Natal had in 1889 earned a dividend of £7 15s. 6d. per cent. on a railway system which did not then even touch its own borders. That dividend was chiefly earned from the carriage of goods to Johannesburg, the Cape railways having, in the same year, earned a dividend of £5 15s. per cent. After what had occurred in 1890 and 1891, the prospect of the Transvaal granting any special assistance to the Cape Government might not seem very promising. However, Sir James Sivewright, who was then a member of the Cape Ministry, and

who had always managed to be personally popular with President Kruger, was sent up to Pretoria as a messenger of conciliation, and succeeded so well in his mission that an agreement was entered into between the Cape and Transvaal Governments, under which the former undertook to complete with all speed its railway extension to the Vaal River, and to assist the Transvaal Railway Company financially to hurry forward the completion of the line between the Vaal River and Johannesburg, including the connection with Pretoria. There can be no doubt that this was a smart piece of business on the part of the Cape Government, which followed up the conclusion of the agreement by a most praiseworthy activity in the construction of its own part of the work, with the result that in September, 1892, a little more than two years after the passing of the Volksraad resolution in favour of railway construction, trains from Cape ports were actually running into Johannesburg. The financial result of this enterprize was almost immediately seen in the return to the Cape Government of satisfactory dividends on a considerably increased railway capital, and perhaps even more in the shrinkage of Natal railway dividends from £7 15s. 6d. per cent. in 1889, to an average of £2 13s. 4d. per cent. during the three years from 1892 to 1894.

The agreement between the Cape Government and the Transvaal Railway Company was concluded for three years from the beginning of 1892, and during the greater part of those three years the relations between Capetown and Pretoria were decidedly improved. There was more than one reason for this. In the first place, Mr. Rhodes was engaged in extending the influence of the Chartered Company over Matabeleland. In the next place, the Cape Colony had for the moment got all it wanted from the Transvaal in the shape of a virtual monopoly of the carriage of Johannesburg imports. Indeed, there was a tendency in Johannesburg to complain of the grasping policy of the Cape Colony. I have every reason to know this, because, somewhere between the beginning of July and the end of September, 1893, during a temporary connection with the Johannesburg *Star*, I wrote an article in that paper, at the suggestion of the managing editor, complaining seriously of the fact that the Cape Colony was working its local lines practically at a loss at the expense of Johannesburg. As a matter of fact, it was only in the year 1893 that several of the agricultural lines in the Cape Colony began to earn even enough to pay their working expenses. In 1894, new factors came into operation. The line from Delagoa Bay to Pretoria was making visible progress, and early in that year the Transvaal Government had entered into a convention with Natal for the extension of the Natal railway system direct to Johannes-

burg. The time had therefore arrived for the Cape Government, as represented by Mr. Rhodes, to make fresh complaints against the Transvaal. The nature of these complaints was first made manifest when, in the latter part of 1894, Mr. Laing, who held the office of Commissioner of Works in the second Rhodes Administration, proceeded to Pretoria with a demand that the Transvaal should arrange for a general "pooling" of railway receipts from the Rand traffic, out of which 50 per cent. should be allotted to the Cape Colony, the Natal and the Delagoa Bay routes dividing the remainder between them. This proposal, the object of which, it is easy to see, was to take the wind out of the sails of the competition threatened from Durban and Delagoa Bay, was promptly rejected. About the same time Mr. Rhodes, while on a visit to Pretoria, renewed the demand, originally made in 1890, that the Transvaal should enter into the existing Customs Union between the Cape Colony and the Free State. It was no consideration for the gold-mining industry that prompted this demand. If it had been acceded to, Natal would have been compelled to abandon its free trade policy, and to adopt the very much higher tariff accepted by the Customs Union. Thus competition for the Johannesburg trade would have been killed, with the result of increasing the cost of living to all residents at the Rand. The Transvaal Government, being well aware of what Mr. Rhodes' proposition meant, declined to accede to it, thereby naturally incurring the resentment of the Cape Government—that is, of Mr. Rhodes.

VI.

The importance of what has just been said will be recognized when it is remembered that the renewal of active agitation against the Transvaal Government distinctly dates from the latter part of 1894. Before, however, allusion is made to the nature of the renewed attack, a word must be said with regard to the commandeering of British subjects by the Transvaal Government for service against the recusant native chief Malaboch. The right of the Transvaal Government, in the absence of any special treaty, thus to commandeer British subjects was indubitable then, and has not been questioned since. The agitation that arose over the incident was entirely factitious; for while five of the commandeered men stayed at home to be photographed as political martyrs, more than a hundred went willingly to the front, receiving in return monetary compensation and the rights, if they chose to accept them, of full burghership. When I was in Pretoria in September, 1894, I met some of the men who had been at the front, and they assured me that, though the life had been rough, they had enjoyed good health and found the experience by no means unpleasant. It was

in connection with this incident that Sir Henry Loch, who from his first arrival in South Africa had made his views subservient to those of Mr. Rhodes, visited Pretoria, was made the object of a foolish demonstration, and allowed himself to be persuaded by Mr. Lionel Phillips that Johannesburg was within measurable distance of revolution.

I was at that time living in Kimberley, from whence, in September, 1894, I paid a visit to Pretoria and Johannesburg for the purpose of ascertaining, if I could, the real state of affairs. My experiences were recorded at the time in the columns of *The Diamondfields Advertiser*, published at Kimberley, on the 12th and 14th September, and it is from these recorded experiences that I now quote. It is not unimportant to refer to the opinion I then expressed as to the influence of the National Union. So far from the National Union in any way assisting the cause of legitimate reform, it has actually stood in the way of such reform. And this for two reasons. In the first place, it assumed an attitude of totally unnecessary aggressiveness towards the Transvaal Government—an aggressiveness which found its climax in the organization of armed revolt at the end of 1895. In the next place, it was entirely run and engineered by the very people whom the Transvaal Government and Volksraad had been compelled, by the events of 1890 and 1891, to regard as its bitterest enemies—that is, the Cape capitalists and their agents and subordinates. Here is what I said on this subject in September, 1894 :—

"Even if the aims of the National Union are the most sincere in the world, it is not only powerless to assist reform, but its very existence, as at present constituted, is a hindrance to reform. Owing to its intimate and well nigh exclusive association with those persons and interests against whom an intense resentment is entertained, everything it does is suspected, and interpreted in the most hostile sense. Having regard to the history of the present position, how is it possible to wonder at this? So far from effecting any good, or achieving any advantage for the general body of aliens in the Transvaal, it has prejudiced their cause by inflaming the resentment felt by the Conservative Transvaalers against all aliens. It has been asserted that it has never put forward as part of its programme an intention to force on British intervention. The assertion may be absolutely true. Yet who can blame the old-fashioned burgher if, when he sees the National Union, *The Star*, and Mr. Rhodes all rowing in the same boat, he becomes convinced that a threat to the independence of the country is intended? Grapes do not grow upon thorns.

The force of the above remarks will now, I think, be easily recognized, and it will be seen that the attribution of mischievous tendencies to the National Union is not merely an after-thought suggested by more recent events. I will now quote the views with regard to the situation at that time expressed by responsible and moderate men both in Pretoria and Johannesburg. Here is what was stated by Mr. Albert W. Baker, a solicitor in large practice in

Pretoria, and a British Colonist born in Natal, where his father, Mr. W. G. Baker, was for some years a member of the Legislature, and is still chairman of the Natal Bank :—

"I do not agree with those who talk about aliens having equal rights in the country with the original burghers. They (the burghers) originally settled the country, and they have a right to all the consideration which that fact can give them. Still, while admitting this, I think that more effort might have been made to recognize the rights of aliens. No doubt the stubborn resistance of the Conservative Party has stood in the way of this. As regards the demonstration on the occasion of Sir Henry Loch's arrival, no one of any weight had any hand in it, and I do not think that those who started it had any idea that it would go so far as it did. I think what happened at the station was largely accidental, and I believe that the President himself regarded it in this light, as he regarded the hauling down of the flag in Johannesburg four years ago. On the whole I think the President means well. At any rate, whatever the faults of the present Government, we are better off under it than we should be if public affairs were controlled by the financial houses in Johannesburg."

This view was echoed in other quarters, not unmixed with anxiety as to what the ultimate outcome might be, if the agitation of the preceding few months were repeated—the anxiety, however, seeming to be founded not so much on the actual facts of the position, as on the bad feeling that might be generated against foreigners at large by the acts of Johannesburg agitators. In Johannesburg I had the opportunity of consulting Mr. W. Y. Campbell, a gentleman very well known both in Natal and the Transvaal, and a British Colonist by birth, who was then managing an important financial institution in Johannesburg. Referring to the political outlook, Mr. Campbell said :—

"There are three classes here, two of them capable of exercising great influence if they chose to move, while the third would probably follow either of the other two. These classes are the capitalists, the miners, and the general mercantile community. The capitalists have no interest in political matters ; and although Mr. Tudhope, the chairman of the National Union, holds a responsible position in a great financial house (Barnato's), I believe the heads of that house would be quite as well pleased if he left politics alone.* He is mixed up with politics because he has been brought up to politics, and can't keep out of them. The capitalists are content enough. Then there are the miners. These are men earning often £4 per week and living on 25s. They save up money which they spend in holiday trips to England, where they enjoy themselves and where they are regarded by their old friends as persons of consequence. They are quite content with their position, and have every reason to be so, and if any trouble arose they would simply take the first train across the Vaal River. As regards the general commercial community, they are, in respect of political matters, apathetic, though if the capitalists or miners made any serious move the commercial community might follow."

The event proved that Mr. Campbell was perfectly correct with regard to the views of the miners, and I think also with regard to the attitude of the general mercantile community. It would seem,

* Mr. Tudhope retired from the chairmanship of the National Union shortly after the date alluded to, and was succeeded by Mr. Charles Leonard.

however, that he mistook the attitude of the capitalists, for at that very time Mr. Lionel Phillips had written his famous letters suggesting the setting aside of a fund of ten or fifteen thousand pounds for "improving"—*i.e.*, corrupting—the Volksraad, and the possibility of the importation of rifles by the mining companies. It is worth while, perhaps, to quote some remarks made just about this time by a Johannesburg correspondent of *The Natal Witness* —a correspondent who certainly could not be accused of any particular friendliness to the Transvaal Government. "The whole Rand," he said, "is fast becoming dominated by those three notorious groups known as Eckstein's, Barnato's, and Goldfield's, to one or other of whom the smaller fry of operators are either subservient or in process of being snuffed out. It is some consolation that these big groups are mutually jealous, and to some extent check each other's plots against the general safety; but it is, after all, a precarious sort of consolation, *for who knows when they may combine and do us all down?*"

VII.

Towards the end of 1894 a new and important factor was introduced into the situation by the circulation of persistent rumours of some change in the status of Delagoa Bay. Either the Chartered Company was to seize that port, or the British Government was to purchase it, for the purpose of handing it over to the control of Mr. Rhodes and the Cape Government. It was plain to everyone at all acquainted with what had gone before that this rumour was most intimately associated with Mr. Rhodes' failure to induce the Transvaal Government either to join the existing Customs Union, or to give the Cape Colony a totally unreasonable advantage in connection with a general "pooling" of railway receipts. The report was one full of threat to the commercial independence of the Transvaal; for if the hostile influences centring at Capetown were also to establish themselves at Delagoa Bay, the Transvaal would, in a commercial sense, be at the mercy of the group of capitalists headed by Mr. Rhodes. It was at this juncture, and with the most solid justification, that the Transvaal Government made an appeal to the moral support of Germany, which was most legitimately interested in the maintenance of its mercantile interests represented by capital sunk in the railway from Delagoa Bay to Pretoria, and in the establishment of an important line of steamers. It must always be borne in mind that this appeal to Germany was not an appeal as against Great Britain, but rather an appeal against those who, having been permitted to usurp the functions of the British Imperial Government, were plotting for their own advantage—as has since become abundantly plain—against the indepen-

dence of the South African Republic. The appeal was immediately responded to by the appearance of two German ships of war in Delagoa Bay harbour, this step being followed up by an interchange of views between London and Berlin, leading to an agreement for the maintenance of the *status quo* at Delagoa Bay. It was, perhaps, a little unfortunate that, a month or two later, on the occasion of the celebration of the German Emperor's birthday at Pretoria, German officers allowed themselves to indulge in somewhat triumphant expressions of their satisfaction over what they regarded as a diplomatic success. The programme of the proceedings on that occasion, a very prettily-designed document, which I saw, had on its final page a lithographed view of Delagoa Bay, "where," it was stated, "His Imperial Majesty's ship So-and-so now lies at anchor." This, it may be said, was a little bit of bad taste; but it was German, and not Transvaal, bad taste. If the British Government felt aggrieved thereat, surely complaint should have been made at Berlin, and not at Pretoria.*

Before the year 1895 had run very far, it became apparent to those who were carefully watching the situation that some *coup* was intended against the Transvaal. About April I expressed this conviction in a leading article in *The Free State Express*—an article which was at once met, in respect of its allegations against the Chartered Company and the Cape Government, by indignant repudiation on the part of *The Cape Argus* and other Rhodesian journals. Mr. Hofmeyr's retirement from active political life was attributed, by those who were most likely to be well-informed, to a conviction on his part that Mr. Rhodes' policy was carrying him too far. The journalistic change through which *The Cape Times*, under the editorship of Mr. F. E. Garrett, became a Rhodesian journal, was another straw pointing in the same direction. In October, 1895, after my return to England, I warned the manager of the Standard Bank in London that trouble was impending, suggesting that, as the Bank was in every sense interested in the preservation of peace, it might be able to do something to put a brake on the wheels of a policy of disturbance. At that time, I must confess, it seemed as though the opportunity for trouble was to be provided by the "drifts question," and in connection with this question the employment of the forces of the Chartered Company

* A singular comment on the general commercial conditions in South Africa at the time alluded to is supplied by the fact that in not a few mercantile quarters the hope was entertained that the establishment of a line of German steamers, subsidized by the German Government, might lead to the relief of British importers by breaking up the "freight ring" organized by the several lines of British steamers. The "ring," however, proved too strong for the German line, which was ultimately compelled to join in.

against the Transvaal was alluded to by persons in London who can be named. That matter, however, passed by; and it was when it had passed by, *and not till then,* that the first signal-rocket of the revolutionary conspiracy was fired in the shape of the speech of Mr. Lionel Phillips, as Chairman of the Johannesburg Chamber of Mines, on the 20th November, 1895. The pretext furnished by the "drifts question" having vanished, a pretext was to be found in the alleged grievances of the foreign population.

VIII.

What are the grievances of this population?

There are, without doubt, certain real and genuine grievances which are constantly felt by the whole population of Johannesburg. Foremost among these may be placed: (1) the bad and inefficient water supply; (2) the exorbitant rents charged for dwelling-houses of every class; (3) the low moral tone of the whole community; and (4) the excessive charges made by the legal profession.

(1) The water-supply is scandalous to the last degree, and it is directly owing to its bad quality and insufficient quantity that typhoid fever decimates the population of Johannesburg in summer and pneumonia in winter. The water-supply is in the hands of a capitalist company in which Mr. Barnato is the controlling influence, and in which Sir James Sivewright is a large shareholder. When attempts have been made, by means of public meetings, to secure a reform, the meetings have been packed in the interest of the directors, and a vote of condemnation thus avoided. Sir James Sivewright has of late been publicly criticizing the Transvaal Government for what he calls its "wrong-doing." The residents in Johannesburg would feel far more grateful to him if he used his influence, as an important shareholder in the Water Works Company, to secure them a sufficient and sanitary supply of the first necessary of life.

(2) The high rents charged both in Pretoria and Johannesburg are the result of the running up of the value of land by capitalist speculators and the high cost of building materials, such as corrugated iron, deals, window-sashes, and doors, all goods of low value and heavy weight, which have to be conveyed at least 400 miles by rail before they reach the Transvaal towns. Although all such goods are carried at the lowest rate, it can easily be understood how the railway charges mount up. As a result of these two causes, rentals of as much as £50 a month are paid for houses which in England would not let at a sixth of that amount. When I was living in Pretoria in 1890-91 I paid £25 a month for a small furnished house of five rooms and a kitchen, the rent of the house unfurnished being £20 a month.

(3) The low moral tone that prevails in these towns, and especially in Johannesburg, is what might be expected in a community the leading figures in which are men of mixed nationality and often dubious origin, who subordinate everything to the desire of making money. "In Johannesburg," it has been said, "there are some fifty miles of streets, and not a single moral principle to be met with up or down any of them." It is because of this low moral tone that all parents who can possibly afford to do so send their children, girls or boys, to be educated elsewhere—in Natal, in the Free State, in the Cape Colony.

(4) The high charges of members of the legal profession, both advocates and solicitors, are notorious. The capitalists, however, do not feel them, because when they go to law the expenses come out of the pockets of unfortunate shareholders.

None of these real, solid, and abiding grievances are to be met with in that manifesto of the National Union which was published as a justification for revolt. Why not? Because the revolt was a capitalists' revolt, and because the chairman of the National Union —Mr. Charles Leonard—was a solicitor who enjoyed the cream of the capitalists' business.

IX.

Now with regard to the grievances set forth in the manifesto of the National Union. Let us take these in order.

Dynamite.—There is no need to refer to this subject at any length. The question involved is a highly technical one, with regard to which skilled evidence is desirable. It may, however, be confidently asserted that if there is a grievance connected with this matter, that grievance would vanish if the Transvaal Government were able, or could be induced, to lower or abolish the duties on dynamite. This is evidently a matter for friendly negotiation. But in the meantime attention may be drawn—

(1) To a correspondence between the Chamber of Mines and the agent in South Africa for Nobel's dynamite, which is to be found at pages 53 and 54 of the Report of the Chamber of Mines for 1890. The correspondence refers to an offer made by Nobel's people, who had up to that time had a monopoly of the dynamite business, to fix the price of dynamite at £5 per case for five years for quantities of not less than 100 cases, the offer being made by way of a concession to the mining industry. As the price of dynamite at Johannesburg is now 85s. to 87s. 6d. per case, it is clear that the granting of the dynamite concession has had the effect of bringing the price down.

(2) To a special report of a Committee of the Chamber of Mines, signed by Mr. Lionel Phillips, which appears at pages 94 and 95 of the Report of the Chamber for 1894. In this special report it

is recommended that a dynamite monopoly company should be formed, in which the mining companies should be shareholders, on the understanding that the price of dynamite should be fixed at a minimum of 90s. per case till a 10 per cent. dividend had been paid for three years. The special report, referring to the duty on dynamite, remarks that "this heavy tax on the mining industry, and the large revenue derived therefrom, would probably lead to relief being obtained in other directions." It is clear, therefore, that there was no bitter or burning grievance associated with this dynamite question up to end of 1894.

The Price of Coal.—Coal is really the cheapest thing on the Rand. The price at the pit's mouth is about 10s. per ton, the Government charging a royalty of 1 per cent., or a fraction over one penny per ton, while even with railway carriage at 3d. per ton per mile, the average cost at the mines is only 15s. per ton, the price which the Cape Government is content to pay for the coal in use on its railways. If the Transvaal Railway Company lowered its coal rate by 50 per cent., the average cost of coal at the mines would be 12s. 6d. per ton. It is difficult to find the justification for a revolt in a difference between 15s. and 12s. 6d. for a ton of coal.

Railway Rates Generally.—Seeing that last year the Cape Colony must have earned a clear profit of £1,000,000, Natal a clear profit of £400,000, and the Transvaal Government a clear profit of £300,000—say 1¾ millions in all—out of the carriage of goods to Johannesburg, there is no doubt some ground for the complaint that railway rates to Johannesburg are too high. But whose fault is it? If the Netherlands Railway Company, with its much shorter mileage from the sea to Johannesburg, were to charge a mileage rate equal to that charged over the Cape lines, Johannesburg would be benefited, while the Cape Government would be most seriously embarrassed, for the Delagoa Bay and Natal routes would capture the whole traffic. The Netherlands Railway Company, however, at the instance of the Transvaal Government, which does not wish to be unneighbourly to the Cape Colony, keeps its rates at a somewhat higher level, in order to give the Cape lines a share of the traffic. It is, therefore, the Cape Colony that is blocking the way to a general reduction of rates, and it is for the sake of the Cape Colony that additional taxation is imposed on the mining industry at Johannesburg in the shape of unnecessarily high railway charges.

Customs Duties.—It is, I think, now generally admitted that the Customs duties levied by the Transvaal are very considerably lower than those levied by the Cape Government as a member of the Customs Union.

Direct Taxation.—The only direct taxes generally levied in the Transvaal are: The Poll Tax, producing in 1894, £9,950; the Road Tax, producing in 1894, £11,542; and the Railway Tax, producing in 1894, £6,800, making a total of £28,292.* These taxes represent about 11s. 1½d. per head per annum on the whole European population of Johannesburg, according to the census taken in July, 1896, and possibly about 4s. 6d. per head on the entire European population of the Republic. It is, however, highly probable that many foreign residents never pay them at all, for during the two years I was living in Pretoria no demand for these taxes was ever made upon me.

Direct Taxation of the Mining Industry.—In 1894 the nominal value of capital invested in Rand and De Kaap mines was £37,491,012, the market value being very much in excess of this figure. In that year diggers' and prospectors' licenses together produced £185,711, diggers' licenses amounting to £43,465. Thus the amount received from both classes of licenses amounted to 0·49 per cent. of the nominal capital, while the amount received for diggers' licenses represented 0·12 per cent. of the same value. In 1894 the total output from Rand mines was 2,024,164 oz., with a value, at 70s. per oz., of £7,084,574. Add to this the value of 92,000 and odd ounces from the De Kaap mines, and we get a gold output for the year of a value of £7,406,574—a figure which cannot be very far wrong, as the gold export from Cape ports in that year was valued at £7,370,058. As only producing mines pay diggers' licenses, the sole direct taxation on this amount was £43,465, which is equal to 0·58 per cent. on the value of the year's output. It is difficult to see how the royalty legitimately due to the Government of a gold-producing country could be fixed any lower.

General Attitude of the Government Towards the Mining Industry.—It has been seen from the Report of the Chamber of Mines for 1890 that in that year the Transvaal Government was desirous of consulting the interests of the mining industry. Similar evidence is to be found in the Chamber's Reports for 1894 and 1895, this evidence being in direct conflict with the statements made in the revolutionary manifesto of the National Union. For example:—

The manifesto complains of concessions. At page 141 of the Report of 1894 a passage appears expressing the opinion that, by virtue of the resolutions passed by the Volksraad, the "concession period" may be considered to have closed, while at page 18 of the Report of 1895 it is recorded that no applications were made for con-

*These figures, as well as others quoted here, are taken from *The Argus Annual* for 1896, published by the Argus Printing and Publishing Co., Limited, in Capetown.

cessions in that year, and that though there were applications for "contracts" for various articles, none of these were confirmed by the Volksraad.

It appears also that the Volksraad did all the Chamber asked for in respect of Sunday working (Report 1894, page 123); passed the labour regulations suggested by the Chamber without alteration (Report 1895, page 14); passed a satisfactory law with regard to the sale of drink to natives (Report 1895, page 14); took pains to prevent the molestation or robbery of natives on their way to the mines (Report 1895, page 15); accepted the recommendations of the Chamber for the codification of the Gold Law (Report 1895, page 16); amended or rejected patents objected to by the Chamber (Report 1895, page 18); acted in accordance with the views of the Chamber with regard to a proposed cyanide monopoly (Report 1895, page 19); promptly appointed a commission to investigate complaints as to trading in mining areas (Report 1895, page 20); and reduced a proposed royalty on coal from 2½ to 1 per cent. on receipt of a memorial from the Chamber (Report 1895, page 21). The National Union's manifesto, again, included a complaint as to the salaries of the judges, but altogether ignored the fact that the Volksraad had already, by resolution, increased these salaries by more than 50 per cent. in response to a memorial from the Chamber of Mines (Report 1895, pages 150 and 151).

X.

These references, which are at any moment capable of verification, will be enough to convince all fair-minded people that nothing can be more ridiculous and groundless than the charge laid against the Transvaal Government of a general hostility to the mining industry. As will be seen, the references given above relate chiefly to the year 1895, the year in which, according to Mr. Lionel Phillips and Mr. Charles Leonard, the oppression and neglect of the gold industry by the Transvaal Government were so flagrant that nothing short of an armed revolt, assisted by a military invasion, could provide a remedy. There are some other points to which more special allusion must be made, including the language question, the education question, and the franchise question. It may, however, be just as well, in passing, to draw attention to the statement made at page 123 of the Chamber of Mines Report for 1895, to the effect that though the Netherlands Railway Company had not, in the early part of that year, foreseen and adequately provided for the great expansion of the coal traffic, there had, since June, been no difficulties with regard to railway transport "of a sufficiently serious character to call for the intervention of the Chamber." Such an acknowledgment as this, made in respect

of the year in which all the fuss arose over the "drifts question," is, to say the least, interesting.

Here are two other matters which may be mentioned as by the way. Mr. Rhodes, in his evidence, stated that the Cape Colony had spent £23,000,000 sterling in constructing railways to Johannesburg. The Cape Colony has done nothing of the kind. Johannesburg was "discovered" in the latter part of 1886, and in that year the Cape railway debt stood, according to official returns, at about thirteen and a half millions, chiefly expended in constructing three competing lines of railway to Kimberley. That these railways had not been a paying speculation is sufficiently proved by the fact that from 1881 to 1886 inclusive they only earned an average dividend of £2 14s. 2¼d. per cent. It happened most providentially for the Cape Colony that these competing lines could all be more or less made use of for the new traffic created by the discovery of Johannesburg. To accommodate the new traffic, the Cape Government spent perhaps three and a half millions in constructing two short branches within the Colony and about 360 miles of railway in the Orange Free State, the cost of which was for the most part refunded when the Free State decided to take over the lines within its own territory. The Natal Government built something under 120 miles of railway for the benefit of Johannesburg. The Netherlands Railway Company, on the other hand, has built upwards of 600 miles of railway for the Johannesburg trade and for the general development of the Transvaal, and has by virtue of that larger mileage a right to first consideration.

Then it has been complained that British subjects and Cape colonists have been excluded from holding any office under the Transvaal Government. The complaint is entirely groundless. Here are instances to the contrary within my own knowledge. The Auditor-General in Pretoria (Mr. Marais) is a Cape man. The Treasurer-General (Mr. Boshoff) is the son of an ex-President of the Free State who for many years lived in Natal and had a seat in the Natal Legislature. The Postmaster at Johannesburg (Mr. Osborne) is an Englishman by birth, who once held an appointment under the Cape Government. The Sub-Director of Telegraphs at Johannesburg (Mr. Fox) came there from the Telegraph Department in Natal. The head of the Telephone Department in Pretoria (Mr. Sprawson) is a Cape colonist born. Mr. Kotzé, the Sheriff at Pretoria, is a Cape colonist and brother of the Chief Justice. Similar instances are to be met with throughout the whole civil service of the Transvaal. It is true that in the Mining Department there are a good many Hollanders, but that is because they have had a special technical training. It

has been complained that the Netherlands Railway Company imports its officials from Holland. That is true, because the men qualified for the work are not to be found in South Africa. The Cape Railway Department imports most of its men from Wales; the Natal Railway Department imports most of its men from Scotland. No one complains of this; it is an absolute necessity. Why complain of the Transvaal?

Let us come to the language question. Here I can relate a very useful and characteristic experience. In June, 1895, I happened to travel from Bloemfontein, the capital of the Free State, to Pretoria. Two important educational institutions in Bloemfontein—the Grey College for boys and the Dames Institute for girls—had just broken up for the holidays. A considerable number of pupils, of both sexes, were returning to their homes in the Transvaal. They were all members of Dutch families and some of them children of Transvaal officials. At about half-past eight in the evening the train stopped, as usual, for half-an-hour at Kroonstad for dinner. The school-girls had a table to themselves in the station dining-room, and kept up a lively chatter all dinner-time. *But not a word of Dutch was spoken; it was all English.* They could all talk Dutch well enough, no doubt; but they preferred English. It would be impossible to find a more striking illustration of the fact that the language question will settle itself in the most natural and quiet way possible, *if it is only left alone.* If, however, the language question should be pushed to the front as a grievance, you would immediately awaken opposition, for in the Transvaal, as in other countries, the conservation of their own language is by the burghers largely associated with the idea of national independence. For myself, although I neither understand nor speak Dutch, I can safely declare that I never for a single moment suffered the smallest inconvenience through this disability. In all public departments English is both understood and spoken, and on the Netherlands Railway you cannot go even to the most out-of-the-way station without finding a courteous station-master who can talk excellent English. I have never known an instance, in a railway station or a public office, of incivility. I have, I must confess, heard of one or two such instances, but the circumstances always seem to have left room for the suspicion that the incivility was provoked by overbearing conduct on the other side. If a British subject makes up his mind beforehand that all Hollanders are "d——d," the Hollanders, not unnaturally, are tempted to act up to the imputation. As regards the employment of the Dutch language in official documents and on official occasions,

no one can reasonably be surprised at the Government and the Volksraad being jealous on the subject, more especially as during the annexation period the Dutch language was officially ignored. But, so long as there is a show made of keeping up the use of the official language, the Government persistently winks at the use of English whenever it becomes convenient to use it, in the courts, in official advertisements, or in any other manner. If the sentiment that hangs round this question is left undisturbed, practical difficulties will disappear.

The education question is to a large extent mixed up with the language question. What language is to be the medium of instruction? The Free State is generally credited with being more liberal in respect of such matters than the Transvaal. In the leading State-aided schools in Bloemfontein—the Grey College and the Dames Institute—the medium of instruction is Dutch for all alike, though in the Grey College—and I have this on the authority of masters in the College—some relaxation from the rule is allowed in the higher subjects. I have been witness more than once or twice to the misery endured by pupils at the Dames Institute whose natural language was English or German, in preparing their next day's lessons in Dutch. The Transvaal rule has been by no means so stringent as this. As far back as 1890 and 1891, schools in which the great bulk of the teaching was carried on in English could secure the Government grant by devoting a certain number of hours a week to the study of Dutch. The revised scheme of education, sanctioned by the law passed in 1896, is far more liberal in this respect. It provides for the formation of a School Board in gold-mining centres, to be appointed by the Government partly from among the leaders of the various nationalities, and partly "from names to be submitted to the Superintendent by the different Church communities." The impression seems to have been encouraged in England that this is a very small and delusive concession. *The Gold Fields News*, however, an essentially English paper published at Barberton, was quite satisfied with it, and warmly expressed its satisfaction in its issue of the 17th November last, when commenting on a public address delivered by Dr. Mansvelt, the Superintendent of Education, in explanation of the working of the new arrangements. "With the verbatim report," says this journal, "of Dr. Mansvelt's speech before us, it is a mystery that the Rand has found it necessary to resort to an independent school system." The *bona fides* of the Government, so far as the Rand is concerned, has been manifested by its appointment of Mr. George Farrer, one of the four ringleaders of the revolutionary movement, as a member of the Johannesburg School Board. But really, when the reports of the Chamber of Mines are consulted, there seems

reason to believe that in this case, as in others, the educational grievance has been vastly exaggerated. For at page 155 of the Report for 1895 appears a paragraph to the effect that the mining companies have neglected the duty imposed upon them of providing for the education of the children of their employés, while on page 156 is found a scheme of assessment for the different mines. And all this without a word of complaint levelled at the Government. That education is not at any very dreadfully low level in Johannesburg seems to be proved by the figures given in the Johannesburg census for 1896. Out of 13,391 European children under the age of fifteen, 6,992 are returned as unable to read and write—an ominous total enough till one notices that out of these 6,992 children no less than 6,439 were under four years of age. Judging from these figures, the percentage of "illiterates" would seem to be unusually small.

The franchise question is one of those which has been pushed to the front. Before dealing with it, it may be as well to point out that Johannesburg has for several years past possessed what is practically a municipal government in the shape of the "Sanitary Committee." The members of this body are elected by the householders for two years, the chairman being in turn elected by the members. Mr. Hancock, who has been chairman for several years, is a British subject and an Englishman born. The Committee exercises all the functions of a municipal council, and in 1894 gathered in a revenue of upwards of £132,000, principally raised by rates on the value—not the rental—of house property. There can be no question that the Sanitary Committee is a "live" body, which in 1894 and 1895 displayed its regard for the town by fighting—the Government? Not at all; but by fighting the Water Works Company, whose unsatisfactory supply of water was a public scandal and a public danger. The town of Johannesburg, therefore, cannot complain of having no control over its own affairs, though possibly the proceedings of the Sanitary Committee are deemed by the capitalist coteries to be beneath their notice.

As regards the political franchise, it is surely obvious that there can be no granting of the franchise without naturalization. The day may come when South Africa at large will arrive at some common policy on this subject. But in the meantime it is clear that naturalization is a *sine quâ non* of the acquisition of political rights. Mr. Hofmeyr expressed this view very plainly some three years ago, when interviewed by a representative of *The Westminster Gazette*. Asked whether the franchise might not be soon conceded in the Transvaal, he replied: "Possibly, with some five years' period for naturalization, such as France, America, and other

countries insist upon; but that naturalization must be full. I must frankly say that I cannot see why men expect to be made voting citizens in any country without transferring their full allegiance to it. There must be no more trying to sit on two stools." How many British subjects or other foreign residents in the Transvaal wish to repudiate their original nationality? What advantage have they to gain by doing so? That is the first question to be answered. Then how many, by registering their names with the proper authority on entering the Transvaal, have qualified themselves to claim the allotted period of residence? I was living in Pretoria for nearly two years, and never was registered with the Field-cornet of the district, and was never requested thus to register myself, and I have little doubt that the majority of foreign residents in the Transvaal are in precisely the same position. It is idle for people to complain of the denial of the franchise when they have neglected to take the simple legal steps to qualify them for claiming it. But why, it will be asked, has the Transvaal Volksraad placed additional obstacles in the way of the obtaining the franchise? For precisely the same reason that, during the session of 1890, it declared by resolution that no railways could be constructed without the assent of the Government. The fear was then entertained that capitalists might purchase farms along a particular route and construct a railway over their private property. Similarly the fear was entertained that if the acquisition of the full franchise was made too easy, voters might one day be manufactured wholesale, and made use of by the ring of Cape capitalists for the purpose of overturning the Republic. The obstacles were a measure of defence, and those whose aggressive action seemed to render such a measure of defence necessary did the worst possible service to the great mass of quiet and orderly settlers in the country. Provided there was money enough—and people who can spend a quarter of a million on a revolutionary movement are not likely to stick at trifles—the manufacture of voters sworn to do the bidding of the capitalists would be hardly more difficult than the manufacture of signatures to a petition. I say this with special reference to the famous petition with 38,000 alleged signatures, presented to the Volksraad in 1895. When it is considered that the census taken in Johannesburg in 1896 showed that the adult male European population within a three-mile radius amounted to something over 25,000, of whom a considerable portion were not British subjects, it will be clear that a petition with 38,000 genuine signatures in 1895 was an impossibility. The petition, however, served the purpose it was intended to serve. It was not intended to influence the Volksraad;

it was intended to appeal to popular feeling in Great Britain and help to pave the way for the revolution which was to follow.

XI.

To sum up, the policy of the Transvaal Government and Volksraad during the last seven years has been represented by a continual endeavour to consult the interests of the orderly and quiet majority of the foreign population, that endeavour being marred by the necessity of defending the country against the aggressiveness of a small minority of moneyed intriguers who, having managed to usurp powers properly belonging only to the British Imperial Government, have sought to accomplish their ends by means of an invasion which was a crime, and a revolution which was a fraud. They are still labouring for the same end, and the fact that they are thus labouring constitutes the whole danger of the position. If the scheme proposed by Mr. Chamberlain in his despatch of February last year could have been carried through, their end would have been sufficiently well accomplished. The manufacture of an army of voters to give the mockery of legal support to the decrees of the reigning capitalists would have been the simplest and the easiest thing in the world. The whole of the gold industry and the commerce depending on it would have passed under the control of the favoured few, and political liberty would have been as completely suppressed in Johannesburg as it has been suppressed at Kimberley by the very same people. Meantime, every opportunity is seized by those who have constituted themselves the advocates and apologists of these moneyed intriguers to exasperate public feeling in this country, already sorely misinformed and misled, against the South African Republic. Every weapon of abuse and misrepresentation is employed for the purpose of stirring up strife, not only between the Transvaal and this country, but also between the European races inhabiting South Africa. Whatever the Transvaal Government does or leaves undone, is seized upon to justify a demand for war. And if that war should come, how many months would it be before the whole country awoke to the fact that, at the bidding of a handful of Stock Exchange manipulators, mostly of foreign origin, it had committed itself to the most disastrous crime in the whole of English history? As regards the more recent causes of complaint, it is by this time coming home to the majority in Great Britain that in respect of the conflict between the judges and the Volksraad, the latter were more in the right than the former. The Public Meetings law, enacted to pacify the suspicions of the Volksraad, is a dead letter, and has never been put in force. The suspension of two journals

which have been persistent inciters to sedition by their abuse and misrepresentation of the Government has, quite apart from a recent legal decision, in no sense stood in the way of their continued publication under an altered title. And, even if there should be found to be a technical infringement of the London Convention in the terms of the Aliens' Law, there has been no substantial breach. Not a single reputable person has been, or is likely to be, disturbed or annoyed by its provisions; and if it is used against "prize-fighters"—a class of able-bodied loafers of whom there are far too many in the Transvaal—prostitutes, and Russian Jews, the respectable and orderly majority in Johannesburg will be grateful.

There is one thing that can still save the situation—viz., a return to the patient, upright, and dignified traditions which are neither Conservative nor Liberal, but which are the natural property of a nation which has made a great place for itself in history. The influence of the Rhodesian group of speculators is monstrous and abnormal. Let it be repudiated. It is an influence that has done its utmost to destroy the moral power and control of Great Britain in South Africa, for it has done its utmost to make the name of Great Britain stink in the nostrils of the majority both of the European and native populations. It has set free a black tide of greed and corruption which has spread almost to the very steps of the throne; it has seduced servants of the Crown from their duty; it has piled up deception upon deception, intrigue upon intrigue. If this influence is only honestly and firmly thrust aside, if the true principles of diplomacy are allowed to prevail, it will be found that there is no question between this country and any part of South Africa that cannot be easily arranged with satisfaction and credit to all concerned. As for the flame of agitation that has been kindled in South Africa itself, that will die out quickly enough if only the people, great and small, who are blowing the bellows in this country will desist from their occupation.

F. Reginald Statham.

EUROPE AND GREECE.

In spite of all the efforts of the Governments of the Great Powers war was formally declared between Greece and Turkey on April 17th. As a fact, Greece declared war against Turkey when she invaded Crete two months previously with a detachment of her regular army, under the command of Colonel Vassos; and this being insufficient to provoke Turkey she sent raids across the frontier into Turkish territory, evidently thinking she was to carry everything before her. Turkey had then no alternative but to accept the situation, and declare war. Greece has thus put herself hopelessly in the wrong in her method of picking a quarrel, and has done a grievous injury to the cause of Christendom. Small nations seem to be devoid of a sense of responsibility. Europe, acting through the Great Powers, did its best to restrain both combatants. Turkey showed extraordinary forbearance, and agreed, in deference to the Powers, not to treat the Greek descent on Crete as a *casus belli*; but, notwithstanding the promise of complete freedom to Crete—which was the alleged object of Colonel Vassos's expedition—in spite of friendly appeals and remonstrance on the part of the Powers, Greece pursued her reckless course and, encouraged by one hundred members of the British Parliament, who, if there were poetic justice, would now be campaigning in Thessaly—rushed into war. There was no restraining wisdom at Athens, no authority, and no Press opinion of value. Second-rate newspapers trade on excitement, and revel in the prospects of war. Theirs to fan the flame and sell the news. Editors of such papers are the firebrands of the world. Athens rejoiced in a plenteous supply of them. Headlines and hallooing carried the day. Greek levies crossed the border and attacked the Turks as early as April 16th. It was only on Saturday evening, the 17th, that Turkey published a declaration of war. The Greek aspiration was satisfied, and the war thus courted has arrived. As far as we can judge the Greeks have no prospect of success. Their army does not amount to more than 60,000 men, even on a war footing. The Turkish army is composed, on a peace footing, of 200,000, and this can be trebled by calling out the reserves. We can only regard the struggle with dismay. Our sympathies are with neither side.

Greece has acted criminally in rushing into a war which, if it fails, can only damage the cause of the Christian countries in the East. On the other hand, we remember the Armenian massacres. The interesting question is as to whether the war can be localized. Bulgaria and Servia may think the opportunity favourable for acquiring territory and Salonica. Can Russia's influence restrain them? The Greeks have apparently superiority on the sea, and in this case should be able to damage Turkish communications and ravage the coasts. The Turkish islands, inhabited largely by Greeks, may be annexed; but this will not affect the ultimate issue if the Turks succeed in invading Greece and, possibly, in occupying Athens.

The most important question of all is: What is Europe's duty? Is the Concert to be maintained? It appears more imperative to do so than ever. It must be persisted in, if for no other reason, because the six Powers have undertaken responsibilities in Crete which they are bound to discharge. Their task here is probably rendered easier by the change of the situation created by the outbreak of war. The exigency of a formidable war is likely to reconcile Greece to the recall of Colonel Vassos with his force for severer duties elsewhere. The blockade of the island can then be raised, and we are bound in honour to secure the safety of the Turkish garrison, as well as that of the Mahommedan population, since the Concert did not permit Turkey to send reinforcements to the island. Crete can at least be preserved from the horrors of war, and its freedom may be quietly established under European protection. If Crete desires, after obtaining liberty, annexation to Greece, certainly the Powers will not attempt to frustrate the wishes of the Cretan people. Great Britain, in by-gone days, opposed the annexation of Crete to Greece, and for reasons which were not apparent. Russia advocated it some thirty years ago. A peaceful issue from the Cretan imbroglio will alone justify the existence of the Concert, and there is another still more urgent reason for its preservation. Europe will have to protect Greece from the consequences of her stupendous folly. It will be a curious result of a successful war that the victor should have to cede territory, and yet it is possible that if Greece be defeated, there may be a rectification of boundary favourable to her.

The splendid idea of a Federation of Europe having been adopted by the Government, it became at once violently attacked by the Opposition in Parliament and by a portion of its Press.

Yet Sir William Harcourt (he little remembered it) had pleaded in favour of a Concert of Europe, in a speech made in October last, which was aptly quoted by Mr. George Curzon in the debate in the House of Commons which took place on April 12th.

The very remarkable passage, which gave his case away, was as follows :—

"What we want is that which used to be called an *entente cordiale* with Foreign Powers, a friendly disposition which accommodates itself to the circumstances of the times as they present themselves, a little more international courtesy. I dare-say I shall be told to-morrow that this is a poor spirited policy by those who pride themselves on splendid isolation. I confess that I am not an admirer of the splendid isolation which results in a humiliating impotence. I prefer a cordial, good understanding ; a neighbourly spirit ministers to the happiness of mankind."

It had suited Sir William Harcourt as a party man to attack the Government in October for its "isolation," it suited him in April to attack it for endeavouring to establish the very *entente* with the Powers he had advocated. The speech he made in reply to Mr. Curzon was bombastic and mischievous. His demand that the forces of the Crown were not to be used against Greece was preposterous—Greece having been the aggressor in Crete, and having defied Europe to keep the peace. It meant that we were only to coerce Turkey. The truth is the forces of the Crown have been used too mildly against Greece, for Colonel Vassos should never have been allowed to land in Crete at all. Then Sir William Harcourt thought it a great point to demand the names of the Great Powers which opposed the withdrawal of the Turkish troops from Crete, but even Sir William Harcourt would not have revealed the name of a colleague in the last Cabinet who opposed the imposition of the Death Duties. While attacking the Great Powers and accusing them of imbecility, he had the effrontery to explain the above quoted passage from his speech as a protest against "the mischievous practice of endeavouring to breed bad blood between the different nations of the world." But we all know Sir William Harcourt, and his words count for little with politicians who take national affairs seriously. The punishment of the Liberal Party for its desertion of Bright and Chamberlain upon the question of granting a separate Parliament to Ireland is to be led by Sir William Harcourt.

Since we have got upon this term of "breeding bad blood," what are we to think of Mr. Gladstone's attack on the Russian and German Emperors? I am aware that a number of sensible Englishmen avoid reading anything at all which appears from the pen of this infatuated old man; but his eminence as a British Premier in the past, and the conspicuous part he has played in Europe for some fifty years causes all printed utterances of his to be cabled and made known over all the habitable globe, and they are supposed to express some popular opinion in this country. Therefore they must be noticed. His criticism of our part in the European Concert is thus expressed :—

"Under the present deplorable scheme all our Government has to do is to plead its opinions, as it were, before the tribunal of two youthful despots, the Emperors of Germany and Russia, and to abide by and help to execute their final determinations. They tow Austria behind them, and through one of the two have a resistless hold upon France."

More scandalous words, or ones more calculated to "breed bad blood" between nations, was probably never uttered by a European statesman. Mr. Gladstone has always been an ardent supporter of monarchies and the hereditary principle—it ill becomes him to use words about two reigning Sovereigns with whom we are endeavouring to establish an *entente,* which would be only appropriate in the mouth of a Republican. It is not for us to criticize the Constitutions of Russia and Germany—we have only to deal with the governments that represent and act for them.

Turning to the Press, *The Daily Chronicle,* of all the organs of the British Press, has distinguished itself most by its violent attack on the Concert, and by an unscrupulous misrepresentation of its work. This newspaper is a strange mixture of liveliness and fanaticism. The Editor is (apparently) a fierce Militant Christian. He has done more to provoke war than even the hundred Members of Parliament whose manifesto he prompted. He should certainly have been one of the first persons sacrificed to his God of War on the Malouna Pass. It was very difficult to make out until April 20th what actual course *The Daily Chronicle* wished the Government to pursue. An article appeared on that day—it might be called a paroxysm—in which the proper course was avowed at last. We should ourselves have declared war against Turkey and "stood in the breach with our far weightier metal." Then we are told in the same article that "if the Christian religion be worth anything for mankind it is certainly worth substituting it over vast regions of Eastern Europe for the cult which never taught men to live well, and at its best could only make of them good fighters in a vile cause." Another flight is: "Is it possible that chivalry, and love of our common civilization, burns so feebly in our breasts that we do not recognize the immense moral debt under which the action of Greece has laid our languid, faithless, material world?" Thus our modern Crusader who undertakes to represent public opinion! He would wage a Holy War, and kill the infidel off the face of Europe. The amusing thing is that this Editor, bent upon war and always hounding the Greeks into it, turns round and declares Lord Salisbury is responsible for the war—the country has been "grossly betrayed by him." Such raving is, of course, the penalty of a free Press. It makes one reflect, however, as to whether all articles

appearing should not be signed, and the name of the Proprietor and Editor printed conspicuously upon the front page; we should then have an opportunity of estimating the value of the opinion with which we are daily belaboured. There is another strange thing in connection with this manifestation, and that is the quarter from which it is launched. Christian Radicalism, certainly for the last thirty years, has been invariably identified with the Peace Party and the Cobden school of non-intervention. When I stood as a Radical for Southampton in 1868 I discovered to my amazement that among the Chapel section of the Liberal Party my candidature was viewed with suspicion, on account of my being a naval officer; it was supposed I might vote in favour of estimates to maintain an efficient navy. This was my first disappointment in politics. I then went through a course of Cobden, whose doctrines in those days were supposed to be a test of good Radicalism. How inconceivable it is to imagine *The Morning Star* of those days under the austere guidance of Mr. John Morley, or *The Daily News*,* governed by the caustic sense of Mr. Frederic Hill, clamouring for intervention and war after the manner of the advanced organ of modern pious Radicalism. It is enough to make Cobden, Bright, and even Mill turn uneasily in their graves. I remember some of us getting up a meeting in St. James's Hall during the Franco-German war to urge that the British Government should offer to mediate between the belligerents with a view to stopping needless bloodshed. At that time Paris was invested by the German army; it was at the commencement of the siege. Whereupon all the Pundits of the Liberal Party scolded and denounced us for attempting to violate the sacred principle of non-intervention. Yet we did not demand intervention, but only mild mediation, pleading that Germany should be approached to ascertain upon what terms she would consent to make peace. Mr. Gladstone was Prime Minister then, and shirked his grave responsibility. Lord Granville was Minister for Foreign Affairs, but he was a devoted disciple of Cobden, and non-intervention was his fetich. I was glad to be justified for our efforts to obtain mediation by a conversation I had some years later with Lord Ampthill, then our

* It is only fair to say that *The Daily News*, under its present management, maintains its character for sobriety and wisdom—as is illustrated by the following passage:—"Europe is divided, on other questions, into two groups—one headed by Russia, the other by Germany; and the line taken by those who desire to see Great Britain find support in one or other group, is to abuse alternately the ruler and the policy of Germany, and the ruler and the policy of Russia. This seems to us of very doubtful expediency for the particular matter in hand, and very undesirable on general grounds. Especially is this the case with regard to the Russophobia which some of the Russophiles of a few months ago are now trying to stir up" (*Daily News*, April 22nd).

Ambassador at Berlin. He had been during the war attached to the headquarters of the German army. I told him of our futile effort. He said, "You were quite right, and deserved more support," and then he told me that after the war was over Bismarck and the Crown Prince had said to him that they thought it quite probable, after the German armies had arrived before Paris, the British Government would have offered to mediate, and if so the offer would have been welcomed. This story illustrates the extraordinary contrast there is between the principles of the Liberal Party now and its principles a quarter of a century ago. The real truth is the present Liberal Party is adrift, and has nothing left to it but its name. The wild Editor may attach it to any cause or crotchet. Non-intervention was no doubt a foolish principle, but an armed intervention on behalf of the Greeks because they are Christians, and a plunge into a great European war, may be termed a wicked principle.

Better far than this an imperfect Concert of Europe. The term Concert of Europe has become such a rag in party polemics that we are grateful to Lord Salisbury for the happier phrase he has invented in the "Federation of Europe." We have to cling tenaciously to the principle expressed in this phrase. No doubt all concert between nations is difficult; because racial strife is a primeval law. Nature means slaughter. Progress and civilization consist in avoiding it. Nations are unknown to each other. The personal relation is needful to make them acquainted. It is something to have got Lord Salisbury and Monsieur Hanotaux to meet and discuss the European situation together. Lord Salisbury's perfect knowledge of French rendered their communication easy. The interview must have gratified Monsieur Hanotaux, for he always lays stress on the importance of personal communication in diplomacy. The Concert has brought about a more personal relation between the representative statesmen of the Powers, and they have discovered how far they can act together—the experience is that they can act very much further than they thought possible when they were standing suspiciously aloof. Their counsel also counteracts some of the mischief made by the daily Press, which now plays so large a part in international relations. The Paris Press has steadfastly done its utmost to make bad blood between France and England—*Perfide Albion* is the constant theme, and as a result it is no doubt honestly believed among newspaper readers in France that we are a perfidious people. There is also a school of writers in England who believe Russia to be equally perfidious, and whose judgment on foreign affairs pivots round the conviction of a "Perfide" Russia.

It is said that the Concert has not preserved the peace of Europe: but

it never undertook to preserve peace outside its own ring. It could only do this by coercion. It had no control over Greece: and it is obvious that nothing less than a strait-waistcoat could have restrained this fractious member. Then it is declared to have failed ignominiously upon the question of the Armenian massacres. That is true, but it failed because upon this question there was *no Concert*. Prince Lobanoff was then the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs, and he ruled the Concert. For some reason which Madame Novikoff, who undertakes to enlighten us upon Russian foreign policy has not explained, the Prince constituted Russia the protectress of Turkey. No public opinion had been then excited in France about the Armenian massacres—they were indeed regarded as a British product, and there was nothing to check French subserviency to Russia. The Triple Alliance was dominated by Austria's necessity to preserve the *status quo*. Germany and Italy recognized her permanent claim to determine this policy. Therefore Great Britain was left in "splendid" isolation. Not only this, but—according to Lord Rosebery—there was a resolute agreement on the part of the Great Powers to resist by force any single-handed intervention by England. The situation being thus, there was no Concert on the question of the Armenian massacres. It was paralyzed by division. Newspapers speak of the Concert as if it were a Personality. It can only act as a Personality when it is agreed. There was approximate agreement over the Cretan question, and had it not been for the Greek raid, there would have been no war, and Crete would have been emancipated from Turkish rule.

We must enlarge our minds sufficiently to consider the interests of other nations as well as our own. The situation is that Turkey is supposed to be in the throes of dissolution. Her European provinces offer not merely tempting spoils to contiguous nations, but they may be indispensable bulwarks for their preservation. The ambitions aroused by this situation are natural and creditable. To describe them as a mere "policy of grab" is a vulgarization of language. The British can perfectly afford to base their Eastern policy upon sentiment; but, as was shown by the deplorable blunder we committed in acquiring Cyprus, it has not always been so. Our virtuous Radicals think it is sufficient to call the Sultan an Assassin, the Turkish Government "the enemy of the human race," and to demand "the use of British force on the side of right in Europe." The term "right" is so obvious in its meaning to these fanatics that they are prepared to embark on a war to establish it! We have to consider, however, the conflicting interests of Austria, Servia, Bulgaria, Roumania, and Greece. The derelict Turkish provinces—if derelict they are to be considered—lie at the very doors of these countries, and offer invaluable highways and water-

ways leading to the sea with its boundless commerce. Salonica is so situate as to be the natural port of commerce for the Balkan States. Who is to possess it? What authority is to rule in Macedonia?—where there is now none—so much so that two years ago the express train to Salonica was stopped by brigands, and the passengers were held to ransom.

A design on Constantinople—rightly or wrongly—is attributed to Russia. The Power that commands the Bosphorus commands the Danube—that mighty water-way which conveys so large a portion of the commerce of Central Europe. This fact alone explains why Austro-Hungary strives to maintain the *status quo*, which is a synonym for the "Integrity" of the Ottoman Empire.

Mr. Spenser Wilkinson, in an article published in the April number of this Review, entitled "Helpless Europe," urges that it is the duty of England to go to war to keep Russia out of Constantinople. I entirely differ from this opinion.* Our responsibilities and risks over the whole world are too great to permit such a Quixotic act. I agree that we should use all our influence to prevent the Russian occupation of the Bosphorus. I do not anticipate the attempt will be made, and decline to entertain the possibility of a perfidious seizure by Russia. I have heard of this design all my life. It is the usual nightmare of the Russophobist school. If Russia ever attempted to carry out such a raid she would put herself outside the pale of civilized nations and of that Europe, we are now told, she aspires to lead. Such an outrage would embark her in war immediately with Turkey, Austria, and Germany; it would estrange the Balkan States and possibly transform them into active enemies. They no more desire to see her at Constantinople than does Austria. It is tolerably sure that if Russia obtained a footing on the Bosphorus, she would not be allowed to remain there.

Mr. Spenser Wilkinson's article may be criticized otherwise, and especially for saying that "when Lord Salisbury says Autonomy (for Crete) he means a Russian Protectorate" on account of a flying rumour that Russia had proposed a Montenegrin as Governor. He is quite mistaken in saying that "the Triple Alliance *arose* out of the necessity of Austria to protect herself against Russia's aggressive policy." The Triple Alliance was originated by Germany in order to protect her acquisition of Alsace-Lorraine, which she so unwisely extorted from France when the latter was prostrate, and the price she had to pay Austria for her alliance was an agreement to defend her against Russian aggression. This condition makes it certain that Germany and Austria would unite in resisting Russia's

* Mr. Spenser Wilkinson has done such splendid work, with his pen, towards the recovery of British naval strength that I regret being at issue with him on an Imperial question.

occupation of Constantinople. The dread of a Russian advance into European Turkey—as the Sultan's power wanes—accounts for Austria's support of Turkey. The Sultan's rule, or nominal rule, serves to keep the peace among those who would be his inheritors. When our statesmen refer to the risk of a great war breaking out, which is ever present in the situation, they know what they are talking about. Lord Salisbury and Lord Rosebery are both agreed as to the actuality of the risk. Mr. Gladstone terms it an imposture. If he or Sir William Harcourt were in the Cabinet they would be obliged to support the Concert, for there is no alternative other than that of isolation.

Russia's conduct upon the Armenian question was certainly inexplicable. Hitherto Russia has always been on the side of the insurgent Christian populations. All of a sudden, under Lobanoff she pulled up and reversed her policy. An explanation given is that the Armenians were neither Slavs nor orthodox Christians. But this explanation is not sufficient, because when the Russians occupied their territory they stipulated under the Treaty of San Stefano to remain in Armenia until the needful reforms for the benefit of the inhabitants had been carried. That at least showed a friendly interest in them. That Treaty was superseded by the Treaty of Berlin, and the Armenians were left to their fate. I hear the Russophobist sneer at what might have been their fate had they remained under Russian authority. Let us be just, and endeavour to break down some of that ignorant prejudice against Russia which prevails among people to whom Russia is a phantasy of the brain. The following passage is taken from *Observations on Bulgarian Affairs*, a volume published by the Marquis of Bath after his visit to the East:—

"The Governor, Prince Dondoukoff Korsakoff, devoted himself with entire singleness of purpose to the creation of a national life and a political organization among this hitherto downtrodden people. He found everything in confusion; he introduced order and formed an administration. This administration, it is true, he put under Russian officials, but he based it on the municipal and communal system, by means of which, apart from Turkish laws and officials, the Bulgarians had managed their own affairs; and thus he incorporated into it the most diligent and leading men among them.

"When the Russians withdrew in June, 1879, there was no difficulty in supplying their place by Bulgarians who had acquired some amount of administrative experience. . . . But he did more than all this. Together with the sentiment of national independence he strove successfully to infuse into the minds of the people a feeling of personal self-respect and self-confidence. I met at his table Bulgarian officers who, but a few months before, had been simple peasants, and who were received on equal terms with the highest Russian officials."

If the Russian reversal of policy seems strange to us, the British reversal of policy on the Armenian question seemed equally strange to the Powers. For all this century, from Canning to Beaconsfield,

our policy had been to support the Turk against the Christian. As far back as August, 1807, Mr. Canning wrote as follows to Sir A. Paget, at Constantinople :—

"You will further state to the Turkish Plenipotentiary that in addition to this evidence His Majesty's Government have received the most positive information of secret articles being annexed to the Treaty, from the tenor of which it is manifest that the dismemberment of the dominions of the Porte is not intended to be confined to the loss of Wallachia and Moldavia alone, but that it is in the contemplation both of Russia and France to expel it from all the territories which it at present possesses in Europe. To projects such as these His Majesty's Government would never have been a party, and their only motive for directing you to communicate the existence of these designs to the Ottoman Ministers, is the anxiety to apprise the blow which is meditated against the Porte, in order that to avert it they may exert all the means which they may have at their command. Whatever may be the ultimate success of these designs, His Majesty will always be disposed to acknowledge the government of the Porte, in whatever part of its dominions its residence may be established, and to maintain with it the closest friendship and connection."

I find this extract in an interesting book recently published, called *The Outgoing Turk*,* the title of which may be premature, but the contents of which are well worth reading. It gives an account of the observant author's journey last year through the Western Balkans. It comes out very clearly in the book, from actual experience, that it is much easier for the Christian (who can be tolerant) to govern the Turk, than for the Turk (whose religion forbids tolerance) to govern the Christian. The author, Mr. Thomson, dwells much on the hostility against England which he found on account of the British policy so invariably favouring the Turk, and says, "It is especially since the Crimean War that England has been justly looked upon all through the Balkan States as the friend of the Turks and as the enemy of their Christian subjects." Yet in spite of the policy of a whole century we were now found supporting a rebellious Christian population against the Sultan! No wonder the Powers were suspicious. Great State Policies are not supposed to be influenced by humanitarian views. A sort of cabal was formed against us. Our motives were suspected and Cyprus was remembered.

But the Unionist Government deserves the utmost credit for its reversal of policy, and all the more so because the pro-Turkish policy has been a cherished tradition with the Conservative Party. Popular indignation at the Armenian massacres was the sole cause of the reversal—strange as this may seem to our Foreign critics. The ancient policy founded upon State considerations was frankly abandoned, and Lord Salisbury admitted in the House of Peers that it had been a mistaken one.

* *The Outgoing Turk*, by H. C. Thomson. William Heinemann.

If the English reversal is explicable and justifiable, the Russian reversal remains a mystery. We hoped to have secured agreement on this question. I sought for some explanation in Madame Novikoff's article published in the April number of *The Fortnightly Review* entitled "The Rediscovery of Europe," but although she is an ardent panegyrist of her country, there is a discreet silence on this point. The article is, however, well worth reading. The title required explanation. We had no idea previously that Europe had been lost; but so it was, she was floating about in forlorn darkness until Russia discovered and united her in conference. Thus was the practical "reunion of Christendom" accomplished, and there "in the blue waters of Crete an astonished world sees for the first time in history the Fleet of Europe and the Army of Europe!" I do not know how far Madame Novikoff may be regarded as a serious exponent of Russian policy, but anyhow she avails herself of Western liberty to vindicate Russia and to attack England. I should like to have a corner in the Russian Press to reply to her. One cannot but feel that there is some basis for her statement that Russia has always been the liberator in the East, and that England has always supported the oppressor—that is, up to 1896. The kingdom of Greece was due to Russia and to Russian initiative alone. The Battle of Navarino was declared to be an "untoward event," and, in the words of Lord Palmerston, "only a slight act of remonstrance struck parenthetically into the unbroken friendship with the Sultan." It was Russia that "crossed the Danube, forced the passes of the Balkans, and dictated at Adrianople the peace which first made Greece an independent State."

Greece has, however, now fallen under the displeasure of Russia, and we find ourselves scolded for encouraging her lawlessness. I thought we had done just the contrary. Yet Madame Novikoff talks of Prince George having sailed for Crete "amidst the applause of the English Press," and of the "chorus of praise" showered on the Greeks. I can only imagine that this talented lady confines her reading to *The Daily Chronicle*. All the principal papers have condemned the Greek conduct. The only real delinquents who can be taken at all as representing public opinion are the hundred members of the House of Commons—which is not, after all, a large proportion of foolish people out of a body of 670, especially when we consider the fixed quantity which is "agin the Government." Towards the end of the article the writer descends from her lofty interpretation of Russian conduct and indulges in a veiled threat of plundering John Bull, should he be recalcitrant, of some of his booty, and of presenting him with a bill which would be "a thousand times larger than the modest million demanded by President Kruger." This is bathos with a vengeance. I thought we

were on a higher level. I have shown in this article that I am aware there is a national animosity against Russia among some of my own countrymen; I think this is most regrettable and do my best to remove it, but I do not believe the keenest Russophobist amongst them would justify his policy on the ground of expecting to extort a ransom from Russia.

It is satisfactory, however, to learn that the Russian Government is bent on maintaining the Concert of Europe, and that it has done its best to prevent the Slav States from extending the theatre of war. What the Concert has to do is to keep the ring, insist that Crete shall be regarded as neutral ground—under Federal guardianship—and seize the first occasion for separating the combatants and securing terms of peace which, while fair to the Victor, are satisfactory to Europe.

FREDK. A. MAXSE.

CANADIAN POETRY.

In dealing with Canadian poetry, I shall confine myself to setting and answering two questions: "Should Canada be expected to have a poetry distinctively her own?" and "What is the nature of Canadian Poetry?" I intend to neglect the Poets themselves and deal only with their work.

I.

Canada as a nation is a mere infant. The Confederation of 1867 comprised only the four Provinces, Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia. The North-West Territories and the Province of Manitoba were added in 1870, British Columbia was admitted in 1871, and Prince Edward Island in 1872. The Confederation of 1867 did not form a nation; it was but the first step in that direction. New Brunswick and Nova Scotia were not connected with the other provinces by railroad until 1876. Manitoba and British Columbia have been united by the steam engine to the rest of Canada only since the end of the year 1885. When it is considered that the distance from the western coast of British Columbia to the eastern coast of Nova Scotia is about 3,500 miles, it can be easily seen that without such railroads, no unity of feeling and aim could be engendered among a population of five millions scattered across such an enormous width of territory. They were very necessary to the bringing of the different parts of the new Dominion into close relationship.

The Dominion of Canada is thus really about twelve years old. True, the history of the Province of Quebec runs back to 1608, when Champlain founded "the Gibraltar of America"; that of Nova Scotia to 1624, when the English first settled in "the Province by the sea"; that of Ontario and New Brunswick to 1784, when the United Empire Loyalists exchanged comfort and wealth for pioneer life, and the privilege of remaining subjects of "His most Gracious but misguided Majesty" the King of England. But these very circumstances have impeded the growth of a United Canada. The people of Nova Scotia are Nova Scotians, and some of them cannot be worse insulted than by being called "Canadians." The people of Quebec speak an alien language, bow under the yoke of a mediæval

hierarchy which maintains the supremacy of the Church over the State, and looks to Rome for guidance rather than to London. True, these people have been faithful to Canada and to the British Crown, but they have not become "Canadian" or "British," as these words are understood in Ontario or in Great Britain.

Can a nation be made in twelve years? Certainly not. But there can be no doubt that a Canadian national feeling in the strictest sense has been engendered by Confederation, and encouraged and fostered by the men who have moulded Canadian thought and guided Canada's ship of State during not only the past twelve years, but the thirty years that have elapsed since the Confederation came into being. A faith in this country's future has grown up steadily, if slowly, and appears to be no tropical exotic which may succumb before the first wintry blast. There have been traitors in the camp, there are yet; but they hide away in secret places, and their day and generation will soon have passed.

Under such circumstances, why should Canada be expected to have a poetry distinctively her own? There seems to be no good reason for such an expectation, and yet there is a Canadian poetry to-day—songs which are being sung at the Canadian fireside and in the Canadian school-room, songs which have even found their way into the periodicals of the United States and of Great Britain. But the singers are all young and inexperienced; there is not a sage or a hoary head, not a grand old man amongst them, and how could there be? As is the Nation, so must be its poets—and both are young.

In 1875, a prominent Canadian wrote * :—

"A good poem is the product of an age, and it is, therefore, no disgrace if Canada has not been the fortunate home of its author. The only work of importance which has been issued from the Canadian Press is Heavysege's *Saul*, a dramatic poem which, despite the dowdy dress in which it appeared, called forth loud praises from the organs of criticism in England. Many other poets, notably Mr. Sangster, have written harmonious verse. In such compositions, however, our French Canadian writers excel, and to one or two of them is due the high honour of adding to the *repertoire* of old France."

I quote this as an evidence of the point that I have been trying to make, and that is that whatever poetry Canada has to-day, in the year of grace, 1897, is a product of the past ten or fifteen years. On the point I would like to quote Mr. Bourinot, who, in 1893, reviewing Canadian literature since Confederation (1867), says † :—

"Many of the poems illustrate rather the aspirations of the schoolboy or maiden, whose effusions generally appeared in the poet's corner of the village newspaper.

* *The Canadian Monthly*, Vol. VII., No. 6, June, 1875. The writer was James Douglas, Jun., then president of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.

† *Our Intellectual Strength and Weakness*, by J. G. Bourinot, C.M.G., LL.D. London: Bernard Quaritch. 1893. (English edition.)

"Nowhere in this review have I claimed for this country any very striking results in the course of the half-century. I cannot boast that we have produced a great poem or a great history which has attracted the attention of the world beyond us; but what I do claim is, looking at the results generally, the work we have done has been sometimes above the average in those fields of literature in which Canadians have worked."

There have always been verse-writers in Canada, but the sources of inspiration have been of the motherland, rather than of that country. A few poems that were really Canadian appeared, but they were the exceptions.

The first question has thus been answered as follows: Canada has really no poetry distinctively her own, because the conditions have not been favourable. But I shall now proceed to show that she has some bright young poets, of whom much may be expected.

II.

Although Canada has been a nation but a short time she has had a great many poets, who, looking into the future, have sung patriotic songs which are exceedingly pleasing, and which reflect the aspirations and aims of the best class of the citizens of this colony.

Foremost among these in point of popularity, though not in poetic quality, is *The Maple Leaf Forever*, which has been set to music by the author, Alexander Muir, and which is thoroughly familiar to at least 75 per cent. of the English-speaking Canadians.

"THE MAPLE LEAF FOREVER.

"In days of yore the hero Wolfe,
Britain's glory did maintain,
And planted firm Britannia's flag,
On Canada's fair domain.
Here may it wave, our boast, our pride,
And joined in love together,
The Thistle, Shamrock, Rose entwine,
The Maple Leaf forever!

"CHORUS.

"The Maple Leaf, our emblem dear,
The Maple Leaf forever!
God save our Queen, and heaven bless
The Maple Leaf forever!

. . . . . .

"God bless our loved Canadian homes,
Our Dominion's vast domain;
May plenty ever be our lot,
And peace hold an endless reign;
Our Union, bound by ties of love,
That discord cannot sever,
And flourish green, o'er Freedom's home,
The Maple Leaf forever!

"On Merry England's far-famed land
May kind heaven sweetly smile;
God bless old Scotland evermore.
And Ireland's emerald isle!
Then swell the song, both loud and long,
Till rocks and forests quiver;
God save our Queen, and heaven bless
The Maple Leaf forever!"

One of the best patriotic poems is *Dominion Day*, by John Reade, which appeared in *The Montreal Gazette* on July 1st, 1867, the day on which the Dominion of Canada was born. It has since appeared in his printed volume, *The Prophecy of Merlin and other Poems*. There is not space to quote the whole of it, but I select two of perhaps the most striking stanzas:—

"VII.

"1.

"Canada, Canada, land of the maple,
Queen of the forest and river and lake.
Open thy soul to the voice of thy people,
Close not thy heart to the music they make.
Bells, chime out merrily,
Trumpets, call cheerily,
Silence is vocal, and sleep is awake!

"4.

"Canada, Canada, land of the bravest,
Sons of the war-path, and sons of the sea,
Land of no slave lash, to-day thou enslavest
Millions of hearts with affection for thee.
Bells, chime out merrily,
Trumpets, call cheerily,
Let the sky ring with the shout of the free."

He then pictures the ocean, the mountains, and the lakes as rejoicing at the birth of the new nation, and closes with the two following stanzas:—

"XIII.

"Let the shout of our joy to-day be borne through the pulse of the sea,
To the grand old land of our fathers, a token of loyalest love;
And may the winds bring back sweet words, O our land, to thee,
As in the far old time the peace-leaf came with the dove.

"XIV.

"And long, long ages hence, when the land that we love so well,
Has clasped us all (as a mother clasps her babe) to her motherly bosom,
Those who shall walk on the dust of us, with pride in their Land shall tell,
Holding the fruit in their graceful hands of the birth of to-day, the blossom."

Charles G. D. Roberts, perhaps the foremost among Canadian poets, has several strong pieces of this character. I quote a few stanzas at random from a poem entitled *Canada*:—

"O Child of Nations, giant-limbed,
Who stand'st among the nations now
Unheeded, unadorned, unhymned,
With unanointed brow,—

"How long the ignoble sloth, how long
The trust in greatness not thine own?
Surely the lion's brood is strong
To front the world alone!

"I see to every wind unfurled
The flag that bears the Maple-wreath,
Thy swift keel furrows round the world,
Its blood-red folds beneath.

"On soft Pacific slopes,—beside
Strange floods that northward rave and fall,—
Where chafes Arcadia's chainless tide,
Thy sons await thy call.

"But thou, my Country, dream not thou!
Wake, and behold how night is done,—
How on thy breast, and o'er thy brow
Burst the uprising sun!"

Other patriotic poems are also strongly British in tone; *e.g.*, the closing stanza of John Reade's poem on *Hastings*:—

"And now as our young nationhood is struggling into birth,
God grant its infant pulse may beat with our forefathers' worth;
And, as we gather into one, let us recall with pride
That we are of the blood of those who fought when Harold died."

Or these verses by Louis Fréchette (who not long ago won the highest prize of the French Institute for the best poem of the year):—

"LE DRAPEAU ANGLAIS.

"Regarde, me disait mon père!
Ce drapeau vaillemment porté.
Il a fait ton pays prospère,
Et respecte la liberté.

"C'est le drapeau de l'Angleterre;
Sans tache, sur le firmament,
Presque à tous les points de la terre
Il flotte glorieusement.

"Oui! sur un huitième du globe
C'est l'étendard officiel;
Mais le coin d'azur qu'il dérobe
Nulle part n'obscurcit le ciel.

"Il brille sur tous les rivages;
Il a semé tous les progrès
Au bout des mers les plus sauvages
Comme aux plus lointaines forêts," &c.

Pamphile le May writes chivalrously of Queen Victoria in a charming poem of seventy lines, of which I quote but two:—

" Hosanna ! que le ciel prolonge encor ton règne !
Tu veux que l'on t'estime et non que l'on te craigne."

Passing from this patriotic verse to the general poetry, I shall attempt to answer my second question, " What is the nature of Canadian poetry ? "

In the first place, the poets have gone to Nature for their inspiration, and in Canada Nature furnishes wonderful material in large inland lakes, broad sweeping rivers, majestic Niagaras, rolling prairies, extensive forests, and hidden mineral wealth. The enormous area contained within the Canadian boundaries, the almost prodigious natural wealth awaiting development, have given a strength to the Canadian verse ; while the simplicity and high-mindedness of a people who are conquering and subduing that great Nature, and building for a brilliant future, have had a similar effect. This tendency to seek inspiration from Nature is evidenced in the opening poem of Charles G. D. Roberts' new volume entitled *The Book of the Native :—*

" KINSHIP.

" Back to the bewildering vision
And the border-land of birth ;
Back into the looming wonder,
The companionship of earth.

" Back unto the faithful healing
And the candor of the sod—
Scent of mould and moisture stirring
At the secret touch of God ;

. . . . .

" Back to hear the hushed consulting
Over bud and blade and germ,
As the Mother's mood apportions
Each its pattern, each its term ;

. . . . .

" Back to wisdom take me, Mother ;
Comfort me with kindred hands :
Tell me tales the world's forgetting,
Till my spirit understands," &c.

So also it is apparent in *Resurrection,* by the same author, which I give in full :—

" RESURRECTION.

" Daffodil, lily, and crocus
They stir, they break from the sod,
They are glad of the sun, and they open
Their golden hearts to God.

" They, and the wilding families,—
Windflower, violet, may,—
They rise from the long, long dark
To the ecstasy of day.

"We, scattering troops and kindreds,
From out the stars wind-blown
To this wayside corner of space,
This world that we call our own.

"We, of the hedge-rows of Time,
We, too, shall divide the sod,
Emerge to the light, and blossom,
With our hearts held up to God."

Of a more boisterous character is the following poem of William Alfred Campbell, but it illustrates how he also has studied in Nature:—

"MID-WINTER STORM IN THE LAKE REGION.*

"Rises the wild, red dawn over the icicled edges
Of black, wet cavernous rocks, sheeted and winter-scarred,
And heaving of grey-green waves, foaming the ice-blocks and ledges,
Into this region of death, sky-bounded, solitude-barred.

"Turned to the cold kiss of dawn, gilding their weird, dark faces,
Lift the cyclopean rocks, silent, motionless, bare;
Where high on each haggard front, in deep-plowed passionate traces,
The storm hath graven his madness, the night hath furrowed her care.

"Out of the far, grey skies comes the dread north with his blowing,
That chills the warm blood in the veins, and cuts to the heart like fate,
Quick as the fall of a leaf the lake-world is white with his snowing,
Quick as the flash of a blade, the waters are black with his hate.

"God pity the sad-fated vessels that over these waters are driven
To meet the rude shock of his strength, and shudder at blast of his breath.
God pity the tempest-drave sailors, for here naught on wave or in heaven
Is heard but the hate of the night, the merciless grinding of death."

The Hon. J. D. Edgar, Speaker of the House of Commons, has given us a very pretty translation of one of Fréchette's nature-poems:—

"SAGUENAY.†

"The forest has spells to enchant me,
The mountain has power to enthrall;
Yet the grace of a wayside blossom
Can stir my heart deeper than all.

"O towering steeps, that are mirrored
On Saguenay's darkening breast!
O grim, rocky heights, sternly frowning,
The thunders have smitten your crest!

"O sentinels, piercing the cloudland,
Stand forth in stupendous array!
My brow, by your shadows enshrouded,
Is humbled before you to-day.

* Canada has five large inland lakes on her borders: Superior, Michigan, Huron, Erie, and Ontario.

† Saguenay is a large tributary of the St. Lawrence.

"But, peaks that are gilded by Heaven,
Defiant you stand in your pride!
From glories too distant above me,
I turn to the friend by my side."

One of the sweetest of our poets is Archibald Lampman. Much of his work is marred by a dilettantism which is objectionable—except, perhaps, to a dreamer; but some of his poems are strong, powerful, and touching. One of his earlier sonnets shows his love for Nature:—

"MIDSUMMER NIGHT.

"Mother of balms and soothings manifold.
Quiet-breathed night, whose brooding hours are seven,
To whom the voices of all rest are given
And those few stars whose scattered names are told,
Far off, beyond the westward hills outrolled,
Darker than thou, more still, more dreamy even,
The golden moon leans in the dusky heaven,
And under her, one star, a point of gold.

"And all go slowly lingering toward the West,
As we go down forgetfully to our rest,
Weary of daytime, tired of noise and light,
Ah, it was time that thou should'st come, for we
Were sore athirst and had great need of thee,
Thou sweet physician, balmy-bosomed Night."

A writer in a recent article says that Lampman comes the nearest to being Canada's poet of Nature, "His knowledge of Nature is more than intellectual, it is affinitive." There is certainly much evidence in support of this, and one more of his carefully written poems may be quoted:—

"APRIL IN THE HILLS.

"To-day the world is wide and fair,
With sunny fields of lucid air,
And waters dancing everywhere;
The snow is almost gone;
The moon is builded high with light,
And over heaven's liquid height,
In steady fleets serene and white,
The happy clouds go on.

"The channels run, the bare earth steams,
And every hollow rings and gleams
With jetting falls and dashing streams;
The rivers burst and fill;
The fields are full of little lakes,
And when the romping wind awakes,
The water ruffles blue and shakes,
And the pines roar on the hill.

. . . . . .

" I feel the tumult of new birth ;
I waken with the wakening earth ;
I match the bluebird in her mirth ;
And wild with wind and sun,
A treasurer of immortal days,
I roam the glorious world with praise,
The hillsides and the woodland ways,
Till earth and I are one."

The wonderful speaking stillness of the night in a huge forest is beautifully described by one of our younger poets, Duncan Campbell Scott.

"NIGHT AND THE PINES.

" Here in the pine shade is the nest of night,
Lined deep with shadows, odorous and dim,
And here he stays his sweeping flight,
Here where the strongest wind is lulled for him,
He lingers brooding until dawn,
While all the trembling stars move on and on.
. . . . . .

" When morning lifts its fragile silver dome,
And the first eagle takes the lonely air,
Up from his dense and sombre home
The night sweeps out, a tireless wayfarer,
Leaving within the shadows deep,
The haunting mood and magic of his sleep.

" And so we cannot come within this grove,
But all the quiet dusk remembrance brings
Of ancient sorrow and of hapless love,
Fate, and the dream of power, and piercing things
Traces of mystery and might,
The passion sadness of the soul of night."

In a lighter touch are the following stanzas from a poem by the late Alexander McLachlan, who has been very generally termed "The Burns of Canada." He was very popular, especially in Ontario, and his death last year was much lamented.

"MAY.

" O sing and rejoice !
Give to gladness a voice
Shout a welcome to beautiful May !
Rejoice with the flowers,
And the birds 'mong the bowers,
And away to the green woods, away !
O blithe as the fawn
Let us dance in the dawn
Of this life-giving, glorious day :
'Tis bright as the first
Over Eden that burst—
O, welcome, young joy-giving May !

"O crown me with flowers
'Neath the green spreading bowers,
With the gems and the jewels May brings!
In the light of her eyes
And the depth of her dyes
We'll smile at the purple of Kings.
We'll throw off our years
With their sorrows and tears,
And time will not number the hours
We'll spend in the woods
Where no sorrow intrudes,
With the streams and the birds and the flowers."

Of this class of poems, the last that I should like to quote is a very pretty song by one of our younger poets, which was published last year in a volume entitled *Poems and Pastels*. The author, William Edward Hunt, is a Montreal journalist.

"SONG OF AUTUMN.

"Come troll with me a merry lay,
And fill your bowl with right good wine,
I am old Autumn, always gay,
And rosy-cheeked and bright of eyne.

"Here's health to that young urchin, Spring,
My sister, flowery Summer, too;
Of all good fellows I am King—
So here's a health to me and you!

"A vagabond's a lazy elf,
And groweth fat—that's understood—
By whining for another's pelf;
But I grow fat because I'm good!

"I wave o'er all the lowly sod—
See how the royal banner gleams!—
Illimitable golden-rod;
I gild the rushes by the streams.

"I tint the leaves with Tyrian dyes;
I ripen all the golden grain;
I do it with my merry eyes,
All for your pleasure—that's my gain.

"I wink: the berries scarlet go
And purple—they are full of fun!
The lush grape's jovial juices flow,
Nuts swell and fatten, every one.

"The apple's cheeks grow pink with glee,
The red plums split their sides and fall,
And ('tis a glorious sight to see)
The peaches twinkle on a wall!

"I know when brother Winter starts,
He'll stop my pranks, but—never fear!
Bid all good folk keep merry hearts—
I'll be as blithe, I trow, next year.

"So troll with me a merry lay,
And drain a bowl of right good wine,
I'm gossip Autumn, always gay,
With ruddy cheeks, and bright of eyne."

These quotations will, I think, convince the reader that Canadians are lovers of Nature. This has had an effect on the national life, in that Canadians, as a rule, have a much higher appreciation of what is good, and true, and noble in the world, than their cousins in the United States. Business and political life is conducted on a higher plane, and approaches, in Canada, much more nearly to the excellent standard which Great Britain has set before the world of nations.

But Canadian poets have also taken up other themes. Historical poems are quite common, and, to Canadians, decidedly interesting. These, of course, are much longer and more difficult to quote in a paper of this kind. There have been many events of a romantic character in the wars between the French and the Indians, between the English and the French, between the Canadians and the United Statesians in 1812-13-14, and in smaller internal and external troubles since that great war. Canada has its heroes, such as Cartier, Champlain, Montcalm, Daulac, Wolfe, Brock, Tecumseh, and Laura Secord, and many of their deeds have been embalmed in verse.

George Murray wrote *How Canada was Saved* to commemorate how seventeen Frenchmen and five Indians, under Captain Adam Daulac, held seven hundred Iroquois at bay so long that a planned attack on Montreal was given up. Some of the closing lines are as follows:—

"Eight days of varied honours passed; what boots it now to tell
How the pale tenants of the fort heroically fell.
Sure of the martyr's golden Crown, they shrunk not from the Cross,
Life yielded for the land they loved they scorned to reckon loss!
The Fort is fired, and through the flames, with slippery splashing tread.
The Redmen stumble to the camp o'er ramparts of the dead;
There, with set teeth and nostril wide, Daulac the dauntless stood,
And dealt his foes remorseless blows 'mid blinding smoke and blood,
Till hacked and hewn, he reeled to earth with proud unconquered glance,
Dead, but immortalized by death—Leonidas of France!
True to their oath, that glorious band no quarter basely craved;
So died the peerless twenty-two, so Canada was saved!"

M. J. Ratzmann Lawson, a Novia Scotia poet, has written a ballad entitled *The Battle of Grand Pré*, to commemorate an engage-

ment which was fought on February 9th, 1746, near the present boundary between Novia Scotia and New Brunswick,

> "Where Blomidon's blue crest looks down upon the valley land,
> And the great waves of Fundy lap the grey stones on the strand."

A small body of Frenchmen and Indians from Quebec crossed New Brunswick in the winter time, and after sixteen days of rough travel—

> "With panting breath and weary tread, through midnight's icy blast,
> With murder in their hearts they reach the Grand Pré camp at last;
> The sentinels were at their post, within the watchers slept,
> Hushed in the tumult which the storm and cruel snowdrift kept.
> O God! that brave men thus should die, no time to rouse or stir!
> One hundred English soldiers fell in that dread massacre,
> Guarding the colours of their King in this new Province land—
> Scalped by the Indian's tomahawk, hewn down by alien hand!
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Crimean heroes, all our own, Lucknow and Kars still tell,
> That Nova Scotia's sons can serve their Queen and country well!
> But with their fame, let us recall the battle long ago,
> When English soldiers met the French at daybreak in the snow,
> And held the fort, and kept the flag, as only heroes could,
> Where, in this orchard land of ours, the old grey stone house stood.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Where Lechmere sank, and Pickering died, where the brave Noble fell,
> Under our own old English flag, the flag they loved so well;
> Where sunny Gaspereaux sweeps on amid the apple trees,
> And the blue waves of Minas chant a requiem to the breeze;
> Raise shaft or column to the dead, let some memorial fair
> Tell to our children's children still that *Heroes* slumber there!"

Sarah Ann Curzon, a sweet and talented lady who lives in Toronto, has embalmed the memory of the U. E. Loyalists in the following short poem:—

"THE LOYALISTS.

> "O ye, who with your blood and sweat
> Watered the furrows of this land,—
> See whereupon a nation's brow,
> In honour's front, ye proudly stand!
>
> "Who for her pride abased your own,
> And gladly on her altar laid
> All bounty of the older world,
> All memories that your glory made.
>
> "And to her service bowed your strength,
> Took labour for your shield and crest;
> See where upon a nation's brow,
> Her diadem, ye proudly rest!"

I should also like to quote two stanzas from Frederick George Scott's *In Memoriam* of those killed in the North-West, in quelling the rebellion of 1885:—

"Wild the prairie grasses wave
O'er each hero's new-made grave;
Time shall write such wrinkles o'er us.
But the future spreads before us
Glorious in that sunset land—
Moving every heart and hand,
Comes a brightness none can shed,
But the dead, the glorious dead.

. . . . .

"Growing to full manhood now,
With the care-lines on our brow,
We, the youngest of the nations,
With no childish lamentations,
Weep, as only strong men weep,
For the noble hearts that sleep
Where the call of duty led,
Where the lonely prairies spread,
Where for us they fought and bled,
Our ever loved and glorious dead."

Besides these poems inspired by Nature or by history, there are many creations by our poets which are more cosmopolitan in character, and show that their aims and thoughts and hopes are those of the whole human race. Their ideals, their fancies, and their creations may be placed, without fear, side by side with those of the poets of Great Britain and the United States. The comparison may not prove the superiority of our poets, but it will at least show that broad culture, strength of character, and an intensity of emotion are among our poets' mental qualities. In imagination and invention they stand well in comparison, while in sweetness and power they rise superior to nearly all their contemporaries. They have been limited to a certain extent by the provincialism of the people among whom they have lived, but in many cases they have risen above it. As this provincialism is now passing away, our poetry is becoming bolder and broader and deeper—bolder because of the wonderful nature with which Canadians are in daily contact, broader because of the breadth of thought and education common among the Canadian people, and deeper because of the earnestness of the people who, in the face of great natural and artificial difficulties, are building up a strong and righteous nation in the northern half of the North American continent.

Here is a strong sonnet by John Reade:—

"TEMPLE CARNE.

"The mountains gather round thee as of yore,
O holy lake, across whose tranquil breast
Was borne the Saint who to the farthest west
Brought the mild knowledge that transcends all love.
There on the islet at the chapel door
The penitents are kneeling, while along

There flows the mystic tide of sacred song
To where I stand upon the rugged shore.
But now there is a silence weird and dread,
And utter loneliness is in my heart.
I came to seek the living, but the dead—
This is their welcome. Slowly I depart,
Nor read the name beneath a single cross:
He still is rich who does not know his loss."

A poem from Charles G. D. Roberts' latest volume may appropriately be inserted here:—

"RECESSIONAL.

"Now along the solemn heights
Fade the Autumn's altar lights;
Down the great earth's glimmering chancel
Glide the days and nights.

"Little kindred of the grass,
Like a shadow in a glass,
Falls the dark and falls the stillness;
We must rise and pass.

"We must rise and follow, wending
Where the nights and days have ending,—
Pass in order, pale and slow,
Unto sleep extending.

"Little brothers of the clod,
Soul of fire and seed of sod,
We must fare into the silence
At the knees of God.

"Little comrades of the sky,
Wing to wing we wander by,
Going, going, going, going,
Softly as a sigh.

"Hark, the moving shapes confer,
Globe of dew and gossamer,
Fading and ephemeral spirits
In the dusk astir.

"Moth and blossom, blade and bee,
Worlds must go as well as we,
In the long procession joining;
Mount, and star, and sea.

"Toward the shadowy brink we climb,
Where the round year rolls sublime,
Rolls, and drops, and falls forever
In the vast of time.

"Like a plummet plunging deep
Past the utmost reach of sleep,
Till remembrance has no longer
Care to laugh or weep."

Ethelwyn Wetherald has written some pretty verse, a volume of hers being published in Boston in 1895. Here is rather a unique poem:—

"IN THE CROWD.

"Here in the crowded city's busy street,
Swayed by the eager, jostling, hasting throng,
Where traffic's voice grows harsher and more strong,
I see within the stream of hurrying feet
A company of trees in their retreat,
Dew-bathed, dream-wrapped, and with a thrush's song
Emparadising all the place, along
Whose paths I hear the pulse of beauty beat.

"'Twas yesterday I walked beneath the trees,
To-day I tried the city's stony ways;
And still the spell that o'er my spirit came
Turns harshest sounds to shy bird ecstasies,
Pours scent of pine through murky chimney haze,
And gives each careworn face a woodland frame."

Jean Blewett has published no volume, but she is one of the sweetest of our young singers. She lacks depth and finish sometimes, but is always genuine. Here are two of her shorter poems in full:—

"AT DAWN.

"I cannot echo the old wish to die at morn
As darkness strays,
We have been glad together greeting some new-born
And radiant rays;
The earth would hold me; everyday, familiar things
Would weight me fast,
The stir, the touch of morn, the bird that on swift wings
Goes flitting past.

"Some flower would lift to me its tender dew-wet face,
And send its breath
To whisper of the earth, its beauty and its grace,
And combat death,
It would be light and I would see in thy dear eyes
The sorrow grow,
Love, could I lift my own undimmed to Paradise
And leave thee so?

"A thousand bands would hold me down to this low sphere
When thou didst grieve;
Ah, should Death come upon morn's rosy breast, I fear
I'd crave reprieve!
But when, her gold all spent, the sad day takes her flight,
When shadows creep,
Then, with my lips on thine to whisper, 'Love, *Goodnight*,'
And fall asleep."

"HER PORTRAIT.

"A little child she stood that far-off day,
When Love, the master-painter, took his brush,
And on the walls of mem'ry dull and grey
Traced tender eyes, wide brow, and changing blush.

The gladness, and the youth, the bending head
All covered over with its curls of gold,
The dimpled arms, the two hands filled with bread,
To feed the little sparrows brown and bold
That fluttered to her feet. It hangs there still,
Just as 'twas painted on that far-off day,
Nor faded is the blush upon the cheek,
The sweet lips hold their smiling and can thrill;
And still, the eyes, so tender and so meek,
Light up the walls of mem'ry dull and grey."

One of the latest successful aspirants for a place in the first rank of our poetical writers, is Francis Sherman of Fredericton, N.B. His first volume entitled *Matins*, recently published, contains a number of short poems of varying character. As one critic says: "You may read them from end to end and never guess the aspect of this nineteenth century from any description of theirs." They are simple introspective dreamings, apparently untouched by the world's happenings and doings, but influenced by "the golden air of the idyllic land" in which he lives. The following poem may give a hint of his style:—

"THE PATH.

"Is this the path that knew your tread,
Once, when the skies were just as blue
As they are now, far overhead?
Are these the trees that looked at you
And listened to the words you said?

"Along this moss did your dress sweep?
And is this broken stem the one
That gave its flower to you to keep?
And here where the grasses knew the sun
Before a sickle came to reap,

"Did your dear shadow softly fall?
This place is very like, and yet
No shadow lieth here at all;
With dew the mosses still are wet
Although the grass no more is tall.

"The small brown birds go nestling through
The low-branched hemlock as of old;
The tree-tops almost touch the blue,
The sunlight falleth down like gold
On one new flower that waiteth you."

S. Frances Harrison (Seranus) has written a volume of rather light verse which has attracted some attention. Her poems descriptive of French-Canadian life are rather good; for example:—

"AT ST. BARTHÉLEMI.

"In the parish of St. Barthélemi
There is always something taking place,
A procession, a fête, or a jubilee,

"Some kind of religious revelry
That pleases the fervid populace
In the parish of St. Barthélemi.

"The saints must each be remembered, you see,
Which perfectly suits the Gallic race . . .
A procession, a fête, or a jubilee,

"Fix'd by the Church's fast decree,
Makes them both happy and full of grace.
In the parish of St. Barthélemi.

"You will easily learn to bow the knee,
And each in its turn you will straight embrace
A procession, a fête, or a jubilee.

"In fact, there is always on the tapis,
Moving at mediæval pace,
In the parish of St. Barthélemi,
A procession, a fête, or a jubilee."

Pauline Johnson, a lady with Mohawk blood in her veins, has done some very fair work, though "the poetical qualities are sometimes lost in the polemical." Her most striking poems embody the plaintive wail of the oppressed Indian, as may be seen in these few lines from *A Cry from an Indian Wife*:—

"My Forest Brave, my Redskin love, farewell;
We may not meet to-morrow; who can tell
What mighty ills befall our little band,
Or what you'll suffer from the white man's hand?
Here is your knife! I thought 'twas sheathed for aye.
No roaming bison calls for it to-day;
No hide of prairie cattle will it maim;
The plains are bare, it seeks a nobler game;
'Twill drink the life-blood of a soldier host.
Go; rise and strike, no matter what the cost.
Yet stay. Revolt not at the Union Jack,
Nor raise thy hand against this stripling pack
Of white-faced warriors, marching west to quell
Our fallen tribe that rises to rebel."

There are some other poets whose work might be exampled did space permit. Bliss Carman, a young Canadian, living in the United States, has published two volumes of lyrics which have been much praised; Arthur Weir's *The Snowflake and other Poems* contains some verse of special worth; the Hon. J. D. Edgar, Speaker of the House of Commons, has written some musical poems descriptive of rural life; Mrs. Macleod, of Prince Edward Island, is the author of a volume entitled *Carols of Canada*; Theodore H. Rand has given us many poems descriptive of the beautiful scenery around the Bay of Fundy; Arthur J. Stringer has produced many poems rich with promise of the future; Charles Mair, author of the polished drama, *Tecumseh*, has written

some fugitive verse worthy of being preserved; Dr. W. H. Drummond, of Montreal, is the author of several picturesque French-Canadian poems, such as *Lac St. Pierre*; Agnes Maule Machar (Fidelis) attracted much attention a few years ago, and has written both prose and poetry; William T. James is the author of *Rhymes Afloat and Afield*; and William Douw Lighthall has written some strong poems, besides selecting and editing *Songs of the Great Dominion*, published, in 1892, by Walter Scott, London. All of these are full worthy of being termed true poets, and all have contributed liberally to the great wealth of Canadian poetry.

From the selections given above, the reader will perceive that there is a remarkable desire for literary excellence among the people of this young nation, an intensity of peaceful feeling which seeks pleasure, not in the hurly-burly of business life, but in books in Nature, and in the cultivation of sentiment in the immaterial rather than the material. Canada's progress towards wealth and industrial greatness has thus been slower than that of her sister nation, the United States, but the foundations of her national structure are broad and deep. "The Land of the Maple Leaf" may yet be the centre of a civilization which shall by its grandeur and its nobility surpass that of those nations whose success is founded on principles more ephemeral and more selfish.

JOHN A. COOPER.

IN DEFENCE OF WORLDLY MOTHERS.

"He jests at scars that never felt a wound." Nothing could perhaps better illustrate the truth of that saying than the calm way in which certain active-minded ladies denounce all their contemporaries, propound theories that they have never had to test by practice, and dispose—in half-a-dozen pages of a cheap magazine—of a question that has exercised the minds of the thoughtful since the dawn of civilization, if not from the beginning of the world.

The question of the future of their daughters is one which mothers ponder over deeply; and for an answer to it that shall be all-convincing and all-embracing they search daily. They cannot assert that they have found it yet, and they perforce still lean, as their grandmothers and their grandmothers' grandmothers before them leant, *faute de mieux*, on the "marriage market."

This marriage market is not a modern invention; Mr. Long, R.A., was not travestying ancient times when he painted his picture of the Babylonian one, and I have reason to believe that not only the Babylonians, but the Chaldeans and Assyrians, the Egyptians and Phœnicians were familiar with the institution. I do not know whether its antagonists consider Eleazar's "heads or tails" method of wooing Rebekah an improvement on our modern system; but Leah and Rachel were unblushing cases of sale; and even the matrimonial alliance of David and Miriam reads suspiciously like a reward in "value received" for "services rendered."

Of course, on the other hand, the Bible gives us the case of Ahasuerus and Esther. The king sought among all the marriageable ladies of his kingdom till he discovered his "true mate." But where is the moral difference between recognizing a man or a woman as your true mate because he or she has beautiful features and a lovely figure, or because he or she has got the cash with which it is possible to make the path of life enchanting, and to remove the rocks and shoals whereon so many have made shipwreck? Gold may be dross, but beauty is only skin-deep, and of both the preacher has equally said that they are vanity.

As to knowing one another thoroughly before marriage (another panacea proposed) that is—Heaven be praised!—quite impossible,

as, after all, "thorough knowledge" is only a pretty paraphrase for knowing each other's faults; and therefore Nature has cast civilization in such a mould that this knowledge shall only come when the glamour of love has warped the judgment and made us ready to find any number of excuses for that which is otherwise inexcusable. For love is a glamour and an atmosphere, and is equally degraded by being made the vehicle for a girl's selfish reasoning and deduction, *à la* New Woman, as by being used for the gratification of the mercenary ends which she contemns.

Mothers want their daughters to be thoughtless of the future in their aspirations—to imagine all the delights the unknown may have in store for them—but not to seek actively and personally their fulfilment. Therefore, they instituted the marriage market, ancient or modern. They do not wish their girls to weigh and appraise every man they meet—"Will he do for my husband?" And should they query so it would be a matter of equal regret whether the question continued: "Is he handsome enough?" or "Is he clever enough," "good enough," or "rich enough?" Let them enjoy their youth without care and without *arrière-pensée*; and leave the weighing and appraising to the matrons whose duty it has been since time immemorial, and whose knowledge and experience give them a certain qualification for the task. Time enough when the chosen candidate from the marriage market comes along to draw the girl's attention to him. Unless she be a fool she will know whether he can or cannot cast the glamour of love over her, and that is all she need think of. It is for the mother to go up and down the market, to seek the one to whose hands she will commit her dearest; and surely the market is not to blame if the would-be purchaser has not knowledge enough or wisdom enough to pick out the right article. The market has always claimed this superiority over the shop, that in the former you have a larger choice, and a better opportunity for truly judging, than in the latter, where it is the shopman's business to try and force his wares upon you, whether they suit you or not. In the market you have a free hand.

I am not talking of that happily small minority of girls whose mothers have abdicated their functions, and allowed their daughters to grow up like (*pace* St. Matthew) the lilies of the field that toil not, neither do they spin—unlucky young women whose thoughts have never been directed; whose minds have never been educated, never weeded of the tares or prepared for the reception of the true and the good, who never open a book, who can bear no serious occupation, and whose ideal occupation is broomstick cricket or aimless "biking." It is as unfair to judge of the majority of cared-for and watched-over girls by these unprotected waifs and strays as by the shrieking sisterhood. That sisterhood must smile at the notion of

one of their sex accusing them of being "cultured tricksters" and "civil masqueraders." "Hypocrites" they may be—in their denunciations of things they know nothing about; but "social humbugs" or "polite liars"——!

However, though it is not against these that the crusade of the "Modern Marriage Market" is generally undertaken, since they denounce marriage in any shape or form; but against the ordinary young lady of society. It seems to me that there never has been an age in which the courtesy and gallantry of bygone times, which, we suppose, is what is meant by "social humbug," and "polite lying," were so laid on the shelf. Woman, with her clamour for rights and votes and equalities, has imagined that she will more easily attain the unattainable if she gives up the homage and the reverence and the worship which she thinks she despises; and we quiet elders have grieved to see lazy youth, as represented by the rising male generation, quite ready to take advantage of the concessions so eagerly forced upon them. And I am sure there is less "polite lying" in the world now than ever before.

But I am not concerned with the girls here, only with the mothers and the marriage market. With all due deference to the hundreds of novelists and poets who have thundered about it, that institution is neither to be sneered at nor despised. The old classics represented love as blindfold, shooting darts into "the brown," till his victims forgot themselves in their adoration of him. Some of the new preachers would like to see them forget everything except themselves—not even remembering each other. Here is an example culled from the relentless verbosity of an assailant of that "society" with which she—the assailant—is about as well acquainted as are her easily-pleased readers.

A Capri artist has married a wife and means to keep her and their child on £100 a year, which "he earns . . . by painting charming little studies of the beauties of the island and disposing of them, whenever he can, to chance visitors. . . . 'We love each other' is the simple secret of the idyllic life they lead. . . . When you have been at one of the merry little Bohemian suppers . . . you begin to think you have found something like the lost Paradise."

Possibly *Madame* may "crave nothing more than she possesses"; but one would have thought that *Monsieur*, an artist and consequently a man of education, would scarcely have liked to see his wife sweeping rooms and making beds—necessities even in an idyllic climate—spoiling her complexion cooking over a hot fire, or ruining her hands cleaning boots and darning clothes. I do not suppose that even in Capri can you keep a servant *besides* clothing,

feeding, and lodging three people *and* giving Bohemian supper-parties, on £100 per annum. Considering that, only a few months ago, Delicia thought it punishment enough for her murderer to compel him to live on £500 a year, it seems rather severe to declare that a paragon of virtue, to be imitated by all the girls in the United Kingdom, should be satisfied to exist on a third share of the fifth part of that sum !

Then, what sort of an education will the son, "whose baby-beauty is the delight of every inhabitant of the place," enjoy ? Will the artist, in the intervals of producing the casual sketches, and catching the stray visitors on whom his income depends, be able to teach him everything necessary to equip him for the battle of life; or the wife anything in the intervals of cooking and mending, even if we omit the scrubbing that may be supererogatory in Capri's clime ? Must the boy become an artist whether his gifts lie that way or not ?

And if sickness comes—or death ? Can that artist really so shut his eyes to the future as to be *quite* happy knowing that if anything happens to him, his wife and child will be beggars ? I have often heard the Bohemian talk of the arrant selfishness of the Philistine; but of anyone so entirely selfish and self-centred as this—happily fictitious—Capri artist I never have heard.

Perhaps, however, the "fair Sicilian" was merely a peasant-girl, to whom household drudgery would seem the predestined existence of woman, and to whom it would be no hardship to have to go into the fields to earn the few *soldi* necessary to keep body and soul together in her and her son; while the idea of education for him would convey no meaning to her. But in that case she is contented because she herself is uneducated and mindless, and her artist must have married her solely for her lovely features and beautiful colouring; which may have sprung from sources as tainted and as "not-to-be-enquired-into," to use the expressive Carlylese, as the golden dowry he might have married her for had she been English.

No, the marriage market and the share mothers take therein are not to be sneered at. Of course it has its abuses—what human institution has not ? But whosoever has had a daughter to bring up and provide for will understand its uses and its value. Mothers are attacked because they wish their daughters to "marry for an establishment." The New Woman says they should only look for "love," and that they should believe that love is more compatible with poverty than with wealth. Let me illustrate the difference between her meaning and theirs.

The Duchess of A., very wealthy, has brought up her daughters in the good old English fashion, in the lap of the luxury her husband's

income provides her with. They have reached marriageable age, having learnt not only to dance and play lawn tennis and "bike" (awful word!), but to play the piano and sketch, and do Ladies Bountiful to all the poor and distressed round them; leading by no means idle or useless lives, but lives without thought for the morrow, and ignorant of the privations and sordid cares that surround other as well-born but poorer young ladies. One of them has "fallen in love" with the Capri artist—before he met his fair Sicilian, *bien entendu*. That sweetest of all anxieties, "Will he be there—shall I see him?" makes her heart beat louder wherever she goes. He whispers in her ear a tale of appreciation no one has ever told her before. Would it not be dreadful not to meet any more? Is not this Love, with the very biggest of capitals? Who cares for such prosaic matters as bread and butter or silks and ginghams?

The Duchess, according to the new gospel, should answer, "Quite right, my dear. So long as you can feast your eyes on your lover you will never desire luncheon or dinner. So long as you can listen to his sweet whisperings you will always be indifferent as to whether you go about in smart frocks or in rags. Love is all that matters."

But, according to the old teaching, she should say, "My dear, do you think your pretty manners, fostered by pleasant surroundings, and your becoming clothes, paid for by your father's money, have nothing to say to your attractiveness? Do you think your artist will enjoy talking to you as much when, instead of expanding your mind, and keeping it alive and awake with reading and seeing the world and what is going on therein, all your mental powers must be concentrated on making sixpence go as far as a shilling—a feat that requires incessant and undivided attention? Do you really suppose that a woman can, at one and the same time, provide sordid necessities and intellectual culture? Are you prepared never to have any pretty clothes? Do you know the price of pretty clothes? Never to give any presents—you have always enjoyed the *rôle* of special providence; to see your children having to do without the things your childhood considered necessaries; to be unable to pay for good governesses for your girls, and to have to send your boys to schools where their schoolmates will be despised by your brothers? Do you think your artist will be quite as cheerful when he finds that matrimony means giving up his cigarettes and his clubs because the money he never missed before is required to feed the mouths at home? When he sees other women well-dressed and apparently free from care in his walks abroad, and comes home to find you absorbed in domestic worries, and clad in the threadbare garments of the season before last, shall you rejoice to re-

member that all he has to do without is a sacrifice for your sake? Shall you be glad to notice that he does not repent of all he has made you give up for his sake?"

These may be the "petty maxims" that Tennyson's Amy-lover scorned; but our lives are, after all, merely an agglomeration of innumerable petty trifles.

Or, let us suppose Mrs. Patrick O'Toole denying herself everything, and greedily hoarding the small remains of her Irish husband's rents to give her daughter the "chance" of a London season. I have no patience with the unpractical romancer who says in effect: "No—far better let your daughter struggle and labour as you have had to do; make up your mind never to see her taste the sweets of life, never to be free from the sordid anxiety of ways and means, than try and lead her to marry the man who can enable her to enjoy in peace and comfort what money can buy." The good girl should always wait for the hero-lover, who is sure to be able some day to welcome her to his garret. Let her leave the villain-baronet in top-boots to the bad girl.

That is not my ideal of the duties of motherhood. They are difficult enough without adding such complications. If the question, "What to do with our boys," is hard to answer, the question as to our girls is far harder. What should be the aim of their education is the gist of it in both cases; and in the first it is, after all, only a question of inclination and means. It will answer itself easily enough if the boy has any special bent, or the parents the money for starting him in any career.

But with the girls—what career is there to bring them up to? If they are brought up to a trade or profession, either it is make-believe, as the children say—and no good ever came to anyone from that—or else they are accused of taking the bread out of the mouths of those who have to live by their work. And what trades or professions should we care to see our daughters follow? Should we like them to drag their young lives through the daily drudgery of the workshop; or in stuffy class-rooms, fighting with idleness and stupidity; at a time of life when we ourselves were brought out (in the true, the good sense of this ill-used expression) to enjoy all that sociability and hospitality can provide in the way of amusement for the young? Frivolity and amusement are not synonymous with vice and wickedness; and dancing, dressing, acting, bicycling, and the rest of it do not necessarily lower the mind. Like all things human, in this as in all else, moderation is all right and excess is all wrong.

Then, what is it that remains? Only the old duty—to bring up our daughters for the marrriage market.

Now, what is meant by this "marriage market"? Is it the

London season that, we are told, "opens in May, when the bidders will assemble as usual"? What is this London season? A few months in which are crammed as many dinners, concerts, parties, and balls as the evenings can be made to hold. But, except that the number given in a given time is greater than anywhere else, in what do these dinners, concerts, parties, and balls differ from those held at other times and elsewhere? Is sociability in itself wrong? And if not, why is a ball in London more a "market" than one in the country? If it be reprehensible for young people to foregather, how are the "true mates" to discover one another? Is this a harking back to the Wanderjahr, which was supposed to be the goal of the New Girl a few years ago, and which even that terrible, and luckily rare, damsel has ceased to clamour for?

If a man is *not* to consider a girl's "value in face, figure, skin, eyes, hair, and general complexion," and is *not* to be introduced to her at social gatherings, and is *not* to consider her dowry (or want of dowry), how in Heaven's name is he to consider her at all? Physical attraction is the law of nature; the duty of the mother is so to bring up her daughter that the corollary, mental and moral attraction, can only be brought about by those virtues and those qualities which are not worn, like the eyes or the hair, on the outside. The whited sepulchre stalks abroad now as in the days of Scripture, and not the most careful of mothers can be certain that the man who makes up to her daughter is not assuming virtues he has no claim to. But she can enquire about and make certain of his worldly means—whether he can give his wife butter as well as bread: and surely faults of temper and character are not rendered *less* trying by being allied to poverty and want of comfort.

As a worldly-wise *grande dame* of my young days used to say to me: "There are two maxims a good mother should always keep in mind: (1) It is better to repent in a coach and four than in a hack cab. (2) It is better to be an old man's darling than a young man's slave."

She did not mean thereby that we should impress on the rising generation that nothing but wealth and selfishness mattered; but that it was the duty of the mother to try and so arrange matters that, if the lottery of matrimony—for of course it is a lottery—should not bring her daughter the Grand Prize, at least it should bring a tangible something, not an absolute blank.

When I speak of bringing up daughters for the marriage market I mean that it is the mother's aim to teach those qualifications which are most likely to enable them to make their partners in life happy and contented. Every age has its own standards, and it is not our fault, but that of the whirligig of time, if in these days the prim and

mincing gentleness, the ready faint and readier tear, the general helplessness and pretended ignorance, are no longer the ideal of our sterner halves. In the ever-increasing struggle for life, man finds it pleasanter to have a helpmeet at hand than a contrast of peace at home to the strife abroad; and so woman has, like him, cast aside the old coat of mail, and tries to the best of her powers to supplement his new-fashioned weapons with hers. It was as easy to be "learned" and "advanced" in the old days as in these—Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, Lady Blessington and Lady Hester Stanhope, Madame de Staël, and the Miss Berrys, Madame Récamier and Rahel von Ense, are immortal proofs that the "maîtresse-femme" is not an invention of this latter day; but as man's need has increased so has the development of the latent powers in the general as well as in the individual woman.

We must consider matrimony the goal of a woman's life. Not all the preaching of the New Woman, not all the gloomy statistics that prove there are not men enough to "go round," will alter that eternal fact. As man was created to fight—whether in the Army or the City, in Art or in Science, whether to become a Wellington, or a Raphaël, or a Mozart, or a Darwin—so woman was created to protect. Gloss it over as you will, the woman who grows old as a spinster, whether she have a profession or an occupation or not, has missed the sweetest draught of life. She has never had anyone, as she would have said in her babyhood, of her "very own." So we invented a marriage mart to cope with the money mart and the other marts of man; and as each tries to make the best bargain for their wares, why should we be blamed more than they? We have been happy in our married lives: why should we not try to provide the same happiness for our children? We know that London gathers to itself all that is best and most desirable of the manhood of our country, and that our girls will have a larger choice (and the better chance of choosing well that a wider experience gives) in London than elsewhere, so we bring them there. *We* bring them to the marriage market, but *they* come to enjoy themselves. Will anyone seriously maintain that the primary idea connected in a girl's mind with the London season is marriage? (I am not talking of "girls" of 28 or 30, to whom the serious side of life has necessarily begun to come home; girls whom even my old-fashioned conscience does not object to see walking about alone, or frequenting those "boy and girl" dinners and dances which are anathema to the careful and thoughtful mother; but of the real girl of 18 or 20 to whom the world is still a beautiful mystery.) I will bet him or her all Lombard Street to a china orange that ninety-nine out of every hundred would, in the Palace of Truth, be able to assert that their one aim

and wish is to amuse themselves, above all to dance. As the poet says of the maiden at her first ball:—

"Are the love stories romancing?
Will not someone come to woo?
Not alone her feet are dancing,
But her heart is dancing too."

But, while the mothers sit round the room on their solemn benches, watching the young people disporting themselves, how can they better employ their leisure than in discriminating and searching among the performers, sorting the sheep from the goats, the "*partis*" from the "detrimentals," making up their minds to encourage this one and to snub that other? That is what keeps them awake till the small hours of the morning, and enables them patiently to bear up against boredom and fatigue which are too often at the same time their share.

That is why I, and others of my maligned class, fight tooth and nail against the custom our naturalized New Yorkers are trying so hard to acclimatize here: that of sending out our boys and girls together to amuse themselves without the much-abused selfless chaperon. New York has not yet lived long enough to evolve a leisured class; the parents are still so busy looking after the material needs of their children that they can spare no time for the moral and intellectual ones. They send their girls away to school to be educated, and when they are "finished," as it is called, they launch them, like their boys, upon the world to sink or swim. They have done their best for them and can do no more. But here it is different. Here the leisured classes have risen equally beyond the Continental and antique idea that the young can know nothing, and therefore anything so important as marriage must be settled by the elders without any interference from the children; and the American and arch-modern belief that marriage is a bargain in which it must be left to the stronger and wilier to get the better of the weaker and simpler.

We insist on chaperoning our girls, not because we do not *trust* them, as I have heard some folks sneeringly insinuate; nor because we do not *trust* our friends as some young women have angrily put it; but because we wish to keep the women-children so long as we may "unspotted from the world"—by which I mean that we think the longer they remain ignorant of vice and wickedness, the longer they imagine that all men are good husbands *in posse*, and all women good women *in esse*, the happier they and their future lives will be. Dare we leave them these illusions and yet launch them alone into the world? Is a girl improved in any way by having to fight for her own hand, to defend herself from the man she does not care for, from the wiles of the rival she has to

look out for? Is it not better for her, and for the husband who may come, that we should do the fighting and the looking-out for her? That we should find the man, and then leave her with her powers unimpaired and her eyes clear, with the clearsightedness that only light-heartedness can give, to make up her mind and enable him to make up his mind, concerning the future for them both? To quote my poet (not Omar Khayyam) again:—

> "The chaperon learns the lesson daily taught her:
> 'A perfect mother makes a perfect daughter.'"

To sum up: so long as comfort and culture, cleanliness of body and of mind, are purchaseable commodities, so long as want of money means want of all these, so long as we wish to keep our girls light-hearted and simple-minded, just so long must we tolerate and cling to our marriage market: which enables the girls to enjoy themselves while the matrons do the marketing, seeking the "true mate" and finding the "match," as it is truly called, which promises best to secure that which, let the scoffers write what they like, lays nearest our hearts—the happiness and prosperity of our daughters.

ELLEN DESART.

THE SPOLIATION OF IRISH LANDLORDS.

INTRODUCTORY.

To the Editor of "The National Review."

Sir,—I had the honour a short time ago of introducing to the Prime Minister a deputation of Irish Landowners, who desired to lay before him their remonstrance against the mode in which the Irish Land Acts are being administered, and their complaint of the gratuitous and unmerited ruin which is thereby being brought upon many of their class, and to ask for a thorough and impartial enquiry into the whole subject.

In the course of his interesting reply to the deputation Lord Salisbury said: "I think you are guilty of a vice which is not often attributed to your countrymen—that of too great modesty and too great silence. You do not let the world know sufficiently what is going on in Ireland. . . .

"Any act on their part (the Land Commissioners) of which there is just right to complain should be known over a very wide circle, and known in this part of the Empire, as well as in the other I believe you are quite competent to do that . . . and if you do it, you would be taking the right step and adopting the best plan for obtaining a remedy for the evils of which you complain. I am quite sure that if men who knew their case as thoroughly as Captain Westropp (one of the speakers) would only give the public at large a constant knowledge of the cases which come under their observation, opinions would be formed. . . .

"If you are suffering injustice, the remedy is in your own hands by taking care that that injustice is not committed in a corner."

These were Lord Salisbury's words.

The representative landowners who were deputed by their brethren in Ireland to lay their case before the Prime Minister have taken this counsel to heart, and have sought to follow it by preparing the accompanying statements.

These statements do not pretend to give a complete account of the matters they treat of. Completeness can only be obtained by

means of such a thorough enquiry as we have asked for, and which we hope may be granted to us.

I believe, however, that their contents will be sufficient to secure the support of the readers of *The National Review* to the demand for the enquiry that we have made, and I earnestly commend them to their attention and consideration.

They speak for themselves and call for no further comment from me.

One point, however, I should like to emphasize, and it is this:

The curtailing of the incomes of the limited number of more or less opulent noblemen and gentlemen whose names are known to the public as representative Irish landlords, is the least distressing feature in the state of things that prompted the deputation to Lord Salisbury.

That which has chiefly spurred us on to more vigorous action than any hitherto taken, is the total ruin with which the mass of the smaller landowners of Ireland are threatened by the sweeping away of the margin of income they have to live upon. I refer to the wholesale driving to the workhouse or to penurious exile of the men who have resided on their estates, and who have performed their duties as citizens to the best of their means and abilities.

The cases of these men and their families are hard enough, when totally undeserved. But in addition I may refer to those of many gentlewomen, widows and others, dependent on incomes derived from rents.

Many of these unfortunate ladies have already been reduced to absolute penury, and many more are now threatened with the same fate.

Surely this is sufficient to arouse the sympathy of the justice-loving British public!

I think, however, that those who read the accompanying papers will admit that, distressing as these aspects of the case are, ours is not a mere appeal to pity, but is founded on simple justice and clear right.

Yours faithfully,

ABERCORN.*

I.

THE Land Act of 1881 conferred on the tenants the following three privileges amongst others, viz.:—

Fixity of Tenure, Fair Rent, and Free Sale. These were called at the time the 3 F's, and they represented the supreme aspirations of the tenant-right party before that year. Mr. Gladstone, when introducing the Land Bill of 1881, denied with indignation the representations of those who stated that these three F's were

* The Duke of Abercorn is President of the Irish Landowners' Convention.—[EDITOR *N.R.*]

granted by his Bill; but such, without any doubt, has been the effect of the Act.

Let me point out what effect two of these three F's have had upon the property of the landlords.

First, "Fixity of Tenure."

By the Act of 1881 every agricultural tenant in Ireland has been given what is virtually a lease for ever. He has been granted what is called "a statutory term of fifteen years," perpetually renewable at the expiration of every term.

Before this Act every landlord could, at his pleasure, resume possession of any farm on his estate—if it was held by a lease, at the expiration of the lease, if by a tenancy from year to year, he could serve a notice to quit, and afterwards bring an ejectment on the title. In Ulster, on estates where Ulster tenant-right prevailed, the landlord had to pay the tenant the value of his tenant-right according to the custom of his estate. He had to do the same outside of Ulster, where a usage corresponding to the Ulster tenant-right prevailed. In all other cases he had to pay the tenant compensation for disturbance under the Act of 1870. The landlord, however, had always the power to resume possession if he wished, subject to the foregoing conditions: he could do this on the most extreme tenant-right estate in Ulster. I mention this emphatically, as many of the tenants' advocates have stated over and over again that the Right of Pre-emption did not exist on Ulster tenant-right estates. The landlord's right was greater than that of pre-emption, for he could buy whether the tenant wished to sell or not.

Before the Act of 1870 a landlord had the right of resumption without any limitation. This was not just, but yet he had the right, which, I am glad to say, was seldom enforced in Ulster, where the Ulster tenant-right custom was allowed to become established by the good-will of the landlord.

The Act of 1881 has taken the right of resumption from the landlord for ever; he cannot if he wishes it, enter upon and cultivate what formerly was his own land, unless the tenant permits him.

There is a clause in the Act of 1881 giving a landlord power to resume possession of a holding at the end of a statutory term, if he can prove to the satisfaction of the Land Commissioners that he requires the land for the good of his estate. A landlord in this neighbourhood applied lately to the Sub-Commission to be allowed to resume possession of about three acres of a tenant's farm at the expiration of his statutory term of fifteen years; these acres lay between his demesne and the county road. He was refused permission.

It is plain then that the Act of 1881, by granting fixity of tenure has transferred to the tenant from the landlord the great part of the rights that formerly belonged to the ownership of the soil, and which still belong to it in England and Scotland; and this without any compensation.

I come now to the effect of fixing so-called Fair Rents. At first sight it would seem that as it would be unjust to charge a tenant an unfair rent, so it must be just to force a landlord to charge a fair rent. It might be so, if it were clearly established what a fair rent is. By the Act of 1881 it is left to the Land Commission to decide this question, and they have the power to delegate this duty to Sub-Commissioners, but the right is reserved to either the landlord or the tenant to have his case heard by the three members of the Land Commission.

When the Act of 1881 was passed, did anyone believe for a moment that there was not a fair rent in the whole of Ireland? The exceptions were so few that they need not be considered. Almost every rent that came before the Sub-Commissioners was reduced. From August 22nd, 1881 (when the Land Act of that year was passed), up to March 31st, 1896 (the date of the last report of the Land Commission), 162,065 rents have been fixed by the Commissioners, the percentage of reductions made having been 21·3 in the case of yearly tenancies, and 24·3 in the case of leasehold tenancies. The Act of 1887 gave power to a leaseholder to have a fair rent fixed. One hundred and seventeen thousand and twenty-one cases were settled by agreement, the average reduction being 17·6 per cent.

In November, 1896, the first statutory term of fifteen years of the cases first heard came to an end, and these tenants have in most cases applied to have a second fair rent fixed. Up to January 31st, 1897, which is the date of the last return in my possession, in 1,282 cases the first statutory term rents were reduced 26·9 per cent., and the new rents so fixed are 41·5 per cent. below the original rents before 1881.

It is then no wonder that Irish landowners have been struck with consternation to see ruin impending over them. A very large number of landowners have estates encumbered with family charges, or family charges converted into mortgages, and this from no fault or extravagance of theirs. They were living before 1881 on a margin of their rentals—suppose this margin to have been one half, or 50 per cent., if equally great reductions should be made in their cases, they will have to live in future upon one-sixth of their former incomes.

If the rents fixed by the Sub-Commissioners were really fair rents, we should have no ground to complain of injustice on this

head, but it is because we consider that our rents are being reduced far in excess of anything that can be justified by economic causes, that we feel such a burning sense of injustice. On March 12th, a deputation waited upon Lord Salisbury to request that Government would appoint a commission to enquire into the procedure and practice of the Land Commission in fixing rents.

We did so for the following reasons: firstly, because our rents are reduced far beyond what can be justified by economic reasons; secondly, because the Act is so administered that we can have no confidence in the decisions arrived at, and thirdly, because the safeguard granted to us by the Act of 1881, namely, that "when either party is dissatisfied with the decision of the Sub-Commissioners, he should have the right to have his case reheard by all three chief Land Commissioners sitting together," is rendered nugatory by the procedure adopted by the Land Commissioners on this head. Lord Salisbury, having heard our statements, gave us the usual official answer, that he would consult his colleagues. He expressed his doubts as to the utility of a Royal Commission, because of the great difficulty of obtaining a unanimous decision from such a body, and he upbraided us for not letting our complaints be more widely known, especially in England.

Feeling confidence in the justice of our complaints, it is this publicity we want, for we feel assured that when the people of Great Britain are persuaded that our properties are being taken from us by the unjust administration of an Act of Parliament, either a remedy will be found to remove this injustice or compensation will be granted to us for the infliction of it. It may be a noble sentiment that Home Rule should be killed by kindness, but this kindness should not consist in sacrificing the landowning classes of Ireland. We affirm that our rents are reduced far beyond what can be justified by economic causes. How can we help being convinced of this, when we see in every part of Ireland that the demand for land is so great, that large sums are given every day for the tenant-right of those very farms on which rents are being reduced? It is all very well to tell us that we have no reason to complain, because rents in England are being and have been reduced there voluntarily far more than in Ireland, and this without any Land Act. In the first place, we doubt the fact; in the second, we say that the cases are not similar. No doubt large reductions of rents have taken place in England, but we should like a comparison to be made between what the rental of England was forty years ago and what it is now, and a similar comparison to be made of the rental of Ireland. English landlords reduce their rents because their farms are thrown on their hands if they do not. How would they like to be forced to reduce their rents if the competition for farms were as

keen as ever it was? This is the case in Ireland. In the same page of the local newspapers in every county we read of reductions of rent of 25 to 50 per cent., and of sales of tenant-right at twenty-five to fifty years' purchase of the judicial rents. I shall give a few instances of my own knowledge. A tenant applied to have his rent reduced, which was £13 10s. per annum. Before his case was decided, he offered at an auction £250 for a farm of similar size and rent not half a mile from his own farm, and failed to get it, because he did not bid high enough, the said farm being in a very neglected state and the houses in ruins. Another small farm adjoining that on which this tenant resides was sold quite lately at twenty-eight years' purchase of the rent. Another tenant sold his farm this month at a price 50 per cent. higher than that for which he purchased it ten years ago. A tenant applied for a second fair rent to be fixed for a farm of which the first judicial rent was £6 10s. He stated that he purchased this farm a few years ago at the same rent for £265! Could anywhere but in Ireland such a statement be made coincident with an application for a reduction of rent?

To further illustrate what I have stated, I give some instances of reductions of judicial rents since November, 1896, and of sales of tenant-right of farms held under judicial rents since January 1st, 1895, all in this neighbourhood.

REDUCTION OF RENT.

Number of Cases.	Landlord.	First Judicial Rent.	New Rent.	Reduction per Cent.	Remarks.
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.		
5	James Bruce, Esq.	86 9 3	70 2 6	18·8	
2	Lord Charlemont...	19 9 0	15 14 0	19·3	
25	Rev. A. Irwin ...	240 11 10	167 8 1	30·5	
2	Mr. Howard ...	35 10 0	23 8 1	34	
3	Major Chaine ...	26 5 0	19 5 0	26·6	
6	Mrs. Clarke ...	134 5 0	88 10 10	34	
43		542 10 1	384 8 6	29·1	

SALES OF TENANT-RIGHT.

Cases.	Landlord.	Judicial Rents.	Price obtained.	Years' Purchase.	Remarks.
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.		
10	Lord Ranfurly ...	175 0 0	2,389 0 0	13·6	
28	Lord Castlestuart	204 4 0	5,380 10 0	26·3	
1	Mr. Greer	6 0 0	77 10 0	12·9	
1	Not given	20 10 0	430 0 0	21	Remark in local paper: "This farm was sold in 1889 for £295 in the same state."
40		405 14 0	8,277 0 0	20·4	

Although the above instances are not on the same estates, yet

they are all in the baronies of Dungannon, Co. Tyrone, and as the rents in all cases are judicial rents under the Act of 1881, the comparison is a fair one.

The Irish Landowners' Convention, of which I am a member, applied to be allowed to give evidence before the Morley Commission in 1894, on the report of which the Land Act of 1896 is founded; we were allowed to hand in a table of sales of tenant-right of judicial rents. Of these 2,795 were in Ulster, and the average number of years' purchase was 16·8. This average is rising every day, as is to be expected. The lower the rent, the higher the tenant-right. The law of supply and demand must prevail, even though political economy be banished to Saturn. The rent which a tenant pays comprises two factors: that which he gives his landlord and the interest of the value of his tenant-right, and the whole is regulated by the demand for farms The proportion which the landlord is to receive is reduced by the Sub-Commission Courts; the other factor is of necessity proportionately increased, even if the demand for land remains the same. We maintain that the demand for land is increasing, but that we landlords do not benefit by it. On the contrary, our rents are reduced, and all the advantage goes to the present occupying tenants. The new tenants who buy get no advantage whatever. Another proof we can give of the injustice of the present reduction of rents is the amount for which we can let land when it is in our own hands. Within the last year I myself have let unreclaimed bog from which the turf has been cut away, at £1 the statute acre. Similar bog, when reclaimed by the tenants, is rarely valued at a higher rate than eight or nine shillings. When interest on the cost of reclaiming it is deducted, very little is allowed to the landlord. If permitted, we shall be able to give very many proofs of the real value of land all over Ireland when tested in this way.

We also complain that there has been no falling off in the prices of agricultural products which can justify the very great reductions that have been and are being made in the first-term judicial rents. For every year since 1881 the Land Commission has prepared and published a list of agricultural prices. By a return of these prices, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 14th April, 1896, it appears that the average price of every article except wheat, wool, sheep, and one-year-old cattle was higher for the whole period of fifteen years from 1881 to 1895—and also for the three years 1893 to 1895—than it was for the three years 1887 to 1889. In the above four articles the price was almost the same.

By the Act of 1887, in these three years, a reduction was made in judicial rents owing to the fall in prices. These reductions

averaged about 9 per cent. over all Ireland The reductions now made in the first-term judicial rents average 27·8 per cent. It is therefore evident that this reduction cannot be due solely to the fall in prices.

I must, however, remark that to enable a judgment to be formed as to how a fall in prices affects the fairness of a rent, it is necessary to know not only the average prices of all articles of agricultural produce, but also what particular articles have been taken into account in estimating the fairness of the rent in question. No information on this point has ever been furnished.

For these and other reasons we shall be able to prove, if the Commission we seek is granted to us, that our rents are not being reduced owing to economic causes.

I now wish to show why landlords complain of the way in which this Act is administered. The Land Commissioners are authorized by the Act of 1881 to delegate the duty of fixing rents to assistant or *Sub*-Commissioners, as they are generally called. Enormous power is entrusted to these gentlemen.

In the recent debate in the House of Commons on the Court of Criminal Appeal Bill, Sir R. Reid pointed out that in civil actions when the amount in dispute is over £50 the action has to be brought into the Superior Courts, and tried by one of the judges. Yet our properties, worth many thousands a year, are adjudicated upon by *Sub*-Commissioners.

Such is the law as now administered. Should we not then expect that those to whom this power is entrusted should be thoroughly competent and efficient, and have such security of tenure of the office they hold as to be in an independent position? Is this the case?

According to a return recently presented to the House of Commons, it appears that of seventy-three Sub-Commissioners only thirty are permanently appointed, forty-three are temporarily appointed, holding office till the end of this year, forty are tenants, only three are owners, and twenty-eight are returned as being both tenant and owner. If we look on the Sub-Commissioners as arbitrators, truly an undue proportion are chosen from the tenants' side.

It is well known that the number of applicants for these appointments was very great; the Chief Secretary, it is stated, exercised very great care in his selection, even interviewing the candidates himself. How he could judge of their capacity to value land does not appear. But this fact is plain: without imputing partiality to the Sub-Commissioners so appointed—as they were anxious to get their posts, they will be naturally anxious to keep them. They are extremely well paid: their salaries are, I believe, as

much as £800 per annum. The length of tenure of their office depends upon the amount of work there is for them to do, that is, in other words, on the number of tenants who apply to have fair rents fixed, and this number must depend on the temptation held out to them by the reductions granted to those who have applied.

We further complain that we have no means of judging how this process of estimating a fair rent is conducted. When the general valuation of land for taxation purposes was made by Sir R. Griffith many years ago, detailed instructions were given as to how this valuation was to be made. No instructions are given to the Sub-Commissioners. The first valuation of the land is left entirely to their individual opinion; in consequence there is no uniformity in their decisions. Feeling how very important it is that we should be informed of the methods and principles adopted by the Court in fixing judicial rents, an amendment to the Bill of 1896 was introduced in, and adopted by, the House of Lords to the effect that the Court shall ascertain and record in the form of a Schedule the various processes by which the fair rent was arrived at. The first Clause of which Schedule was to be "the annual sum which should be the fair rent of the holding, on the assumption that all improvements thereon were made or acquired by the landlord." This amount is, as it were, the block which is to be cut down and trimmed into the shape of a fair rent. This, we naturally thought, would have the same meaning as if the words were "on the assumption that the holding is in the landlord's hands," the fair rent being what a prudent, solvent tenant would agree to pay for the holding on this assumption. If the words in the Act have not this meaning, it must be that, though the improvements belong to the landlord, the tenant, because he is in occupation, should pay a lower rent than if he were taking the holding directly from the landlord. To prevent this, Lord Inchiquin moved an amendment that this right of occupation should not be considered in estimating a fair rent. The House of Lords adopted this amendment without a division, but the House of Commons dissented from it, and afterwards a compromise was made, and the following sub-section was inserted in the Act:—"(9) In assessing the fair rent of any holding no deduction shall be made, except such deductions as shall be specified and accounted for in the said Schedule and are in accordance with the provisions of the Land Law Acts." It must be remembered that in the evidence given before the Morley Commission, four out of seven Sub-Commissioners who were examined stated that they did take the occupation interest of the tenant into account in fixing a fair rent, and three that they did not. Whether the Sub-Commissioners do so now or not we have no means of knowing, for

the Schedule filled by them, which is called "The Pink Schedule," gives us no information on this point. Clause 8 of this Schedule runs as follows: "State any other matters in relation to the holding that have been taken into account in fixing the fair rent." If the occupation interest is taken into account, it should be stated in this Clause, but in hundreds of Pink Schedules that have been examined Clause 8 is blank.

The first fair rent—*i.e.*, before improvements are allowed for, namely, that in Clause 5 of the Pink Schedule, which corresponds with Section 1 (*a*) of the Act above mentioned—is so low in all the Pink Schedules we have examined, that we cannot but believe that there is some hidden factor in the minds of the Sub-Commissioners which operates to reduce the rents. If this be so, the directions in the Act are not carried out. One reason why we press for a Commission is that it may investigate and discover whether our belief is well founded or not.

Anticipating, I suppose, that the above-mentioned method of fixing fair rents by Sub-Commissioners would not give satisfaction to the parties interested, the following Section was inserted in the Act of 1881, viz., Section 44:—

"Any power or Act authorised to be done by the Land Commission may be done by any Sub-Commission, with this qualification, that any person aggrieved by any order of a Sub-Commission may require his case to be reheard by all three Commissioners sitting together."

Now, these Commissioners cannot possibly see the land, so by Section 48, Sub-Section 4, it is enacted that—

"In determining any question relating to a holding, the Commission may direct an independent valuer to report to it his opinion on any matter the Commission may desire to refer to such valuer, and the Commission may or may not, as it thinks fit, adopt the report of such valuer."

It will be observed that Section 44 grants a rehearing (viz., *de novo*, not a simple appeal) from the finding of the Sub-Commissioners, and the valuer who is to be appointed must be independent. What is the procedure adopted by the Land Commission? They appoint two gentlemen selected from the list of Sub-Commissioners, who probably have been on former occasions associated with and acting as Sub-Commissioners with the very men whose finding in the particular case has given dissatisfaction. As if to prevent their report from being unbiassed, they are given the Pink Schedule filled up by the above-mentioned Sub-Commissioners, and a form of report to be filled up, which runs as follows:—

'An appeal having been lodged in this case, you are to visit the holding, and—

"(1) If you concur with the Schedule recorded by the Court, and with the conclusion as to the Fair Rent, report so on Form A at foot of this page.

"(2) If you see reason to differ substantially therefrom, report on Form B within, stating concisely under the respective headings the matters *only* as to which you differ, and the consequent variations upon which your estimate of the Fair Rent of the holding has been arrived at.

"*Form A.*—After carefully examining this holding, we concur with the Fair Rent, and with the Schedule of Particulars recorded by the Court."

Form B is the same as a blank Pink Schedule.

Now, it will be seen that these Court Valuers will be naturally biassed in favour of the decisions of their former comrades and friends, the particulars of whose award they have in their hands. They are almost directly invited by their instructions to concur with the decisions of these Sub-Commissioners.

Is this a rehearing as is directed by the Act of 1881 ? What is the result ? As the parties are furnished with the report of the Court Valuers, and as they know that the Head Commission's decision, in 80 per cent. of the cases before them, corresponds with the finding of these Court Valuers, the application for a rehearing is in the majority of cases withdrawn. In those instances where it is not withdrawn, the cases are hurried over with such unseemly haste (fifty cases were lately heard in two days in County Tyrone) that we are justified in our contention that this safeguard granted to us by the Act of 1881 is of no use whatever.

I submit that the foregoing statements furnish unanswerable evidence that great and grievous injustice has been and is being inflicted on the Irish Landowners by the Acts of 1881 and 1887, which injustice is largely increased by the way in which these Acts have been and are being administered. If this be not so, let our facts be disproved and our arguments controverted. It is for these reasons that we have asked the Prime Minister to grant us a Commission of Enquiry.

JAMES C. LOWRY
(County Tyrone).

II

ON the occasion of the recent deputation to Lord Salisbury, it was thought desirable that some member of the Executive Committee of the Landowners' Convention who had practical experience of the value of land in landlords' hands, when let for cropping year by year, should lay the facts before him. I was selected for this purpose, as one of the speakers, though I should have much preferred to avoid the personal element in my statement.

Immediately after the Land Act of 1870 was passed, foreseeing to a certain extent what has since occurred, I began to buy up the tenant-right of farms adjoining my demesne in County Antrim, and I have continued up to the present time to do so whenever a chance occurred, availing myself of the right of pre-emption

secured to me under the Land Acts. The actual number of cases of purchase was sixteen, the holdings varying in size from fifty acres downwards. In 1871 I gave £125 for the tenant-right of a farm of fifty acres, and ten years later, after the passing of Mr. Gladstone's Land Act, I gave £650 for the tenant-right of a farm of forty-five acres. This fact shows incontestably that when Parliament interferes with free contract, and transfers property from the landlord to the tenant, the value of the tenants' interest at once goes up in proportion. When I got possession of these farms, the first thing I did was to bring the lands, which were generally in bad order, into a proper state of cultivation, by a five years' course of rotation of crops, and then to auction them field by field every November, for the single crop, for the ensuing year, of hay, oats, or flax, with a reserved rent of £4 on the statute acre, all grazing lands being separately auctioned. The result of at least ten years' experience has been that on an average these lands were let at £5 an acre, and considering that it takes from £1 to £2 an acre, in addition, to prepare and seed the land, this test by public auction shows the real value of the land to the bidders, most of whom are the adjoining tenants occupying precisely similar holdings. Even last year, November, 1896, after a supposed great fall in prices, the average letting was at £4 10s. an acre. It is a very remarkable thing that when evidence of this kind has been offered to the Land Commissioners they have steadily refused to accept it, on the ground that tenants are not now to be subjected to competition rents. Landlords, however, do not, and never did as a rule, ask for competition rents. The really important bearing of these facts is in their relation to the question of present rents. As I have purchased the tenants' interest and also own the fee simple, these rents represent the combined interest of landlord and tenant, and the real question is, How much of these rents would be fair rents to a landlord, supposing that the lands were not in his own hands, but permanently let to tenants? I feel satisfied that, if the present reductions should become general, the Land Commissioners would not allow a rent of £1 an acre for these lands, whereas obviously the crop of one good field would easily pay the rent of a whole farm. One may naturally ask, if the figures I have given are correct, How comes it that rents which were reduced fifteen years ago by from 20 to 25 per cent. are being now subjected to still greater reductions than before? No fall in prices has taken place in any way commensurate with these reductions. The fact is that the Land Acts are being administered from the wrong end, from below instead of from above. The Chief Commissioners, instead of laying down principles of law and of valuation for their subordinates, as Sir Richard Griffiths did in making his valuation of Ireland, have left

the entire administration of the Land Acts to the Sub-Commissioners, and only constituted themselves a Court of Appeal. The consequence is that the Sub-Commissioners are now deducting from the reduced rents the value of the tenant-right, thereby not only increasing still further the value of that tenant-right, but depriving the landlords of their legitimate property. Unless this be at once checked by fresh legislation or by new administration, all the landlords' interest in their properties must shortly disappear on a rapidly sliding scale.

In addition to this statement, to which I was limited from want of time, I was in a position to speak for two of the largest and most important Corporations in Ireland, viz., the Representative Body of the Church of Ireland, and Trinity College, Dublin, having been a member of the former ever since its incorporation, as well as also being a Fellow of the College.

Of seven and a half millions of property belonging to the Church of Ireland, built up since Disestablishment in 1869, three and a half millions are invested on mortgage on Irish estates. At the time our money was thus lent out the security was considered the best possible—"land could not run away"—our mortgages were first charges, generally leaving a margin of 50 per cent. of the rentals. After the passing of the Land Act of 1880 nearly 25 per cent. of the rentals disappeared, and the present reductions, unless stopped, will sweep away the whole remaining margin of our securities, leaving those landlords, the mortgagors, ruined or hopelessly crippled. Moreover, the landlords generally have been the main supporters of the Church in the payment of the voluntary assessments, to the extent of some £250,000 a year. One result of the present reductions must be the closing of a great many churches in rural districts, where the Protestants are few and scattered. The enemies of Protestantism and of the English connection, will of course have much cause to congratulate themselves upon this, to them most desirable, result, but what the English people will think of it, if properly informed, is quite another matter. As regards Trinity College, Dublin, the one really successful English Institution, planted in this country by the great Maiden Queen, not only do its endowments depend chiefly upon income derived from lands, but the great bulk of its students are derived from classes connected with and dependent upon the land. I may therefore, safely say that one complete social structure, of the highest importance to the welfare of the country, is in imminent danger of being overthrown from its very foundations.

ANTHONY TRAILL, LL.D., M.D.
Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin.

III.

My present object is to point out that the grievances of Irish landlords are not confined to Ulster, and in particular that the tenant's interest fetches a high price in the other provinces. The practice is of later origin in the South of Ireland, but it existed on many estates before 1870. In 1881 the right of free sale was given to the tenants even where it had been hitherto unknown. The theory was that the tenant made the improvements, and that he had a right to compensation even when he gave up his farm voluntarily. But the event shows that improvements have very little to say to the matter. The better the land the less improvement it wants, and the good sells better in its natural state than that which has been drained and cultivated into a fertility which can only be maintained by constant labour. Small holdings are the least valuable to a capitalist's eye, but they fetch higher prices, because there are more Irish peasants able to take a small than a large farm.

The law of Parliament has expelled the law of supply and demand, but it has come back from the outer planets, and competition is more ruinous than ever to an incoming tenant; for the one who goes does not mind ruining his successor, whereas the landlord would like a solvent man. It is decreed that the landlord shall gain nothing from competition, but it is rather hard that his rent should be periodically reduced, while the tenant's interest increases without any exertion of his own. Rents are reduced on no intelligible principle, but as a rule they are reduced; and thus the tenant who is going is encouraged to cry down his land and go into Court, so that he and not the buyer may profit. It can be demonstrated that the value of the occupancy rises every time that the fee is forcibly cut down; and this happens where there are no improvements as well as where the value of the land is mainly artificial. If the enquiry demanded by the landlords is granted there will be plenty of evidence on these points from the South of Ireland: if it is not granted we must take the Prime Minister's advice, and find other means of making the facts known.

I have before me particulars of fourteen recent sales of tenants' interests—seven in Tipperary, six in Cork, and one in Kilkenny. The Tipperary farms, all under £40 a year, fetched respectively 8, 12, 12½ (two), 23, 28, and 50 years' purchase of the gross rental. Four of these were judicial, two yearly tenancies, and the highest price was for a future tenancy not subject to judicial revision. Of the Cork cases, three were judicial, and three yearly, and they sold respectively for 5½, 7½ (two), 9½, 14½, and 19½ years' purchase. The rental did not exceed £30 except in the case where 5½ years' were given. That was a farm of 253 statute acres, held at a judicial

rent of £220 fixed in 1889, and the purchase money was £1,230. In Kilkenny the tenant's interest in a field held from year to year was sold in January last at 50 years' purchase.

RICHARD BAGWELL
(County Tipperary).

IV.

I HAVE been asked to add a few words in corroboration of Colonel Lowry's statement. I do so as a representative of that class of landlords who act as their own agents; I have made a special study of the procedure of the Land Commissioners, and I will cite a few cases that have come under my own observation. A very large farm with which I am intimately acquainted was valued by the Sub-Commissioners. The Appeal-Court Valuers came on the farm afterwards. The Sub-Commissioners reported the land to be of one class, and the Court Valuers reported it to be of a better class and to have a greater carrying or producing power, nevertheless, they confirmed the rent the Sub-Commissioners fixed! That is one of the grievances we have: we do not believe in the Court Valuers; we do not believe theirs is an independent valuation at all. We believe they are sent on the land practically to confirm their *fellow Commissioners* who have gone before them. By that method we are in effect deprived of every means of appeal and of redress. The Court Valuer is not produced where the Court of the Chief Commissioners is sitting; he is not there available for cross-examination either on behalf of the landlord or the tenant, and I have it on very eminent authority that some of the chiefs of the Land Commission do not know some of the Court Valuers at all. It is impossible for people to have respect for procedure of that kind; it is impossible that it can produce the content and the peace which I am certain that Parliament intended should follow on the passing of the Land Acts. Let me cite another case. This is a case with which I am also intimately acquainted, for it happened on my own estate. A good deal was said in debates in the House of Lords about deterioration. It has been said the Commissioners do not give a tenant the benefit of his own wilful deterioration. In 1890 I accompanied the Commissioners when they visited a farm on my estate. As a practical farmer I pointed out that one of the very best pieces of land on the farm had been wilfully allowed by the tenant to be overgrown with furze. The Commissioners seemed to think I was taking an unfair advantage, and the farmer's son protested against my statement. As soon, however, as the case was finally decided men were at work clearing away the furze. I am only going into cases within my own personal knowledge. I

have another case which also occurred on my own estate. A tenant went into Court in the year 1890, and on receiving the Pink Schedule I found the Sub-Commissioners had deducted 10 per cent. for remoteness: another Sub-Commission adjudicated on another farm on the same estate and only separated from the first farm by a public road, and made no deduction for remoteness. Both can't be right; one must be wrong.

There is another matter which concerns us materially in the West of Ireland—turbary, and reclaimed bog. In my own County of Clare this is some of the best tillage land. In the Schedule reclaimed bog is treated as fourth-class tillage!

The Sub-Commissioners naturally took that as an indication of what they ought to do, and they fix the rent at 5s. an acre; they do it habitually. In East Clare they have fixed the rent of good reclaimed bog at 6s. a statute acre. Within half a mile of that farm I am receiving 36s. an acre for this very description of land. In West Clare where the amount of reclaimed bog is even more pronounced, and where there are additional facilities for working it, the Sub-Commissioners have fixed the rent at 5s. a statute acre, although within two miles another landlord gets £2 8s., and even £3 and £4 a statute acre is freely paid each season for land of this class in the same district. That is where our rent is going; it is being made away with on the most extraordinary grounds, and sometimes on no grounds at all.

We want to have the grounds on which it is being made away with, as far as they are known, examined by experts. We want to have the grounds that are not known disclosed. That, I think embraces the greater part of our complaint, and our complaint is supported by the Minority Report of the Morley Commission. We, the smaller landlords of Ireland, and particularly in the West of the country, are experiencing a cruel suspense. We claim enquiry and redress as men who have been guilty of no crime against the State; men who have made the government of Ireland possible for centuries, who have been resident on their estates, who have discharged their duties as Grand Jurors, Poor Law Guardians, and Magistrates, to the best of their ability without pay or reward, but simply from a sense of public duty; men whose only crime in the sight of the world is that they have been bereft of all political influence.

G. O'Callaghan Westropp
(County Clare).

V.

It is almost impossible for an English reader to believe that in this nineteenth century, when there are so many ways of spreading

information, the public are ignorant of what is being done in Ireland under the authority of Parliament. Yet we Irish landowners are firmly convinced that it is so. We do not believe that the injustice and hardship now being carried out in our case would be allowed to continue if it were generally known. Let me speak of the hardship. I am afraid it is generally supposed that the Irish landowners are a small, rich class, and therefore if some of these men's rents are reduced from say: £10,000 per annum to £6,000 or £7,000 per annum, there may be injustice in it, but not very much hardship. Alas! this is an entire mistake. I remember some thirteen years ago a committee was formed to relieve Irish ladies in distress from non-payment of rent. Though it was not suspected the distress was so dire as it turned out to be. For they belonged to a class that will not complain. Our work continued for more than two years, and during that time with £39,000, which the public most kindly entrusted to us, we relieved 1,100 cases—widows of High Sheriffs, of Lieutenants, and of Deputy Lieutenants of Counties, and others of the same class, who were in the greatest need. I am sure I do not exaggerate when I say that a large majority of Irish landowners are men of small means. Let me now take a typical case, using round figures, to show how the reductions of rent affect this numerous class. An eldest son, twenty years ago, inherited an estate of £1,000 a year. On that estate there was a mortgage and annuities which reduced his income to £500 a year. Four years after this inheritance fell in to him (1881) an Act of Parliament was passed breaking his fee simple title, and sending forth Sub-Commissioners to fix "fair" (?) rents. They reduced his rental by 20 per cent. Now, as 20 per cent. is equal to $\frac{1}{5}$, and as he had £500 a year to live on, it may be—and often is—supposed that he then was left with £400 a year. But it is not so. For the 20 per cent.—or $\frac{1}{5}$—was taken off the entire rental of £1,000 per annum, and the whole of that reduction —£200—was taken out of his £500, and so in 1881 he was left with his income reduced to £300 per annum. And now imagine the anxiety with which he watches the action of the Sub-Commissioners as they issue forth for the second term of fifteen years, on their mission of reduction. And is it not with absolute terror he sees that these new reductions amount to 25 and 30, and sometimes even to 40 per cent. or more? For he knows that 30 per cent. taken off the entire rental, which is now £800, will amount to £266, and come out of his small income of £300 a year! In other words he will be left—probably at advanced age—almost penniless.

How can we believe that the English public know and approve of this? For what crime has this man committed, that he should

suffer so? And as an English subject, even if he were a criminal, he could demand as of right an open and fair trial by his countrymen! But there is no such allegation. Unless, indeed, it be that as Magistrates, as Grand Jurors, as Poor Law Guardians, these men have insisted on upholding the rights of every man and of every class under English law! But let the irony pass. I have told of the sufferings and hardship of a class numbering thousands in Ireland. We ask for a competent and impartial tribunal of enquiry, and we trust to the sense of honesty and fair-dealing in every Englishman to see that we get it.

JAMES WILSON, D.L.
(County Longford).

VI.

THE "fair-rent" provisions of the Land Act of 1881, as explained by its author, were intended to prevent a minority of grasping landlords from confiscating the interest in their holdings enjoyed by tenants under certain Irish usages, by unduly raising their rents. These provisions, with others, deprived Irish landlords of substantial legal rights, for which deprival Mr. Gladstone refused to give them compensation on the sole ground that no assessable damage would accrue. On the contrary, he maintained that rents would be more easily collected than theretofore, and that the value of Irish estates would rise. They would, he expected, be worth twenty-seven years' purchase in the market.

Owing to the inefficiency of the checks on "free sale" in the Act, and the difficulty of fixing a "fair rent" by a Court without definite instructions, the measure would probably in any case have failed in the long-run. It might, however, have worked tolerably for a good many years had the date of its enactment not, unfortunately, coincided with the beginning of a series of drops in prices, which, though not very great, seemed to call for a corresponding reduction of rents. Thus machinery, intended merely to check exceptional attempts at arbitrary and mischievous increase of rent, came to be used as an engine for a general reduction, a purpose for which it was totally unfitted. From the start the operation of the Act, as regards fixing rents, was unequal and unjust. Those just landlords whom Mr. Gladstone said "they had no shred of title to interfere with" and improving tenants came off worst. The minority of extortionate landlords and the slovenly tenants came off best. The earlier results of the system, though profoundly unsatisfactory, were not totally unbearable. It is only since the refixing of so-called fair rents for the second statutory term of fifteen years has begun that its vices have

become fully apparent. A slight fall in agricultural values made the ruin of a certain number of landlords, who were tottering on the brink, inevitable. But many are now being threatened by the Land Courts with ruin that is as unnecessary as it is undeserved—and their ruin will involve that of a great many other people.

Except in the few cases where tenants have made really valuable improvements since the rent was last fixed, a large reduction in the rent can only be warranted by circumstances which lower the value of the tenant's interest.

A large compulsory reduction of rent concurrent with an advance in the value of the tenant's interest, or even with a full maintenance of it, is a simple conveyance of a substantial part of the landlord's property to the sitting tenant. It is not easy to see on what grounds such a conveyance can be justified at all. If it could be justified on any grounds of public policy, it would entitle the landlord to substantial compensation.

Other contributors have described the character of the reductions of rent that are being made by the Sub-Commissioners, and for the most part confirmed by the Head Commissioners. I may add a couple of recent examples of the current value of tenant-right. On March 29th the tenant-right of a farm of eighteen acres, rent £13 15s., valuation (for rates) £13 15s., which was bought in 1889 for £180, was sold for £215.

A few days later the tenant-right of a mountain farm of fourteen acres, valuation (for rates) £3 10s., rent £2 5s. (before 1883 £3), was sold for £55. There is no previous sale recorded here, but before the Land Act there was no tenant-right custom on the property, and when the landlord allowed an outgoing tenant to take anything from an incomer it never exceeded five or six years' rent.

The expenditure of time and money in contesting fair-rent cases in Court with large numbers of small tenants is almost as injurious as the resulting reductions of rent.

At the time of the fixing of judicial rents for the first term after the Act of 1881, many landlords were able to avoid this by friendly arrangements out of Court.

At the present time such arrangements are rendered infinitely more difficult by the effect on the tenants' minds of the newspaper reports of the proceedings of the Land Commissioners, of the vague expectations aroused by the passing of another Land Act last year, and by the concurrent increase in value of the tenant's interest.

In 1890, the tenant of a sixty-acre farm bought the tenant's interest in an adjoining farm of seventeen acres, rent £8, for £70. The other day he applied to the landlord to reduce the rent to

£5 for the next fifteen years, having satisfied himself that if he put the case into Court it would be fixed at not more than that figure. The landlord refused to agree to such a reduction, but offered to give the tenant the £70 he had paid in 1890, and take up the farm. The tenant said he believed the landlord meant that for a good offer, but he could not accept it, as he could easily sell the tenant-right of the farm for £100. (N.B.—The farm has not been improved since 1890, rather the reverse—part has become overgrown with gorse.)

I have before me a copy of a bill extensively posted at the present time on another estate, which contains the following statements:

"Attractive sale of a superior residential farm. . . . On Monday, 19th April, 1897, . . . that very superior and valuable farm of land . . . containing 26 acres, . . . at the yearly rent of £13; valuation, £16 15s. . . . This truly exquisite farm . . . the land of very superior quality, and not excelled in . . . for meadow, pasturage, and tillage . . . there is abundance of turbary attached . . . the most valuable farm offered for sale in . . . for the past decade.

"*N.B.—The first statutory term of this holding having now expired, the purchaser can at once enter Court and claim a reduction of rent for the second term.*" *

With regard to the right to a rehearing of "fair rent" cases by three head Commissioners on which Colonel Lowry has enlarged, I should like to say that, as far as my own experience and observation goes, a fair amount of attention is generally, though not always, given to any points of law that may be raised; but on points of value—and value is in most cases the chief matter at issue—the so-called rehearing is nothing but a reference of the question from one pair of Sub-Commissioners to another pair. It is usual, when the applicant rises to state his case, for one of the Commissioners to say to him, "Have you read the report of the Court Valuer?" and when he says "Yes," the Commissioner continues: "And, in the face of that, you elect to go on?" The whole atmosphere of the Court is one of intense impatience to get through the list and to discourage applications for rehearing on questions of value. It is impossible for any party having reason to ask for a rehearing to feel that he is getting fair-play. Many of the cases treated in this way may appear to be trivial—may concern rents of £20 a year or less—but they are often test cases, on which the settlement out of Court of the rents of hundreds of tenants more or less depend.

The injury inflicted on Irish landowners by the series of Land

* At the auction on April 19th, £265 was bid for the tenant's interest in this farm, but not accepted. It is understood that the reserve price is over £300. The rent was reduced in 1882 from £16 to £13, and temporary abatements given in 1886-7-8 and 9.

Acts that has been passed since 1870, and the mode in which they have been administered, is not confined to the direct reductions of rent and the deprivation of various rights of property. When we try to put our houses in order to face the losses due to the combined effects of a certain amount of genuine agricultural depression and of hostile legislation and maladministration, we find that these causes have crippled or destroyed our credit as well as enormously reduced our incomes. We, perhaps alone among persons possessing property that under normal conditions would be regarded as good security, are denied the advantages of cheap money which current rates of interest afford. The constantly repeated legislative inroads on our rights, and the arbitrary handling of our rents by the Land Commission has created a want of confidence in the security of Irish landed property out of all proportion to anything due to any real fall in agricultural values. An enormous margin is required by lenders to induce them to advance money at reasonable rates of interest on the security of an Irish landlord's estate.

We are not infrequently told that a way out of this position has been provided for us by the purchase provisions of the various Irish Land Acts, under which some £40,000,000 has been placed at the disposal of the Land Commission for advances to tenants to purchase the fee simple of their farms from their landlords. Under the circumstances created by the tendency of recent "fair rent" legislation and administration, and by the mode in which the purchase provisions themselves are carried out by the Land Commission, a resort to this mode of escape is a step out of the frying-pan into the fire.

Under the influence of the newspaper reports of the reductions in rents now being made by the Land Courts and of vague expectations from the operation of the new Land Act, and further Acts which they are led to look forward to in the future by a contemplation of what has happened in the past, very few tenants will agree to purchase at reasonable rates. When they can be induced so to agree, the landlord runs the risk of the agreements being upset by the refusal of the Land Commission to advance the amount, on the plea that the holdings afford insufficient security for such amount. I have before me a schedule of nineteen tenants, holding a gross area of 506½ acres, valued for rating purposes at £323 8s. per annum, and rented at £286 8s. 2d.—most of the rents being judicial and fixed as lately as 1888 and 1889. The tenants agreed to buy under the purchase Acts at £5,169, or about eighteen years' purchase on their moderate rents. Under this arrangement their annual payments would have been 28 per cent. less than their present rents, and (under

the provisions of the Act of 1896) subject to a further reduction of 10 per cent. at the end of ten years. The average selling value of tenant-right in the district is over ten years' purchase on present rents. Under these circumstances the Land Commission refuses to advance more than £4,350. The tenants —with the prospects of reduction of rent that are dangled before them—will not pay the balance in cash. The landlord has either to agree to sell at the additional sacrifice of £819, or hold to his present position with all its drawbacks. If he is a heavily encumbered landlord the paying off of the charges would absorb the whole of the money realized by sale on such terms. If he is an unencumbered limited owner of a small rental he cannot invest the money at more than 3 per cent., and has to face the reduction of his gross income (in the case quoted) from £286 to £130 per annum, which is even worse than what he has to fear from even the current outrageous reductions of rent. Under such conditions, what landlord can be expected to enter into negotiations for sale under the Purchase Acts ?

At Leeds, on the 7th inst., Mr. G. W. Balfour claimed credit for his last year's Land Act, because twice as many agreements for purchase had been concluded in the three months up to the last report as had been concluded in the corresponding period last year. An empty boast. There are always some estates in the country that must be sold. The open market for landed estate being virtually suspended by the effect of the Land Acts, recourse must be had to the artificial market, bad as it is, set up by the Purchase Acts. But from the date when it was known that the Government was preparing a new Land Act, negotiations concerning even this class of sales came to a standstill, all parties hoping for better terms under the promised measure. As soon as the best and worst regarding the purchase clauses of the new Act was known, the inevitable sales went on, and this fully accounts for the figures quoted by Mr. Balfour, and deprives his Act of the credit he claims for it.

Whatever the result of the enquiry we ask for into the process of apparently arbitrary and excessive reduction of rents, much of the injury inflicted on Irish landlords is now irreparable, and the compensation to which Mr. Gladstone admitted that we were entitled, subject to proof of damage, is now due.

If cash down is not to be paid to us, as it is to other people from whom property is compulsorily taken for public purposes, we can at least claim that the transfer of ownership from landlord to tenant should be conducted in such a manner as to give the landlord some adequate compensation for the estate out of which he

is being squeezed. We can also at least claim that steps should be taken to lessen the costs and delays which now hamper all dealings with land, and to give us some help in organizing and fortifying our credit in such a manner as will enable us to retrieve part of our losses and continue to perform the duties of citizens in our native country. In Continental countries, where landowners were hard hit by measures held to be necessary for the public good, much has been done in these directions by which our rulers might take example. Such measures have this, too, in their favour, that they may be so devised as to confer as much benefit on the new peasant proprietor, and even on the judicial tenant, as on the large landowner.

H. DE F. MONTGOMERY
(County Fermanagh).

SHIPPING CHARGES AND THE FALL OF PRICES.*

One of the most obvious, and, in some respects, most useful of the distinctions which are drawn between different kinds of labour is that which separates the labour engaged in the transport of goods from place to place from that which is engaged in the manipulation or transformation of the goods themselves. There is, or was, a class of writers denying to the former the right to be considered productive. Though the view which they represented no longer commands the respect once given it, some interest still attaches to the enquiry whether the one class or the other be gaining in importance as generations succeed one to another and the forms of industrial effort undergo such sweeping transformations as those which have marked the last few scores of years. In which department the transformation has been most striking it would be hard to say, but there can be no doubt that the nature and extent of the development of the transport industries have impressed thoughtful minds most profoundly; indeed, they have been so obvious as not to escape even the unthinking.

For a moment let us notice some of the most obvious signs of what has taken place within the memory of every adult now living. In less than twenty years the length of railway lines in the world has fully doubled, while the extent of the usefulness of each mile of line has, without doubt, increased in no small degree. Other means of easy transport by land have also been extended, and not less notable has been the development of the merchant navies of the world. We need go back no more than ten years to find the tonnage of sailing vessels greater than that of steamers. To-day the latter considerably exceeds the double of the former. It is within the mark to say that the carrying capacity of the fleets of the world has doubled during the time that the mileage of railways has doubled. The more economical mode of utilizing fuel which modern ships employ, the cheaper materials for ships and their equipment, the increasing size of ships and the consequent economy in working, all these contribute to reduce the cost of conveying goods from one part of the globe to another. Surely the railway and the steamship have reduced the share of the transport industries in the value of the output of the world's industries! It must, one would imagine, have happened that the miner, the factory operative, the artisan, secure the co-operation of their

* The writer of this article, which breaks entirely new ground, was Senior Wrangler at Cambridge, and is now head of the Political Economy department at Owen's College, Manchester.—[Editor *N. R.*]

brethren the sailors and marine-engineers at the price of a smaller share than formerly in the result of their common toil!

Perhaps they do. Many writers take it for granted that they do, but others doubt. Some of the latter have taken the trouble to enquire as to the facts of the case, undeterred by the consideration that it is notorious that freights have undergone almost incredible reductions on certain articles. The cut-throat competition which sometimes sets in between railroad or steamship companies, or other powerful but temporary causes, may lead to shipments of goods at rates which approach the vanishing point. But these are exceptional goods, and exceptional conditions. In the long run ships are built and managed to make a profit, and wheat is not always carried at ballast rates.

How are we to get at the facts? Have we trustworthy information sufficient to settle this question? It may be doubted if we have. But if an absolute, complete, and final answer is not possible, there may be distinct utility in seeing what are the indications of known facts, if for no other reason than to elicit other facts bearing on the question, for the material from which a satisfactory answer to this question could be evolved would also provide information on other points on which it is desirable that light should be thrown.

Two ways, at least, are open to us in making our enquiry. We might obtain representative freight quotations and compare them with the corresponding market-prices, thus finding what proportion of the value of any particular article was swallowed up by freight charges. An examination which has been made on these lines* gives as its result the conclusion that wheat imported into Great Britain twenty years ago cost less rather than more, measured in wheat, to bring it here from the country of its growth, than it does now. To proceed in this fashion for each of the principal articles entering into our over-sea trade would be extremely tedious, and only satisfactory in so far as we could rely on the representative character of the freights and prices entering into each estimate. For these reasons, and because the necessary facts for these tedious comparisons were not available, the writer has sought an answer to the question propounded above in another fashion.

Most of the important countries of the world use for the records of their import trade the value of the goods at the place at which they are imported, though the methods of arriving at that value are various. If we can, therefore, separate from the records of the trade between two countries the figures which apply to the same goods, we shall have the means of determining the total of the charges for freight, insurance, commissions, and perhaps packages, in each of the years for which the figures are examined. Suppose we try the trade between Great Britain and Germany. Besides the difficulty

* Cp. Corn Trade Year Book, 1896, p. 16.

imposed by a complete change in the form of the German returns which came into force in 1889, there is the double difficulty that the German figures give, or profess to give, goods imported for German consumption, or exports of domestic products, alone. Our own returns are confused by the inclusion of goods which are only concerned with Germany as a country of transit on their way to their final destination, and of goods which, though German in origin, reach us *viâ* some other country, *e.g.*, *viâ* Holland, and are included in our returns as coming from Holland. Considerations of this kind prevent the employment of the returns of trade between almost any pair of European countries for which otherwise trustworthy returns are prepared.

In our trade with the United States we might hope that the difficulties arising from the sources just considered would be much less. We are met, however, with an equally serious difficulty, or rather pair of difficulties. The American import valuations are made from the invoice values declared by the importers at the port of shipment, *i.e.*, excluding the cost of freight. In addition to this, during the past ten or twelve years, the English records of exports to the United States have exceeded the American records of imports from the United Kingdom by some 15 per cent. on the average. This fact warns us to be watchful of the effects of import or export dues, and especially of changes in such dues, on the valuations we may have occasion to employ. The American method of valuation of imports, too, is not confined to that country, and will deprive us of one-half the information which any particular current of trade affected by such a method might have afforded had the English method of valuation been adopted.

Sufficient has been said to show that there are sources of error in many of the returns whose effects can with difficulty be gauged. The difficulties named do not exhaust the catalogue, but may serve to show that in the selection of particular figures for examination, regard has been had to the possibility of escape from these deceptive influences. To avoid the further difficulty of the conclusion of the official year on different dates in different countries, and whatever uncertainty may arise from the fact that, near the turn of the year, goods may be exported in one financial year which do not arrive at their destination till the next year has begun, it will be sufficient to consider and compare, not the records of single years, but the averages of three- or five-year periods.

But we have another point to consider which may counterbalance to some extent the various liabilities to error which encumber our path. The object of enquiry is not so much to determine what absolute proportion of the value of sea-borne goods is absorbed by transport charges, but to determine whether this proportion is undergoing marked increase or decrease, or is approximately unaltered as compared with some former time.

Erroneous returns will only falsify our conclusions in the degree in which the nature and amount of the errors have undergone change.

Let us now, as briefly as possible, see what are the indications of the records available for our purposes. A general summary of the whole is afforded by the estimates of Neumann-Spallart, continued by Dr. von Juraschek, of the exports and imports of the world. As the records of some of the earlier years are not exhaustive, we may take for comparison the eight years ending 1886, and the eight years following that date. In the former period the import values of the goods entering into international exchanges exceeded their export values by 15 per cent., in the latter somewhat over 15½ per cent. The most detailed examination of these records shows nothing to modify the impression of this general comparison. In this case, we are not concerned with over-sea trade alone, and the ways in which errors can creep into the returns are multifarious. Can these, however, be expected to do more than give an incorrect idea of the *amount* of the percentage? May we not claim some reliability for the indication of the *direction of change?*

The results of further and more particular comparisons are summarized in the following table, giving the

PERCENTAGE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE VALUES OF EXPORTS AND IMPORTS IN THE TRADE BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND

	British Possessions.	India.	India with Ceylon, Mauritius, and Straits Settlements.	Australia and New Zealand.	Norway and Sweden.
1875-79.					
Outward	8·8 ...	12·4 ...	5·2 ...	12·4 ...	22·1
Homeward	20·8 ...	20·5 ...	20·7 ...	24·8 ...	25·8
Together	14·7 ...	16·4 ...	12·4 ...	18·7 ...	24·2
1880-84.					
Outward	9·2 ...	11·9 ...	10·2 ...	11·6 ...	29·0
Homeward	19·3 ...	24·9 ...	26·3 ...	11·8 ...	24·9
Together	14·1 ...	18·0 ...	17·2 ...	11·7 ...	26·4
1885-89.					
Outward	9·9 ...	11·7 ...	10·2 ...	13·4 ...	36·5
Homeward	17·2 ...	25·9 ...	26·2 ...	5·6 ...	24·2
Together	13·3 ...	17·9 ...	17·0 ...	9·5 ...	28·8
1890-94.					
Outward	7·5 ...	7·8 ...	4·8 ...	12·6 ...	32·2
Homeward	18·8 ...	36·8 ...	33·7 ...	12·3 ...	15·2
Together	13·2 ...	19·4 ...	16·8 ...	12·4 ...	21·8

A few explanations may render the table clearer. To take the first column of figures as an example, the value of merchandise bullion and specie exported from this country to the British Possessions is compared with the value of imports into British Possessions entered as from the United Kingdom. The latter values were found to be 7½ per cent. greater than the former in the quinquennium 1890-94; similarly for the homeward trade. For lack of complete returns, Malta, Gibraltar, the Channel Islands, and Hongkong do not contribute to these estimates. The figures for India are exclusive of bullion and specie in the second column, but inclusive in the first and third.

It will be noticed that, in each of the first three columns, the homeward charges are relatively much heavier than the outward charges. This may be, at any rate in part, due to the influence of falling exchange with India. The Indian valuations have been converted into sterling for each year at the average rate of council bills for that year. It may be that the valuations have been made, on one side or the other, at prices corresponding to higher exchange-rates than were obtained at the time for the India Council's drafts. We probably have here, too, a sign of the slowness with which market prices (in India if not in this country) fully adjust themselves to a falling exchange. It is this slowness of adjustment which extends the stimulus to export from, and the restraint on import into India, in regard to which controversy has been keen, from the time of the fall of exchange which was their cause, to later times, even though these be times of comparative steadiness of exchange. This slowness of movement aids in bridging over the intervals between successive falls in exchange, and making the influence of these falls almost continuous, instead of the influence of each being confined to the time immediately following its occurrence. It is further worthy of remark in this connection that, owing to this same sluggishness of movement, it is possible that the adjustment of prices to the extremely low rates of exchange of recent years has never been anything like complete. If this be so, it follows that a permanent restoration of exchange to a level even considerably above 13d. or 14d. to the rupee would not involve, in the degree sometimes represented, a new disturbance of prices which had become adjusted to the low exchange and would need to be readjusted to the higher.

The extremely low figures for the outward charges in 1890-94 are due to the exceptional figures of the financial years beginning in April, 1892, and April, 1894. No other year since 1874, except 1878, has shown figures even approximating to those recorded in the two years named for the small excess of the Indian valuation over the English valuation of what may be assumed to be the same goods. The years 1891, 1892, and 1893 were years, too, the records of which show exceptionally small differences between the two valuations of the homeward trade between this country and the Scandinavian peninsula. Only by the examination of the whole series of figures can the full effect of the story they tell be obtained. It would be far too tedious to reproduce here more than the statement given above of the position of affairs at intervals during twenty years, those twenty years being years of marvellous development of transport facilities. But, taken as it stands, this statement shows the kind of evidence obtainable from the trade returns, as to variations in the burden of transport charges. It appears needless to elaborate them further, though it might be of interest to examine whether the same lack of any definite tendency to a reduced proportion of transport charges to values is universal.

It may be added that, on comparing these results with the entrances and clearances of shipping in each of the branches of trade considered, the general results appear not to be out of harmony with such estimates of average freights as have been given on good authority from time to time. It is, of course, not impossible that they may not harmonize with information in regard to freights yet to be obtained. Should that be the case, it will prove the danger of relying too implicitly on the accuracy of our official trade records. As these stand, however, they do not bear obvious marks of such a degree of inaccuracy as would render vain all attempts to use them for such an enquiry as that here dealt with.

It would appear to follow, if the records dealt with are really sufficiently close to the facts which they profess to represent, that the great reductions in cost of carriage on which some rely to account for the fall of prices, are not capable of that which is assigned to them. During the twenty years covered by the records examined wholesale prices have fallen fully 25 per cent. according to the lower estimates, more nearly 35 per cent. according to some of the most trustworthy authorities. Let us take the lower figure, so as to err on the side of moderation, and let us, for the sake of argument, take 15 per cent. as the average cost of transporting goods from one country to another. Twenty years ago a certain quantity of goods might have been bought for £100, and sent to this country for a further £15, costing here £115. The present cost of these same goods here is £86 5s. The freight is (roughly) £11 5s. To the fall of price of nearly £29 reduced freight has contributed scarcely £4, and the producer of the goods has had to accept a price smaller by something like £25. A similar argument applies to our exports, and to the extent to which reduced freights set off their reduced price in the markets to which they are destined.

The fact is that we have here but another illustration of one of the most serious effects of a prolonged fall of average prices. Some parts of the expenses of production of the goods are fixed charges; others cannot be reduced without extreme difficulty. So far as we are dealing with fixed charges, a fall of prices makes them heavier in proportion to the value of the product. If the efforts of the other producing classes to increase their efficiency are accompanied by a fall of nominal prices, the increased efficiency is rewarded by a less share in the total product. Here, however, we stray beyond the immediate limits of the question at issue, but, in doing so, show its connection with important practical issues.

It may be added that the writer does not desire to deny to the improvements in the transport industries their influence on the fall of prices. The influence must, apparently, be looked for as an *indirect* influence, not, as one might conclude from statements which are common, and unfortunately commonly believed, as a *direct* influence.

A. W. Flux.

ENGLISH WEATHER.

It is a commonplace reproach to English people that they cannot avoid talking about the weather. And I suppose this is true. But, in fact, how very few of us there are who really observe the weather, and how very many there are who seem to be perfectly incapable of realizing the most obvious indications of the weather of the day. When the guests in a country house meet at breakfast on the morning of a day to be devoted to some function or amusement the whole success and delight of which are dependent upon the weather, how few there will be who have in truth found out what the wind is, and what the glass is doing. Someone will go the window, and gazing intently at an innocent cloud which has long ago passed overhead, and is now disappearing to leeward, will confidently aver that it must rain. Or, on some autumn morning after a cool, clear night, the wind has shifted to the south, the glass is falling, and heavy clouds are beginning to form in the south-west, a seer will look out north-eastwards, where the sky is still cloudless, and the landscape still bathed in sunshine, and will declare that it is going to be a lovely day. For myself, I can lay no claim to a scientific knowledge of meteorology, but I have never been able to keep my eyes off the clouds. I cannot help finding out what the wind is the moment I get up in the morning, and in the country at all events, I should be hopelessly lost without my registering glasses, and a rain-gauge. In these stray notes I wish to suggest some questions which those of more scientific knowledge may perhaps be able to answer, and to record for those who are even less learned than myself some conclusions which may be of practical use. It may be a sign of intellectual poverty to be always talking about the weather. But, after all, it is of actual service to everyone to have some rudimentary notions of what is the probable significance of the most obvious indications of each day's weather. Beyond that, the observation of the weather means the observation of the heavens, and the clouds, the careful watching of some of the most beautiful objects which Nature has placed before our eyes; of those objects which certainly display the most unceasing and infinite variety.

Let us first consider some popular impressions about the

weather, and see whether they are, indeed, supported by experience and, therefore, deserving of credit. Probably there is no impression more generally held than that which attributes to the moon much influence over the weather, and which in particular would make us believe that important changes in the weather are generally synchronous with the birth of a new moon. Observant old countrymen, whom their neighbours regard as specially weather-wise, hold to this belief with an invincible constancy. Sentimentally it is an alluring faith. And it is ungracious to cast doubts on the powers of the beautiful moon. But when this faith is subjected to the test of accurate observation, can it be still held? The weather of 1896, and of the earlier part of 1897, was sharply divided into periods marked by different characteristics. Did the commencements of these different phases of weather coincide with the births of new moons or not? Here are the facts. Though the remarkable drought of the early summer of 1896 was broken in the Western Midlands by thunder-storms in June and an occasional rain-fall in July, the season remained abnormally dry until after the middle of August. With us the date of the change from fine to rainy conditions may be put at the 20th of August; but there was a new moon on the 9th. Then after the 28th there came a prolonged period of almost incessant rain which lasted till the 26th of October; but there was a new moon on the 6th of that month. An unusually dry November did not take its characteristics from the new moon of the 5th of that month, for they dated back to the 26th of October. It is true that the whole period covered by the December moon was persistently wet and mild; but this rainy bout began two days before that new moon, and the general character of December's weather (rainy and mild) lasted on in January, 1897, until a week after the new moon of the 3rd of that month. Then in the middle of the month there was a gradual change in the conditions. The mild and wet southerly and westerly winds gave place to northerly and easterly currents. Snow-storms were general; and there was a fairly continuous frost till nearly the end of the month. But the break-up of the frost did not actually coincide with the new moon of the 1st of February, for rain was general throughout England three days before that. While the earlier part of February was exceptionally wet, the remainder of it was unusually dry. And this period of fine weather again was broken not at the moment of the new moon of the 3rd of March, but three or four days antecedently to this. This bald recital of facts will show the marked changes in the general characteristics of different periods of weather very often do not synchronize with the birth or the several quarters of the moon.

Another very common idea is that a heavy dew at night presages a fine day on the morrow. It is one of those summer evenings—alas! too rare in the country—when you can take your guests to sit out in the garden after dinner. Someone feels the turf, and declares that it is ringing with wet; and there will be a chorus of "Hurrah! Then it will be a fine day to-morrow." And yet all that this copious dew really indicates is that at the time there is a clear sky, and that there is much difference between the temperature of the earth and of the higher air. No doubt, if it be midsummer, this clear night may be in the middle of a long bout of fine weather, and there may be nothing ominous of evil in the dew. But in winter or autumn, under certain conditions of the weather, I look with suspicion on a heavy dew. True, it is not in itself necessarily precedent to wet at those seasons any more that it is necessarily antecedent to fine weather in summer; but in autumn and winter you will very frequently get a wet morrow to a clear dewy night, and more especially is this the case when the wind has, during the night, temporarily veered to the north-west in the midst of a succession of south-westerly depressions. And, at such times, a heavy dew is certainly rather a sign of unstable than of stable weather. Curiously enough, the very people who believe all good things of a heavy dew will, parrot-like, repeat the equally common but quite inconsistent saying, that "three white frosts will end in a thaw," which, in fact, does not uncommonly occur, though frosts of much longer duration take place which produce white frosts night after night.

It is a picturesque delusion that there is a prophetic significance in the character of the sunrise and of the sunset. We are all familiar with this sort of formula, "What a beautiful sunset. It will be a fine day to-morrow." Sunsets are so beautiful in their endless variety that happily we are not likely to watch them with less delight if we are convinced that they cannot convey any special weather meanings. After all, why should the look of the sky in one quarter of the heavens, and the effect produced by the sun as it sinks behind the clouds that happen to be on the western horizon at that particular moment, have a special premonitory import? And as a matter of fact any patient observer will soon be able to satisfy himself from experience that the actual weather, and the indications of the weather, at those two moments of the day have no critical or special significance.

Another very common idea is that a luxuriant crop of berries in the autumn forebodes a hard winter. It is a belief cherished as much by country folk as by townspeople. But I am afraid it has no basis in facts. There was a wonderful display of berries last autumn, and an old woodman in my country aptly summed up the popular notion by telling me, "There'll be a lot of victuals for the

poor birds in the winter." But the winter that followed was by no means a severe one, and as a matter of fact the birds had disposed of the bulk of their victuals long before the time of the year when we may expect to have a prolonged frost. In truth, this pretty superstition, like so many accepted fables about the weather, fixes upon a natural phenomenon which is the result of antecedent conditions, perverts its significance, and regards it as a premonitory indication of something that is to come. An unusally plentiful crop of berries must, of course, be caused by certain conditions of temperature, sunshine, and rainfall, which have preceded and accompanied their birth and growth. The prodigal wealth of berry, therefore, is an indication of factors that have operated in the past and not a sign of things that the future has in store. It may be answered: that may be true, and yet, as a rule, a hard winter follows upon the sort of summer that produces the exceptional crop of berries, and therefore they are in effect a sign of the future not to be disregarded. No doubt this may sometimes happen. But it would be easy enough to give, as in the case of this season, instances to the contrary. And my belief is that it would be impossible to deduce from accurate statistics any trustworthy theory of a general sequence in the character of the seasons. Let anyone study the chronicles of the hard winters and the hot summers of the last fifty years, or of the wet bouts and droughts of the same period. At first a similarity between the sequence of characteristics of certain of the seasons may tempt him to think that he can construct a plausible general rule. But a little closer study will prove that the course of the weather in other years was so diametrically different that his theory would be quite worthless as a guide to what is likely to happen in the future. Gilbert White in Letter LXII. of his *Natural History of Selborne*, in giving some details of the great frost of January, 1776, propounds a distinct theory. He writes: "The first week in January was uncommonly wet, and drowned with vast rains from every quarter, from whence may be inferred, as there is great reason to believe is the case, that intense frosts seldom take place till the earth is perfectly glutted and chilled with water; and hence dry autumns are seldom followed by rigorous winters." And he fortifies this belief by instancing the frost of January, 1768, "the autumn preceding which was very wet." "And the terrible long frost in 1739–40 set in after a rainy season, and when the springs were very high." The season of 1894–95 might also be appealed to in support of this theory. But, on the other hand, the wet autumn and early winter of 1896 led up to no remarkable cold in 1897. And, of course, one would wish Gilbert White to be a little more precise. Is it the "glutting" of the earth by rains immediately precedent,

or is it a continuous antecedent wet season with a rainfall that has for a long period been above the average, which is likely to produce exceptional frosts? It is curious to note in passing how fanciful some of White's remarks about weather are. In Letter LXI. he mentions how at the end of a frost "moles began to heave and work." "From the latter circumstance we may conclude that thaws often originate under ground from warm vapours which arise." A conclusion, I suppose, which no weather observer now could possibly defend. And in Letter LXIII. he notes: "On the 10th, at eleven at night, *though* the air was perfectly still, Dolland's glass went down to one degree below zero." Yet, if there be any statement which can be made with certainty about temperature, it is that the greatest cold always occurs when the air is still, and that in this country no remarkable degree of frost has ever been registered when there has been any amount of wind.

Solar halos can be observed by anyone, and my observation leads me to the conclusion that the popular belief that they are signs of coming wet is well founded. Certainly a solar halo is generally, though by no means invariably, succeeded by rain. I suppose the particular effect is caused by the special texture of the clouds through which the sun's rays are making their passage, and that this quality of cloud is one which, as a rule, advances across the sky in front of the actual storm-clouds which a new Atlantic depression will shortly propel from the south and the west. And, on those occasions when I have noted that rain has not followed soon after a solar halo (and they have occurred during the supremacy of a long drought), what has happened, I imagine, has been this. There was nothing fallacious in the halo. The clouds that produced it were, indeed, the precursors of rain-clouds, which under the more common conditions of our weather would shortly have made their way across England; but which on these occasions were arrested and driven away by the stronger influence of the abiding anti-cyclone.

Anyone who constantly watches the movements of clouds and endeavours to understand their significance, must from time to time have noticed how a higher stratum of cloud is moving in a totally different direction from a lower stratum. Is it the wind which is moving the higher, or that which is moving the lower stratum, which is likely to become the general and prevailing wind? Probably this is an illogical way of stating the question. Probably scientifically no certain deduction can be drawn from the fact that the one current is the higher, and the other the lower. And probably the material circumstance to be ascertained is which of the two currents it is which represents the direction of the dominant, or of the shortly to be dominant, wind over the

island. The question is one of practical interest. And certainly to watch the opposite movements of two strata of clouds is a fascinating occupation for any observant, if unscientific, weather-student. Think of a hot summer's day during a drought, when all good country-folk are longing for a real fall of rain. The weather has been coming mainly from the north and the east, and still the main sky canopy high-up is composed of quiet, dry, white clouds moving slowly from the north. But as the day goes on detached and darker clouds are seen, moving more rapidly from the south below and across the face of the higher canopy of white. Clearly if these new-comers represent the wind of the near future, they are the precursors of the longed-for change; nay, they may be the immediate heralds of a southerly storm that very night. But does experience justify the conclusion that this is because the new-comers are borne on the lower current of air, or ought we to infer that the lower movement of clouds is but a temporary incursion, and that it is the higher current which represents the abiding weather, or must we not look (as I have suggested) for other indications before we can safely draw any conclusions from these cloud-movements?

Let us next consider an inconsistency, not between the movements of the clouds, but between the temperatures of the higher and lower air, which not infrequently occurs in winter, and which may well make the observer doubtful of what the weather is going to be. The 9th of January last is a good illustration of what I mean. In Gloucestershire the 8th had been a day of much rain with an east wind. Rain continued to fall with the same wind during the morning of the 9th. But by mid-day the rain came down either in frozen drops of actual ice, or froze where it fell, and this went on till darkness set in. The thermometer on a wall fell gradually from 35 at 8 a.m. to 31 at 2 p.m., and pressed the minimum indicator all the afternoon. Everything became coated with ice. The trees resounded with the impact of the rain on their hardened and glistening branches. My rain-gauge became choked with ice, and took some thawing before it could be used again. I confess I had some doubt of what was going to be the issue of this. For the barometer was slightly rising. There was nothing in the forecast to show that any new southerly or westerly influence was likely to make itself felt, and easterly and north-easterly winds were reported from every part of the United Kingdom. Would not then the rain turn to snow? Would not the weather of the next day follow the cold of the lower and not the comparative warmth of the higher air? No;—snow did not fall; and, as night came on, the temperature began to rise. Everywhere was heard the sound of a gentle drip from trees, and roofs, and shrubs. On the

next day, though the wind was unaltered, the thermometer went up to 42, and on the 11th to 40. Rain again fell heavily on the night of the 10th. The barometer kept on rising, and the mildness of the temperature under these conditions in mid-January is worth remarking; but my object in this recital has been to give an illustration of the preponderating influence of the upper, as opposed to the lower, air. Another proof of this is to be found when rain comes at the end of a frost. Although the temperature near the ground is still cold enough for snow, this rain may be regarded as an almost certain indication that a change to warmer weather has indeed taken place. Let us think of a regular mid-winter frost, which has lasted about a fortnight or so, under anti-cyclonic conditions. The Meteorological Office announces that a deep depression is approaching Valencia, and will gradually spread from the westward all over the United Kingdom. The course of the weather is familiar to us. We read that forecast at breakfast in London. The frost of the last night has very likely been the hardest of the whole fortnight. Gilbert White noted "that though frosts advance to their utmost severity by somewhat of a regular gradation, yet thaws do not usually come on as regular a declension of cold; but often take place immediately from intense freezing; as men in sickness often mend at once from a paroxysm." It is a still and misty morning. Gradually the thermometer mounts up. Gradually a wind dispels the mists, and it is plain that the sky is becoming more and more covered with clouds, and that they are moving from the south. The thermometer still rises until freezing point is almost touched; but the wind, which grows in strength during the day, is a bitterly cold wind, and everybody says that it must snow. And when nightfall comes and the first moisture descends, in all probability it is snow, and not rain, which is borne on a biting blast. And the snow will very possibly continue to fall for some time, and the temperature on the ground and just above it will still be just below freezing. Yet the moment drops of rain mingle with the snow you may practically be sure that it is all up with the frost, that an effective thaw has come, and that the Atlantic depression is expelling from our islands the anti-cyclonic conditions of the last two weeks.

In like manner I know of no more certain sign of coming lower temperatures on the ground than when a hail-storm, or a storm of mingled hail, sleet, and snow suddenly descends from banked masses of rugged, white-edged clouds on a sunny and not cold day. More especially is this the case in the autumn and spring, and at those seasons I should always be afraid of a keen night frost following upon such a fall, no matter what the maximum temperature of the preceding day may have been. Who that has a garden will forget

the cruel frost of the night of Sunday, the 20th of May, 1894? Friday, the 18th, had been a lovely and warm day. On Saturday the wind got into the north, and blew harshly under a bleak, grey sky. On Sunday, with the same wind, there were sunny hours; but from time to time there quickly swept across the heavens sharp storms of hail and snow. Before sunset the sky became cloudless, and a brilliantly clear night produced a frost of wintry intensity. Poor flowers and vegetables! Poor young buds on trees and shrubs! Poor trees themselves that with the sunrise found their young wood all blackened and frost-bitten.

I shall be inclined to think that the influence of the lower temperature, and of previous weather makes the longest and most stubborn fight against the advent of a new temperature in the upper air, and of a new style of weather, when a frost is broken up in the sort of way I have described above. On the other hand, I think the quickest and most material changes of the lower temperature come with a sudden squall and shift of the wind from south-west to west and north-west. How marvellous is the rapidity of this change. It is often actually coincident with the first blast of the new current These shifts of the wind with the north-westerly squalls are fascinating to observe. For, besides the sudden fall in the temperature, there is an instantaneous change in the character of the clouds, and in the quality of the rain, or hail, or sleet. And why is it that this change is almost always accompanied by a new atmospheric darkness, which is not simply the result of an increased density in the clouds, but which seems to roll along under the clouds? I cannot attribute this to any special local circumstances, for I have observed it in such very different places. For instance, there can be no reason why a shift in the wind to the north-west should bring a murkier atmosphere to the western parts of London. The country, in fact, is nearer in that direction than in any other. And I have observed the same phenomenon over and over again on the northern slopes of the Cotswolds, miles away from any considerable town.

Putting it quite unscientifically, the weather in England is mainly regulated and influenced by the direction of the wind. No amount of local knowledge, and no length of careful observation can enable the most inveterate meteorologist to forecast how long the existing wind will last, or when a change in its direction may be expected. An intelligent study of the clouds and a discriminating watching of the movements of the barometer, should prevent him from making a grossly bad prediction for the space of some twelve hours ahead, and ought to make him fairly certain of the general character of the weather for some six hours ahead. Here come in the incalculable value and the infinite practical assistance afforded to weather-watchers by the daily reports of the Meteorological

Office. It is not only their specific forecasts for the several districts that are helpful, but also their weather-chart and the summary of the leading features of the weather over the tract of country within their survey. Obviously the limited and insular nature of this area presents the most serious difficulty which this office has to deal with. Compare the good fortune of the Meteorological Department of the United States with its huge continent from which to gather up the bases for its forecasts. And, if I now venture with real diffidence to suggest two criticisms of the work of our Department, I hope its officers will credit me with the admiration I feel for their labours, and with an understanding of the peculiar difficulties under which they are carried on. Putting the matter into language that may be intelligible to the unlearned, I should be inclined to say that they do not make sufficient allowance for the occasional dominance, and even prolonged dominance, of weather systems that do not come to us from the Atlantic, and are not characterized by the usual features of the weather that reaches us from the west. This is most natural. For it is the latter kind of weather which is typical of England in summer and winter alike. When such systems prevail the forecasts of the Meteorological Department are, as a rule, beautifully accurate. Let anyone recollect the weather of last December, when depression after depression swept across our islands from the west, and when each departing depression was separated from the succeeding one by a brief spell of clear and sharp weather, with a temporary shifting of the wind to the north and west. Each recurrent return to wet was foretold with mathematical precision in the daily reports. But, after all, when English weather is wholly governed by these influences, there is for the time a certain simplicity and even regularity in its habits. Compare with that series of forecasts those issued during the long drought of the Jubilee year, or of the summer of 1895 or 1896, and it must be admitted that the office over and over again predicted the advent of wet, when, in fact, no wet came. They were relying, no doubt, upon the precedents of the more ordinary course of English weather, and from the arrival of a depression off Valencia, they inferred that it would gradually advance across our islands, bringing showers, and that it would dispel the long tyranny of the dry anti-cyclone. How often have I (to be egotistical) on an afternoon in those hot summer months, hurried to a window of the library of the House of Commons to look at the forecasts issued that morning. How often, in my anxiety for scorched Gloucestershire meadows, have I read with delight of the newly reported advance of the familiar Atlantic depression, and of the consequent forecast of approaching rains. And then I have peered out of the oriel window,

not on the gay tea-drinkers below who would like the ruinous drought to last for ever, but right up the river, in the vain hope that I could detect in the southern sky some sign of clouds that might be the precursors of a change. Then next morning the meteorological report baldly stated that the depression had filled up or had skirted our coasts, and that anyhow the old anti-cyclone was still supreme and unassailed. This happened so often that at last (I think it was in the Jubilee year) the office published words to this effect: That there were new conditions reported in the west which would lead them in any normal season to forecast the spread of rainy weather over England; but that in this abnormal season they abstained from committing themselves to this conclusion. Precisely: this puts my contention in a nutshell. There are years; there are seasons; there are shorter periods, when the predominant influence over England is not the result of the ordinary, and Atlantic, conditions; and quite naturally the Meteorological Office is slow in realizing when the abnormal influences have for a time triumphed over the normal ones. The same error is not uncommonly made in the forecasts in mid-winter, and evidently proceeds from the same cause. For example, there are two types of weather prevailing in the neighbourhood of our islands. To westward there is a system of low barometric readings with mild weather. On the Continent and to the east and north, there are high readings and frost. To put the matter in the language of betting, the Office backs the system which on general form should win, and predicts westerly winds and mild, wet weather over England. But, in fact, it is the Continental system which holds its own, and, advancing over England, brings with it a hard frost. It may be argued that the Office's prediction was justified by general experience, and that the opposite prediction would have been speculative and empirical. Still, the actual erroneousness of this prediction made under these circumstances is proved over and over again in winter, and at certain periods of the year, and under certain conditions of the weather-chart, I think there are some careful observers who would be more inclined than the Office to anticipate these occasional instances of the expulsion of the Atlantic system by a Continental system, and who would, therefore, in effect be the more trustworthy weather-guides at such times.*

* The 31st of March and the 1st of April last saw a sudden and complete change of the weather over the south-east of England, which was unanticipated. The change, a very striking one, was determined by the substitution of a north easterly for a south-westerly current of wind. The forecast issued at 11 a.m. on the 31st was for "south-westerly winds moderate—much rain"; and that issued at 6 p.m. was for "very variable winds—moderate, changeable—considerable rain." In fact, the wind which had been south-west with mild, showery weather

The 3rd of April last, the Boat-Race day, supplies another good illustration of easterly conditions triumphing over southerly ones in a manner not altogether foreseen. The forecast for London, issued at 6 p.m. on the 2nd, was: "South-westerly and southerly winds; increasing; rainy; unsettled; milder." That issued at 11 a.m. on the 3rd was: "South-easterly to south-westerly winds, becoming strong; rainy; very unsettled." In fact, virtually no rain fell in the period covered by these two forecasts; the wind never became more southerly than south-east; and it backed during the afternoon of the 3rd to the east, and later on to the north-east; and during the whole of this time it retained the biting, harsh character of an east wind, and the crowds at the Race must have resented the delusive prophecy of "milder." Then, the forecast issued at 6 p.m. on the 3rd recognized the continued domination of the easterly influence, and was for: "East winds, strong; colder; keen air; some local showers." But compare this with the preceding forecast. They are essentially different. And this leads to my second criticism of the meteorological forecasts. It is this. If a sceptic on these matters were regularly to compare the forecasts issued at 11 o'clock every morning with those issued at 6 o'clock in the evening of the preceding, and of the next day, he would find too much reason to blaspheme. The discrepancies that frequently occur between them seem to be protruded in an unnecessarily glaring manner. Of course, I know that in the intervals between the issue of these several forecasts the conditions of the weather may have undergone essential changes. Still, the 11 o'clock report, taken with either of the other two, covers a considerable part of the same twenty-four hours, and however honest may be the publication of utterly opposite prophecies for the same period of time, the result is sometimes a little disconcerting even to the most faithful disciple of the Meteorological Department. I would refer the curious to the forecasts during the earlier part of last April.

I have suggested that the likelihood of the Atlantic influences—our ordinary masters—being subjugated by influences from other quarters, is greater at certain seasons than at others. I should roughly specify these times as those of mid-winter, mid-summer, and when in spring we are evidently under the sway of a bout of what may be called "March weather." But even at these times this

went in London decisively round to the north-east in the middle of the afternoon, and blew strongly and steadily from that quarter with an immediate decrease in the temperature. So material was this decrease that the rain gave place to snow and sleet, which fell persistently through the morning hours of the 1st of April. This most decided change actually occurred some time before the issue of the 6 o'clock forecast I have just quoted.

likelihood is modified by the supreme and general law of the abiding inconstancy and irregularity of English weather. The reputed characteristics of the seasons, and of the different months, are as often as not directly contradicted by the actual characters of those periods. Certainly one must not allocate distinct types of weather to periods defined as nicely as are the months. How can anyone reckon on mellow autumnal sunshine for September and October, who still recollects with misery the unceasing rains of those months last year? On the other hand, who would irrevocably condemn September, who recollects its cloudless weeks in 1895? In London the fogs of November have become proverbial. But, in fact, it is some years now since that month has shrouded the town with a real yellow darkness. February, "fill-dyke," brought great floods to many parts of England this year; but (merely to mention recent years) it witnessed the prolongation in undiminished severity of a great frost; and in 1896 it was a singularly rainless month. Of all the months, March, I should say, is the most unvarying in its characteristics, the most likely to give us the weather we associate with its name. But this last March has been quite false to its reputation. It has been a time, not of harsh, drying winds with bright easterly skies and sweeping dust, but one of heavy rainfall, broken by a week of exceptional warmth with westerly winds. In fact, it was not until the 29th that there was a day at all typical of the season. "April's showers" have been lamentably lacking for some seasons; and the earlier part of the month this year has possessed none of its legendary softness.

The variance between the conventional May of poetry and the actual May, which so often chills deluded pleasure-seekers, is notorious. Whether this difference between the mythical and the usual character of the month nowadays be due principally to the change in our calendar, or whether there has been in truth a retarding of the English spring, is a most interesting subject for a thorough enquiry. But it is beyond the scope of these rambling notes, which are but the disconnected and unscientific jottings of a devoted, but somewhat distracted, weather-student.

C. A. Whitmore.

THE MONTH IN AMERICA.

Washington, April 15th, 1897.

If I continue to refer to the causes which were so potent in the late presidential campaign, it is because while the campaign nominally ended with the election of Major McKinley last November, and it was foolishly supposed then that that which the opposition called "Bryanism" had been crushed out and would be heard of no more, this so-called "Bryanism" is as much alive to-day as it was at any time after the nomination of the democratic candidate in Chicago, until his defeat at the polls in November. I dwell upon this because it is, in my opinion, one of the vital issues of the day, certainly the most vital so far as the United States are concerned. What may happen next year, or two years, or four years hence no man is rash enough to say, certainly no man who knows the uncertainty of American politics and the fickleness with which the American public transfers its political allegiance from one banner to the other. But while no one can predict as to the future, the signs of the present are unmistakable. We have had within the last two weeks two striking proofs that the doctrines advocated by Mr. Bryan are as much a living reality to the country at large as they ever were. We have seen the effect which they have produced, and we know, despite all that has been said to the contrary, that Mr. Bryan—and I mean by that not so much the man as the cause—is stronger to-day than he has been at any time. Looking at "Bryanism" in its broadest and most philosophical aspects, comprehending what it involves and the consequences that would follow its triumph—the changing of the existing money standard, the suppression and curtailment of trusts, the striking down of the protective system, and a return to a broader and sounder democracy—and regarding it as not an improbability that eventually Bryan may triumph, one cannot over-estimate the importance of the movement, or refrain from observing the straws which point in the direction of its accomplishment.

It will be remembered that one of the chief arguments used against Mr. Bryan and his party in the last campaign by the

republicans and the bolting democratic pharisees, was that the platform at Chicago contained a plank assailing and assaulting the integrity of the Supreme Court. An attack on the Supreme Court of the United States was, in the eyes of these people, too sacrilegious to be condoned, and for that reason alone they were prepared to defeat Mr. Bryan as a rebuke to "anarchy." The Supreme Court itself has now done that which has aroused the passions of the very men who a few months ago were loudest in denouncing the anarchy of Mr. Bryan, who called him socialist, traitor, and would-be destroyer of his country's institutions, and it is these men who to-day may be termed the anarchists, if such a term can be applied to anyone. The Supreme Court of the United States has rendered a decision declaring a so-called traffic association illegal, and as being in violation of the provisions of the Sherman anti-trust law. Briefly and broadly stated, the various railroads throughout the country have formed themselves into pools and associations which, in various forms but all with the same end in view, regulate the amount of traffic each road is to handle and the rates to be charged for the same. It was frequently declared on the stump by democratic and populist orators in the last campaign that these so-called associations and pools were a violation of the law, inasmuch as they restricted competition and were a restraint on trade. Finally one of these associations was brought into the courts, with the result that the highest bench delivered an opinion holding that such combinations were in direct violation of the anti-trust law and must instantly dissolve or its corporators would have to suffer the penalty.

Wall Street and the speculative community were simply dazed by this decision. From a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States there is no appeal. Congress may in a measure nullify its action by the passage of legislation repealing or remedial in character, but not even this republican Congress dares to fly in the face of the people by the passage of a law legalizing trusts. Trusts may be winked at, they may be favoured through the hidden mysteries of schedules in a tariff bill, but that is very different from the Legislature openly allying itself on the side of the great monopolies.

And now comes the most curious phase of the whole business, and as showing that the "anarchy" of the mortgaged farmer of the western plains and the speculator of Wall Street, whose millions have been placed in jeopardy by a Supreme Court decision, differs after all very slightly. Both are animated by the same selfish motives. It was the democratic platform that suggested the employment of

constitutional means to change the composition of the Supreme Court of the United States so that when a future Congress passed an income tax law that Court would not declare it unconstitutional as the present Court did a year or two ago—declared it unconstitutional, be it remembered, after it had previously upheld the validity of the law, and then on a rehearing one of the justices reversed himself and voted in the negative so as to give a majority against the law. Perhaps there had never been a more remarkable, and one might almost say scandalous, state of affairs revealed in connection with a high judicial body. The motives which governed this justice no man can know, but it is not surprising that after this exhibition the common people, the great masses, had their faith in this august tribunal somewhat rudely shaken. And now come the "anarchists" of Wall Street, who do that which was so savagely denounced when it was proposed by their late opponents. Here, for instance, is the New York *Times*, a paper which, during the campaign, could not find epithets harsh enough to apply to Mr. Bryan, and which gave to Mr. McKinley the loyalest and fullest support it was capable for a newspaper to give to a political candidate. "We are bound," says the *Times*, "*for the time being* to accept the law, since it is the law of the Supreme Court." Mark the words, "for the time being." This is far worse than anything suggested by the Chicago platform. That platform proposed to secure results by constitutional methods. What the *Times*, talking as a representative of the syndicates and trusts, proposes to do no one knows, but these words are ominous. The attitude of the *Times*, however, is only significant of the stand immediately taken by all the interests which were affected by this decision. At once the cry went up that there must be a rehearing of the case, that the Court must be challenged to a restatement of its determination, with the hope, of course, that it could be induced to repeat the farce of an income tax decision, reverse itself in the interest of the trusts and corporations. The Court has granted the petition for a rehearing, but has postponed action until next October. In the meantime the speculators will gamble on what this decision may be, perfectly indifferent as to whether it is for or against them, but only grateful to be able to use it as a factor in depressing or advancing prices of stocks for their personal profit—at the expense of the outside public.

Perhaps there can be no more significant indication of the spirit of opposition than the extract which I here give you from a circular letter issued by a prominent firm of stockbrokers in Wall Street. Stockbrokers, as a general thing, who send out alluring literature to the lambs to entice them into the shambles of Wall Street, are not apt to denounce the trusts and the methods by which they

make their profit; and yet this firm feels called upon to state that "the injustice and inhumanity of the Mark Hanna syndicate system of protection infinitely exceeds anything ever charged against the oppressor, whose conduct occasioned and justified the Declaration of Independence. . . . The trouble is concentrated corruption in Washington, which is organizing systems of robbery. . . . Fight the laws that rob the poor man. Take the sting of injustice out of his heart. . . . People are smiling less at Bryan's figure of the crucifixion upon the cross of gold. It is just what is being done through the tariff. . . . Better Bryanism, with all its blunders in the name of humanity, than the smug hypocrisy which prays for the people as it preys on them."

Mr. Bryan may feel with due modesty that while the country repudiated him in November, 1896, the Supreme Court of the United States has, in a measure, vindicated him in April, 1897.

Still further vindication has Mr. Bryan found in the municipal elections which were held in Ohio, Michigan, and Illinois in the early part of this month. Ohio, which less than five months ago gave McKinley such an overwhelming majority, and buried the Bryan ticket out of sight, has now practically reversed its former judgment. A majority of the leading cities, including even Canton, the Mecca of republican pilgrims of last summer; Springfield, the home of the present republican governor, and Cincinnati, the metropolis of the State and the residence of Senator Foraker, have elected democratic mayors, and other democratic city officials. In some cases, it is true, local causes produced these results, and the national issue had little, if anything, to do with them, but in the majority of cases the battle of last year was being fought out again. It is, of course, too early to say what bearing these elections will have on the much more important congressional campaign to be waged next year, but they are, perhaps, indicative of the future. In Ohio what has happened is extremely significant. Mr. Mark Hanna, President McKinley's most intimate friend and adviser, the chairman of the National Committee and the chief director of the late campaign, is now a senator, having been appointed by Governor Bushnell to the vacancy created by the retirement of Mr. Sherman. His term will expire early next year, when his successor will be elected by the Legislature. As the result of these elections it is believed by the democrats that the next Legislature from the state of Ohio will be democratic, which will result in the retirement of Mr. Hanna and the election of a democrat as his successor. Should that be so, and unless there is a great change in popular sentiment,

that democrat will be a pronounced silver man, and not a "sound money" man as is Mr. Hanna. From my knowledge of the situation, I believe this will happen, and when in less than a year after the election of President McKinley, his native state of Ohio sends to the United States Senate a silver democrat, defeating the man who is backed by all the *prestige* of recent success, and backed by all the power of the national administration, it will then, perhaps, be believed by readers of the London *Times*, and some equally misleading organs, that the "silver craze" in the United States is not quite the dead thing which some people imagine.

The result of the municipal elections in Chicago is also extremely interesting. There, Carter Harrison, a son of the famous Carter Harrison who was so wantonly murdered by a lunatic in the closing days of the great exhibition, was so triumphantly elected that his rivals seem to have been actually lost in the race. Harrison is not only a silver man, but is one of the friends and *protégés* of ex-Governor John P. Altgeld, who, with Mr. Bryan, shared the honours of being denominated the chief anarchist by the republicans in the last campaign. Harrison's election shows not only that thousands of men who voted for McKinley last year must now have voted against the republican candidate for mayor, but it also makes public the still more important fact that Altgeld is once more the dominating factor in Illinois politics. You understand what that means. It means that silver and Bryanism are the controlling forces in the politics of that great western state; it means also that perhaps the ablest, shrewdest, and most successful politician the country has produced of recent years, a man who is peculiarly suited for the *rôle* he has marked out for himself, is again in the saddle.

A certificate from the enemy is worth much. There is no newspaper in the length and breadth of the United States which so savagely, indecently, and indefensibly attacked Bryan and the democratic campaign of last year as did the New York *Sun*. The day before the Chicago election the *Sun* in a leading editorial said:—

"The main importance of the election . . . lies in the fact that Harrison represents the Bryanism of Chicago, and his candidacy brings to the front the issues of the last national campaign.

"If, then, Harrison should be elected, the political consequences might be grave and far reaching. In the first considerable election since the defeat of Bryan last November the silver democrats would demonstrate their superiority; and the result would be likely to have a powerful influence in determining the course of next autumn's campaign in the Greater New York. It would tend to stimulate and intensify the opposition to the plan of nominating a gold democrat, which has already sprung up in Tammany Hall. It might even assure Tammany's persistent and outspoken adhesion to Bryanism. Therein lies the great importance of to-day's election at Chicago."

Is further comment necessary?

If I devote much space to Bryan, the man, it is because he still continues to occupy a large share of the public attention. He came to Washington a couple of weeks ago to argue a case before the Supreme Court of the United States. He endeavoured to avoid publicity as much as possible; in fact, he told me in private conversation that he was not trying to force himself upon the public, or to do what his detractors have charged him with doing, of hippodroming himself so as to keep his name before the public. But the people flock after, and he cannot escape their attentions. As a matter of courtesy he called on President McKinley at the White House. As he came from the President's room, public men and office-seekers, who were waiting for an opportunity to be admitted to the President, pressed eagerly forward and grasped his hand and talked with him, some of them merely expressing courteous commonplaces, while others were anxious to show how high the estimation in which they held him. In fact, so great was the desire on their part to see him that Mr. Bryan was compelled to take part in perhaps the most remarkable scene which has ever been witnessed in the White House. In the East Room, where the President holds his public receptions and other functions of the same kind, Mr. Bryan, a private citizen of the United States, holding neither official position, rank, nor title, was compelled by the pressure of his admirers to receive them and to shake their hands as they filed past him, just as if he had been actually the President and not the defeated candidate for the presidency—doing precisely what President McKinley now does twice a week. I do not believe that such a spontaneous exhibition of loyalty has ever before been known in the history of American politics; certainly it has never before been known that the defeated candidate held a reception in the East Room of the White House, while its lawful occupant was on the floor above performing his ordained duties.

The fact is, the people still regard Bryan as the poor man's champion. He has perhaps been invested with a certain amount of glamour which does not belong to him; one might even say a halo surrounds him, and this light rather blinds his devoted followers. Be that as it may, Bryan to-day stands out clear cut and bold as the friend of the people, the enemy of organized greed, the champion of monopoly, and avarice and corruption wherever it is found. To his followers he appears in marked contrast to the republicans who are now in power, who have framed a tariff bill making dearer everything which the poor man has to use, and giving to certain great interests unusual advantages for making

great profits. In the Supreme Court, as in the White House, people crowded around the young Nebraskan to see him and to hear him, and at his hotel and on the street he was always the centre of an admiring and interested group.

Apropos of the tariff bill, it is really amusing to see the way in which the gold democrats and the low tariff republicans are now scolding themselves for what they did in the last campaign. By the light of experience they ought to have known that McKinley had not changed his tariff views one iota, that he was as high a tariff man in 1896 as he had been in 1890. But they fooled themselves into the belief that McKinley, if elected, would have learned wisdom by his former defeat, and instead of being the McKinley of 1890 would be a moderate protectionist in this year of grace. They now know better. The Dingley Tariff Bill is in all respects as bad and vicious a measure as was the McKinley Tariff Bill, and to quote the New York *Times* again, "the democratic votes which elected Mr. McKinley were won and kept by false pretences. . . . He was not elected to revise the tariff, but his first act is to force upon the country a tariff that is flagrant in its protective atrocities." The *Times* simply voices the general sentiment expressed not only by democratic papers which were supporters of Mr. McKinley, but also by a great many newspapers whose republicanism is not open to question. The bill has been most savagely denounced as being not only inadvisable, but as vicious from a party standpoint. However, these criticisms have not the slightest effect either on President McKinley or the men in control of legislation. The bill, substantially as it stands with all its excessive duties and all its impositions on the working-man and farmer, will become a law and the country will have no relief until the next election. The bill having passed the House, is now being amended and altered to suit the views of the Senate. Certain changes, of course, will be made in the measure, and there is a pretence to convey the impression that the Senate will materially reduce the duties imposed by the House. This, however, means nothing. In a few cases duties will be reduced, but the main duties governing the bill will be found in it when it becomes a law. Clothing and all other articles of necessity will be increased in price, and the sugar trust and other great trusts which contributed so liberally to the republican campaign fund, will find their contributions come back to them tenfold with compound interest, owing to the enhanced prices which the consumer will have to pay.

The appointment by President McKinley two days ago, under the provisions of the act providing for the promotion of an inter-

national agreement for bimetallism, of three special commissioners or envoys to pave the way for a proposed conference, follows swift upon the information which I gave to the readers of *The National Review* in my last month's article. When that information was published in *The National Review* and cabled back to this side and given the very widest circulation and publicity, a great many papers sneered at what they were pleased to term this "misinformation," and expressed the opinion that they could see no possible good over another revival of the silver agitation. However, they have by this time probably learned that it is sometimes necessary to go three thousand miles away from home to get the news.

Writing last month of the President's decision to appoint these commissioners, I said: "The importance of his decision cannot be over-estimated. It proves conclusively that President McKinley will do anything that lies in his power to bring about an international agreement on silver. He has said so in explicit and exact words." I repeat these sentences because they express the exact attitude of the present occupant of the White House, so far as the silver question is concerned. He might very well, had he been so disposed, have let the silver question lag along until the middle or the end of his administration; his inaction would have been perfectly satisfactory to the majority of his republican supporters; it would have been none the less pleasing to the gold democrats who voted for him, and the silver men would have been content to wait in the hopes that eventually he might be induced to do something. The matter might have been permitted to have been used for political purposes and to have been allowed to stand open until the near approach of the next campaign would have demonstrated whether it was advisable to concede anything to the silver men and hold them in line by the speedy appointment of these commissioners.

Mr. McKinley, however, has done nothing of the kind. A little more than a month after his inauguration he has announced the names of the three commissioners who are to proceed to Europe and open the way for an international conference. The three men selected are of the highest standing in character and must command respect. Two of the members are so well known by name and reputation to the readers of *The National Review* that it seems scarcely necessary to say anything about them. Senator Wolcott of Colorado is known not only because of his official position, his great ability, his powers as an orator, and the leading part he has always taken in the interests of international bimetallism, but also because it was only a few weeks ago that he visited Europe in the *rôle* of an un-official envoy to ascertain what

hope there was of Europe consenting to consider the question of international bimetallism and doing anything in the cause of silver. Mr. Adlai E. Stevenson, the democratic commissioner, who only retired as Vice-President of the United States on the 4th of last March, certainly needs no introduction. He is a man of high character, simple but dignified in his manner, who administered his office of Vice-President with such fidelity, discretion, and tact that he enjoyed the respect and confidence of his political opponents equally with those of the members of his own party. He is a strong advocate of bimetallism. He was a staunch supporter of Mr. Bryan and the Chicago platform during the last campaign, although he does not believe it possible for the United States, independent of the other nations of the world, to alone carry the weight of silver. General Charles J. Paine of Boston, the other republican commissioner, is probably less known in Europe than the other two members, although he is one of the most prominent men of affairs in Massachusetts, and as a member of the syndicate who built the famous cup defenders, *Puritan*, *Mayflower*, and *Volunteer*, his name was probably better known to yachtsmen in those years than that of the President of the United States or the Finance Ministers of Europe. From the fact that General Paine has been so prominently identified with yachting it might be imagined that his time is principally devoted to sports. This is not so, however. He has always been closely connected with transportation interests, and at the present time he is a director in some of the largest railroad companies in the country, as well as being a director of the Boston Institute of Technology, of which his intimate and almost life-long associate, the late General Francis A. Walker, was president, and General Walker, it will, of course, be remembered, was one of the most eminent authorities in this country on finance, and had, perhaps, done more than any other one man to advance the cause of international bimetallism.

The characters of these three men prove more than anything else that they have not been designated as commissioners for the purpose of throwing dust in the eyes of the bimetallists, or that they go abroad with the pre-conceived idea of the impossibility of accomplishing anything and will be secretly glad to meet with defeat. They are men who are thoroughly sincere in everything that they do and undertake, and who will leave no stone unturned either to bring about a conference which will achieve the result to be desired, or else which will make it unmistakable that Europe is determined to do nothing for silver, and that if anything is to be done the United States single-handed must take the initiative and carry the burden without assistance. It is believed, however, it is certainly hoped in administration circles, that the mission of

these commissioners will not be fruitless. It is thought that with the growing sentiment in favour of bimetallism in Europe, and especially in England, as was significantly pointed out in the April number of *The National Review*, Europe will be more willing to give respectful consideration to the views of the American delegates to the conference, which everyone here is confident will be held within the next year, than it has been in the past when a proposition to "do something" for silver has been mooted by American delegates. One thing may be said, and perhaps it is the thing of greatest importance that can be said, it is a thing of so much importance that it should be impressed upon every British statesman and every British merchant to whom the future of the currency question as affecting British trade and British interests, is as vital as the perpetuation of the British Empire under its present system of government, or the maintenance of the British Navy, at which Europe looks with envy and cannot hope to rival. If Europe proposes to treat the next international conference simply as an "international courtesy," it will be the surest means of driving the United States to silver. If after that conference is held it is shown that Europe is as determined now as it has been at any time within the past ten or fifteen years not to treat silver as a primary money metal, within the next four years the President of the United States will have signed a bill providing for the free coinage of silver. I do not believe McKinley will sign such a bill, although it is barely possible he may do so just before the next election is held, and it will be the only thing to bring about his re-election; but if he should decline to do so, then it is as absolutely certain as anything can be that his successor whether a republican or a democrat, will not be able to withstand the pressure which will be brought to bear upon him to compel the placing of his signature at the end of a bill providing for the unlimited coinage of both gold and silver. The practical politicians realize most thoroughly that unless the great pledge made in the republican platform is redeemed —and that great pledge, let it be remembered, was not the tariff, but it was a distinct and solemn promise to promote the cause of international bimetallism—the campaign of 1900 will have but one conclusion, and that will be the election of a silver President.

JOWETT'S LIFE.*

This life of Jowett by two of his most enthusiastic and sympathetic disciples satisfies many demands of the art of biography. Jowett himself loved Boswell's model work as it deserves to be loved, and would have made it the standard of excellence. The unique combination of circumstances which enabled Boswell to turn out a masterpiece has not, and probably never will, be repeated. Jowett, in spite of some resemblances, noted by his biographers, was not a Johnson; and the biographers—the remark is, perhaps, equivocal—are clearly not Boswells. Boswell had the tact for selecting only such trifles as were characteristic; and I fear that they do not fully share that quality. Still, with the help of Jowett's letters and written meditations, they have brought us face to face with the man; and should enable us to form a distinct portrait of a very interesting figure. One result may be emphatically recognized at the outset. Nobody can lay down these volumes without feeling that Jowett deserved the affection of his friends. He had his weaknesses, like Johnson; but we feel in his case, as in Johnson's, that the core of the man's nature was sweet, sound, and masculine. This is part of the explanation of a problem which, I must confess, has often appeared to me as to others, to be rather enigmatic. What was the secret and the real nature of Jowett's remarkable influence? I had not the advantage of coming within his personal sphere, nor even of belonging to his beloved University. I had, however, the good fortune of knowing at an early period some of the group, among whom, as we are told, "there sprang up what outsiders termed a sort of Jowett worship." That group, it is added, did not form a "mutual admiration society." One reason is obvious: the bond of union was personal. The worship of Newman or of Carlyle meant, as a rule, sympathy with certain dogmas or the acceptance of a particular set of shibboleths, which at once marked a man as representing a distinctive tendency in theology or politics. This could certainly not be said of Jowett's worshippers. Jowett did not himself accept any articulate

* *Life and Letters of Benjamin Jowett, M.A., Master of Balliol College, Oxford.* By Evelyn Abbott and Lewis Campbell. London, 1897. John Murray.

philosophical doctrine. The admiration, therefore, was mainly for the man himself; and might be common to people who, starting from a general liberalism—to use the vaguest possible word—had reached very different conclusions; and might be followers of Comte, or of Hegel, or even careless Gallios, capable of very sharp criticisms both of their master and of each other. The outsider, meanwhile, was a little in the dark as to the precise nature of a tie which united the central member to disciples who dispersed along so many diverging radii.

The problem was the more difficult to a member of the sister University. An interesting essay might, I fancy, be written upon the nature and origin of the difference between the Oxford and the Cambridge spirit. Whatever the cause, one distinction is marked. Oxford has long been fertile in prophets; in men who cast a spell over a certain number of disciples, and not only propagate ideas, but exercise a personal sway. At Cambridge no such leader, so far as I can remember, presented himself in my time; and, moreover, Cambridge men were generally inclined to regard their apparent barrenness with a certain complacency. Spiritual guides are troublesome personages. A prophet, perhaps we thought, is apt to be a bit of a humbug, and at any rate a cause of humbug in others. We had some very vigorous and excellent tutors, but they were rather anxious to disavow than to assert any such personal influence as is independent of downright logical argument. Perhaps this was partly due to the mathematical turn of Cambridge studies. At the time when Oxford was dimly troubled by the first rumours about German theology, Cambridge reformers were chiefly concerned to introduce a knowledge of the new methods of mathematical analysis, to which Englishmen had been blinded by a superstitious reverence for Newton. That was an excellent aim; but, of course, you cannot appeal to men's "souls" in the name of the differential calculus. Even when Cambridge men took to the study of classical literature, they stuck to good, tangible matters of grammatical construction without bothering themselves about purely literary or philosophical interests. They did not deny the existence of the soul; but knew that it should be kept in its proper place. It may be an estimable entity; but it also generates "fads" and futile enthusiasms and gushing sentimentalisms. It should not be unduly stimulated in early years, but kept in due subordination to the calm understanding occupied with positive matters of fact. The opposite view is indicated by a remark of Jowett's upon Dr. Arnold. Arnold had his weak points intellectually, says Jowett, "but in that one respect of inspiring others with ideals, there has been no one like him in modern times." Arnold, beyond all doubt, was an admirable person; and few cases of "influence,"

as understood by Oxford men, are more remarkable. Considering the shortness of his life and the limits of his position, the impression which he made upon his contemporaries is not short of surprising. To the average reader of to-day it is probably interpreted for the most part by *Tom Brown's Schooldays.* That is a charming book, even when one's schooldays are over; but it then suggests certain misgivings. The Rugby men had their weaknesses. "'What a good man Walrond is!' said Professor Sellar to Matthew Arnold. 'Ah!' replied Arnold, 'we were all so good at Rugby.' 'Yes,' retorted Sellar, 'but he kept it up.'" They all, as it seems to an outsider, "kept it up." The very tone of voice of a true Rugbeian implied, modestly but firmly, that he was endowed with a "moral consciousness." He had a quasi-official right to share the lofty view which he had imbibed at the feet of the master. He always seemed to be radiating virtuous influences. A conscience is, no doubt, a very useful possession in early years. But when a man has kept one till middle life, he ought to have established a certain *modus vivendi* with it; it should be absorbed and become part of himself—not a separate faculty delivering oracular utterances. The amiable weakness of the Rugby school was a certain hypertrophy of the conscience. It had become unpleasantly obtrusive and self-assertive. In other words, they were decidedly apt to be moral prigs.

Jowett's influence was not exactly of this kind, but before asking what it was I must say something of one problem which is forced upon us by this book. Jowett was a man of wide philosophical culture. He was prominent in Oxford society during some remarkable intellectual changes. He lived there for some fifty-seven years. As an undergraduate he was a looker-on at the singular and slightly absurd phenomenon called the Oxford Movement, and keenly interested in the contest finally brought to a head by his friend W. G. Ward. Soon afterwards he was a leading tutor, at a time when the most vigorous youths at Oxford were inclining rather in the direction of J. S. Mill, and some of them becoming disciples of Comte. His edition of St. Paul's Epistles made him an arch heretic in the eyes of the High Church party, and his simultaneous appointment to the Greek Professorship gave the chance, of which its members were foolish enough to avail themselves, of putting him in the position of a martyr of free thought. His share in the *Essays and Reviews* (1860) made him a representative man in a wider sphere. Though we have now got to the stage of affecting astonishment at the sensation produced by the avowal of admitted truths in that work, nobody who remembers the time can doubt that it marked the appearance of a very important developmemt of religious and philosophical thought. The controversy raised by

Essays and Reviews even distracted men for a time from the far more important issues raised by the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species*. Jowett, then a little over forty, was no doubt old enough to have some settled convictions, but young enough to be fully awake to the significance of the definite invasion of the old system of thought by the new doctrines of evolution and historical method. When, in 1870, he became Master of Balliol he was succeeded in the tutorship by his attached friend, T. H. Green, who introduced the Hegelianism which has since become so conspicuous in English philosophy, and had already been studied by Jowett. What may be the true meaning and tendency of these varying phases of opinion is a question to be answered by the rising generation. This, at least, is evident—Jowett was a man of mark and intellectual authority at a time when vital questions were being eagerly agitated and the most various conclusions reached. What had he to say to them? Will the future historian of English thought be able to show that any of the important contributions to speculation bear the impress of Jowett's intellect? The movement of the different currents of thought is too wide and complicated to be explained by any individual influence; but we might look to such a man as the best representative of some definite tendency, or at least as having been a valuable expounder of some important aspect.

Is any phase of speculation marked by Jowett's personal stamp? That is the question which one naturally asks about a man who is a well-known writer upon philosophy, and one can hardly deny that the answer must be unequivocally in the negative. Jowett's biographers hold that he might have said something very important if he had found time. He had himself a lasting ambition to be a teacher. He had a habit of drawing out plans for future work. At the age of seventy he laid down a scheme for eight years of work: one year upon Plato, two upon Moral Philosophy, two upon a Life of Christ, one upon Sermons, and two upon a History of Early Greek Philosophy. We admire the sanguine spirit of the man; we feel his illusions to be pathetic; we envy the power of believing that at the fag-end of life, tasks can still be achieved which, taken separately, might well require years of devotion at the period of highest vitality. To most of us elders any similar fancies are as impossible as fancies of a sledge-journey to the North Pole. We may most sincerely regret that we cannot cherish them. We might do more than we shall ever actually do if we could only continue to aim at a mark beyond our range; and it must be placed to Jowett's credit that the impulse to work remained so vigorous when all capacity for achievement was so soon to leave him. But, also, one cannot help asking whether

Jowett at his best, and freed from the calls upon his energy, which took up so large a part of his time, could really have done anything great in these directions? What could a Life of Christ have been in his hands? "Can I write like Renan?" he asks himself; and the answer is too clear. Could he have emulated the industry, close scholarship, and minute criticism of a German professor? That is, perhaps, still more out of the question, and one cannot feel that his failure has lost us anything more than an elegant essay balancing inconsistent theories. Jowett's biographers think that he could have written something of great value upon Moral Philosophy. Happily a man may be an admirable moralist in practice, though very vague in his theory of morals. Jowett might have been an excellent "moralist" in the old Johnsonian sense—a forcible propounder of practical maxims for life and conduct—but however good the spirit of his discursions into ethics, they certainly do not even suggest any new solution of the old difficulties.

In speaking of Jowett's general position in these matters, Dr. Abbott remarks that he had written passages in his edition of St. Paul's epistles, "such as no other man of his age has put on paper." Later distractions, however, made him "wander into other paths." He spent years upon his translations of Plato and Thucydides. He was overwhelmed (it is not wonderful) by the greatness of his self-imposed tasks; and the "harsh reception of his theological work" disheartened him and made him fear that his writing might do as much harm as good. "His sensitive nature received a wound from which it never quite recovered." These remarks are characteristic, and illustrate painfully the difficulty of seeing oneself as others see us. It may not be strange that Jowett could not understand the impression which he was making; but to anyone else the probable reception was obvious. I confess that I cannot see in the essays upon St. Paul what Dr. Abbott sees in them. A cordial admirer, I fully admit, is more likely to be right than one who looks from outside and in a spirit of antagonism. I cannot, indeed, believe by any effort that the passages quite deserve this lofty eulogy, but I gladly admit that Dr. Abbott probably sees real merit to which I am blinded by prejudice or want of sympathy. I read the book, however, when it first appeared; I have turned to it since to verify my impressions; and I confess that I am afraid that they are such as would inevitably occur to any man of plain understanding. One instance will be ample. Jowett writes an essay upon the theory of the Atonement. He holds that the theory as ordinarily stated is repulsive. No unsophisticated mind will accept the doctrine that a just God pardons sinners in consideration of the suffering of a

perfectly innocent man. In other words, the dogma accepted by the Salvation Army, or even by Butler, revolts the conscience. He tries, therefore, to restate it in a variety of ways, and admits that the doctrine, turn and twist it as you will, remains morally objectionable. He suggests by way of escape that the erroneous version is produced by turning rhetoric into logic and mistaking a metaphor, one among many, for a kind of rigid legal formula. That may be true; and we will also suppose that St. Paul meant no more than a metaphor. But a "metaphor," unless it be a mere phrase, ought surely to indicate some truth that can be indicated, if not accurately formulated. It is pathetic, and it was once very puzzling, to see how Jowett plays hide-and-seek with this ultimate difficulty. One point is clear to him: the death of Christ was "the greatest moral act ever done in this world." It was greater, let us say, than the death of Socrates or of any Christian martyr. If so, it was the most stimulating of examples. But to say that it was merely this is obviously to deprive it of all the old theological significance. It is to say nothing which might not be consistently admitted by Renan, or even by Voltaire, or by the most thorough-going Agnostic. Jowett can only reply by referring to a "mystery," though he admits that "there may seem to be a kind of feebleness in falling back on mystery, when the traditional language of ages is so clear and explicit." It amounts to saying, he admits, that we not only know nothing, but apparently never can know anything of the "objective act" of reconciliation between God and man. Meanwhile the true difficulty is to see why there should be any mystery at all. The whole mystery is created by straining metaphors and "turning rhetoric into logic." Why not drop it?

The difficulty, of course, is not peculiar to Jowett. I mention it to illustrate the difficulty of the intelligent youth who in those days tried to adopt Jowett as a guide. Such a one felt, if I may adapt one of Johnson's phrases, as though his master had pushed him over a cliff and advised him to fall softly, or perhaps assured him that he was not falling at all. Before this time Jowett had been flirting with Hegelianism, and, without becoming a thorough-going disciple, was apparently attracted by the opportunities afforded by that system of saying and unsaying a thing at the same time. He puts aside all logical difficulties on the ground that somehow or other contradictory assertions may both be true "The notion that no idea can be composed out of two contradictory conceptions seems to arise out of the analogy of the sensible world." A thing cannot be both white and black (rather white and not white) at the same time. But there is, it appears, no absurdity in supposing that the "mental analysis even of a matter of fact should involve

us in contradictions." He imagines the "old puzzles of the Eleatics" to be still insoluble, and infers apparently that we may assume without further trouble both that the will is free and that it is not free. To some philosophers, I am aware, this has a meaning; but to common sense it presents itself simply as a very convenient plan for taking both sides of any important question. In later years, indeed, Jowett, while still having a certain leaning towards Hegel, became suspicious of metaphysics generally. Some knowledge of metaphysics, he says, "is necessary to enable the mind to get rid of them." Metaphysics ought, as he was always saying, to be subordinate to "common sense," whereas Coleridge had said that common sense should be based on metaphysics.

The effect was that he decided to treat all problems in what he calls (in reference to free-will) the "only rational way," that is "historically." You are, that means, to accept beliefs as facts without troubling about their reasons. The result of this method is curiously given in some notes of 1886, which, as Dr. Abbott tells us, were his "last reflections." This, says Jowett, is the age of facts which are "too strong for ideas," and of criticism which is "too strong for dogma." The Christian religion may change till miracles become absurd; the "hope of immortality" mean "only the present consciousness of goodness and of God"; the "personality of God, like the immortality of man, pass into an idea"; "every moral act" be acknowledged to have a "physical antecedent," and "doctrines become unmeaning words." Yet, he says, the essence of religion "may still be self-sacrifice" and so forth—"a doctrine common to Plato and to the Gospel." This (which is, of course, a rough private note) surely amounts, as the Germans say, to emptying out the baby with the bath. Christianity will be evacuated of every element which is not common to Plato. Indeed, we may go further. Jowett proceeds to speak of partly accepting Mr. Herbert Spencer's Agnosticism; and though he always spoke with dislike of Comte and of Darwin, it is hard to see what positive objection he could make to either.

I confess, therefore, that I am simply puzzled when I find Jowett proposing a belief in "the best form of Christianity," and his biographers fully accepting the statements. A Christianity without the supernatural, without doctrines, without immortality, and without a "personal God" seems to be merely an alias for morality. Neither can I share Prof. Campbell's objection to a phrase of Carlyle. Carlyle, as we are reminded, had proposed an "exodus from Houndsditch," and yet "the moment someone within the camp spoke words of truth and soberness" (that is, in the *Essays and Reviews* article), broke out with the phrase "the sentinel who deserts should be shot." J. S. Mill, on the other hand, as we

are reminded, approved of clergymen who remained within the Church so long as they could accept its formulæ "with common honesty." I agree with both Mill and Carlyle. The prosecutors held sincerely that the essayist was preaching doctrines utterly inconsistent with Christianity. They not only held this sincerely, but I cannot doubt that they were right in their belief. Accept Jowett's version and the Christian services will become an elaborate mystification. "Prayer," he says "(for fine weather and so forth), as at present conducted, is an absurdity," or "an ambiguity of the worst kind." How then could he join in prayers, which involve absurdity and ambiguity at every clause? How at least could he complain that men believing in the absurdities should try to turn him out? To them he appeared as a "deserter," or rather a traitor within the camp, and rightly so if judged by the inevitable consequences of his actions. Mill, no doubt, was also right in saying that Jowett was justified in remaining so long as he could do so in "common honesty." He did not himself intend the consequences of his actions. His friend Stanley, who, as Carlyle used to say, was always boring holes in the bottom of the Church of England, was yet firmly convinced that he was helping the ship to float. I do not doubt the absolute sincerity of his and Jowett's conviction. But their fellow-passengers, who thought with equal sincerity that they were sending the ship to the bottom, inevitably desired to throw them overboard. Their good intention was no proof of the soundness of their calculation. Undoubtedly they meant well. "Destroy the Church of England!" said Charles Buller, according to one of the best stories in this book. "You must be mad! It is the only thing between us and real religion!" Free the Church, that is from the fetters of Parliament and lay jurisdiction, and you will hand it over to the fanatics. There is doubtless much truth in the epigram, and if for "real religion" we read "fanaticism" Jowett might have accepted the saying. He wished to keep the element of natural belief—of "soberness and truth"—within the Church; and while he could do so, consistently with "common honesty," he was personally justified. But there is another danger. When men of his ability defend the use of superstitious observances as "metaphorical" or popular versions of truths, they may be playing into the hands of the superstitious. They sanction a device which can be turned against them. Other people will combine superstition and reason to the profit of superstition. Divines have lately discovered how to accept the critical results which shocked readers of *Essays and Reviews* and yet to accept the whole theory of priestly magic. The compromise may result in the enslavement

of reason instead of the neutralizing of superstition. I know not what may be the result to the Church of England, but the enterprise attempted in the best possible faith by Jowett and his friends, seems to be injurious to the higher interests of intellectual honesty. It was a hopeless endeavour to hide irreconcilable contrasts and pretend that they did not exist.

Jowett sincerely held "Christianity" to be in some shape the great force on the side of the moral elevation of mankind. When removing what seems to others the very essence of the creed, he really supposed himself to be only removing "incrustations." That he could hold that position sincerely implies, as I fancy, an intellectual weakness admitted by his biographers. He catches aspects of opinions and expresses them pithily, but he never can concentrate his mind or bring his doctrine to a focus. His writing becomes discontinuous, he wanders round and round problems without distinctly answering them or bringing the whole to an issue. He plays with philosophical principles without ever exactly saying Yes or No. And, therefore, he would seem to be less qualified for exercising an influence than more vigorous, if more one-sided, men. What are you to make of a guide who, so far from saying which is the right path, objects to decidedly committing himself to any one? His pupil Green could at least declare that Hegel would take us out of the labyrinth; but Jowett could only think that perhaps Hegel might lead to some interesting points of view—not really better than others. Maurice's disciples, again, complained, we are told, that Jowett would persist in silence about their leader. "I shall never join," he said in answer, "with that modern Neoplatonism—it is so easy to substitute one mysticism for another." The same view perhaps made him dislike Carlyle and Froude as romantics, if not charlatans. Newman and the later ritualists represent for him the natural enemies of common sense. But then where would common sense lead? Voltaire, we may say, was an incarnation of common sense, and of Voltaire Jowett asserted, "somewhat perversely," that he had done more good than all the fathers of the Church put together. The "perversity" is obvious, for Voltaire's desire to crush the "*infame*" was clearly not to Jowett's taste. The school which perhaps represented most clearly the development of the eighteenth century philosophy was that of J. S. Mill, but of the Utilitarians Jowett always spoke with marked dislike. Young men, as a rule, like a leader who has some distinct aim, good or bad, and if Jowett were to be judged by that test one would say that no one of his time was less qualified to be a leader. To a distinct view of the importance of some solution he seems to have joined the profound conviction that no conceivable solution would hold water. "He

stood," says one of his pupils, in a rather different sense, "at the parting of many ways," and he wrote "No thoroughfare" upon them all.

Jowett's influence, then, was hardly that of a consistent or confident guide in speculation. It was not less real and perhaps something much better, though to define it precisely would require a personal knowledge which I do not possess. There is abundant proof in these volumes of his great power of attaching men of all varieties. All his friendships, we are told, were life-long. In spite of oddities and little asperities, he never apparently had a personal quarrel. Like Dr. Johnson, he loved women and children, and felt as strongly as the doctor the importance of "keeping his friendships in repair." From the earliest Oxford days he formed close alliances; as the old friends dropped off, he drew new recruits from his pupils; and he kept up intimacies with many who had passed to wider scenes of action. A man who is "nicknameable" must be a good fellow, and the phrase "Old Growler," with its vague suggestion of a surly but trusty watch-dog, fits a man who could attach in spite of external crustiness. There is only one aspect, however, upon which it may be permissible for an outsider to dwell. Jowett, it strikes one forcibly as one reads, was the last and one of the finest products of the old school of "dons." He came to the front before the old system had been thrown into distraction by University Commissions, and though he was an important leader during the subsequent changes, he was never in perfect sympathy with reformers who would radically alter the system. I have often wished that some skilful hand would draw a portrait of the old college don before he is finally numbered with the dodos. I present the suggestion to anyone in want of a setting for a novel of "sixty years since." A college don was for the most part a young clergyman anxious to succeed to a living and marry a wife. For him, a fellowship was a mere step on the path to comfort. But some men, by external fate or idiosyncrasy, were doomed to permanent celibacy. Then they took one of two paths—either they acquired a taste in port-wine and became soured or mildly (sometimes more than mildly) sybaritical; or else they accepted the college in place of a family, and felt for it a devotion such as an old monk may have had for his convent. It was their world; their whole "environment"; the object of a local patriotism as intense as could ever animate patriots in a wider sphere. A touching anecdote tells how Whewell, the typical Cambridge don, begged when dying to be raised in his bed that he might have one more glance at the great court of Trinity. That was the last flash of an enthusiastic love

for the scene so intimately associated with boyish aspirations and manly energies. Jowett's love of Balliol was equally intense, and is the most characteristic part of his career. Balliol had absorbed him. "The college," he said, "is the great good and comfort of my life." "Make the college beautiful," was one of his last sayings. Some men have joined equal devotion to a college to a really low ideal of its true functions, but Jowett's ideal was worthy of a man of keen intellectual interest in the great problems of his day. His college deserved devotion; it had an almost unique position; and, as outsiders must grant, had "produced" a longer list of eminent men than almost any rival that can be mentioned. The phrase "produced," too, had more than its usual propriety. It is generally equivalent to "not extinguished," but it is undeniable that Jowett somehow acted as a positive and lasting stimulant upon his pupils.

This dominant passion seems to explain and to reconcile us to Jowett's obvious foibles. To the old dons of the narrower variety the college became an ultimate end; if it taught young men it deserved gratitude for undertaking a troublesome and strictly superfluous duty; and any attempt to tamper with its constitution in order to make it a better school was regarded as a sacrilege. Jowett was free from this superstition in its extremer form. He felt as strongly as any reformer that colleges could only justify their independence by thorough educational efficiency; but he was equally clear that in point of fact their efficiency could only be preserved by maintaining their independence. The characteristic college system was admirable in his eyes. An undergraduate is not to be a mere student, after the German fashion, but the member of a little corporate body, imbibing a spirit of loyalty, and subject to the discipline and the judicious direction of the college-tutors. This was the valuable and even vital part of the English University system, which in Jowett's hands, more than in anyone's, was a reality. He never, we are told, got over the shyness caused by his temperament; he was capable of persistent silence and of decisive snubbing; he could tell a youth who addressed him to hold his tongue rather than talk such nonsense; and one can very well believe that he was not universally popular. Everybody is not grateful for having his knuckles rapped at the right moment, though the rap may represent a sense of duty overpowering reluctance to speak. At any rate, the tendency to administer a good tonic, bitter or not, became part of his nature. He was, as Professor Campbell puts it, an "irrepressible Mentor." He had experience enough to know what is the general fate of good advice, especially when the recipient has no longer the malleability of youth. But he advised at all hazards, in season

and out of season. When he sees a friend in danger of relaxing his zeal, even under the pressure of sorrow, he cannot help applying the goad. He may help his friend at least to "pull himself together"; and no doubt there are times when it does a man good to have a thorough shake. The advice, too, seems always to have been prompted by genuine goodwill which generally disarmed resentment. One feels, however, that there is a certain humorous side to the propensity. When a man sees his old schoolmaster, he generally looks back upon the old emotion of awful reverence as a quaint memory which has no living force left in it. But in Jowett's mind the relation seems to have presented itself as though it were as permanent and indissoluble as marriage. Once his pupil, you were not the less his pupil, though you might have become a judge, or a bishop, or a Cabinet Minister. You were absorbed in State affairs instead of the study of Plato; but you would still be the better for a friendly crack of the old whip. Jowett was charged with having thought too much of genius in early years and of success in later. He measured a man by what he achieved and not by his capability of achieving; and was accused of being a little too fond of the "great." This, again, coincides with the natural view of the college-tutor. He loves his pupils, it is true, but he always loves them as members of the college. He wishes to raise a harvest of first-class men, and believes a first-class to be an infallible indication of merit, and must be more than human if he does not exaggerate its importance. He wishes to see the college-boards ornamented with long lists of men distinguished in their later career; to turn out men whose portraits may be hung in the college-hall; and naturally thinks of it as a personal injury, or, which is the same thing, as an injury to the college, if some man of genius fails to obtain tangible honours. It is not that the genius is necessarily inferior—and Jowett could recognize, when it was fairly put before him, the inadequacy of success as a test of merit—but that the genius has not fulfilled the true final end of man—the glorification of his college. A man might fail at the Bar or in Parliament, and yet be successful in the eyes of "all-judging Jove"; but even Jove could not think much of a man who failed to promote the interests of Balliol. Unless he could do something for the college he was of no use in the world. Jowett's interest in his pupils was most admirable; he spared neither time nor trouble as a tutor; he did more for his men as a master than all the Cambridge heads of houses put together; he was the most generous and open-handed of men, whenever the opportunity offered; if his shyness made it hard for him to be on easy terms with some of his pupils, he could at least be an "irrepressible" and inexorable Mentor. It was the intense interest of a captain in his crew; and

the friendships, doubtless most genuine, were not simply personal. Jowett, one fancies, could not separate himself even in thought from Balliol; membership of the college was not an accident superadded to him or his friends, but an essential part of their personal identity, and therefore it was impossible to abstract from their effect on the college. Perhaps, one may guess, this went for a good deal in his own appreciation, if it existed, of "the great." Jowett, as Professor Campbell remarks, became so practical from the time of his coming to rule the college that some people thought that he was losing his interest in theology. He threw most of his energy into the task of improving the college, materially as well as morally. He spent his own money upon new buildings and new cricket-ground, and so forth, and appealed to all his old friends to support him. He had, that is, to acquire the great art of stimulating the flow of subscriptions, and seems to have become, if the word may be allowed, a most accomplished "tout." Naturally, for this purpose, as well as for advancing the interests of his pupils, the support of the great and rich was of the highest importance. They were the predestined milch-cows who had to be skilfully manipulated. It is impossible to learn that art thoroughly without regarding your victims with a certain complacency. In order that their power and their purses are to be turned to the right account, one must cultivate their sympathies, and, without undue subservience, of which there seems to be no ground for accusing Jowett, one must adopt the mental attitude from which the value of wealth and influence receives fair recognition. They must be courted, not from snobbishness or personal motives, but from a hearty appreciation of their utility as possible supporters of the good cause. Another peculiarity of the don has some meaning too. The old college don often professed to look down upon the outside world; but was conscious at heart that the world is a little inclined to retort by calling him a rusty pedant. He was never better pleased than when he could fairly show that he too was a man of true literary and social culture—able to judge the last poem or novel, as well as to lecture upon Plato and Æschylus. Jowett's cordial spirit of hospitality was fostered and stimulated by this sentiment. He drew all manner of distinguished people to Balliol Lodge in later years; he would show them—as he could well show them in the time of H. S. Smith—that Balliol too was a centre of enlightenment; and he could prove to Oxford in general that a college might be attractive to the foremost statesmen and men of letters. He could do so, of course, because his hospitality was thoroughly spontaneous, and his friendship with eminent writers, such as Tennyson, Browning, and George Eliot, rested upon genuine

appreciation. But a certain additional flavour was given by the collection in the shadow of the old college buildings of people at home in circles wider than the academical.

Jowett was Balliol and Balliol was Jowett. His foibles—they do not seem to have been very serious—were consequences of this tacit identification. To make the college as great a factor as possible in the higher ranks of English society, to extend and strengthen its influence in every direction, was to fulfil the main purpose of his life. And that—as might be illustrated by the history of larger societies which have tried to influence the outside world—involves a certain amount of mutual accommodation. "To do much good," says Jowett, in 1883, "you must be a very honest and able man, thinking of nothing else day and night; and you must also be a considerable piece of rogue, having many reticences and concealments." "A good sort of roguery," he adds, "is never to say a word against anybody, however much they may deserve it." That is a version of some very orthodox phrases about the wisdom of the serpent and being all things to all men. Jowett in this sense may be called a bit of a "rogue"; only remembering that his roguery meant no more than a little difficulty in distinguishing between the interests of Balliol and the interests of the universe. In one direction it brought him into collision with a more advanced wing of reformers. Pattison imagined that the primary end of a university was to diffuse intellectual light, and inferred the propriety of devoting college revenues to the "endowment of research." There, as we find, Jowett had his reserves. He drew the line distinctly at the point at which the interests of the university might conflict with the interests of the colleges. To divert money from "prize fellowships" to professorships was to sacrifice a stimulus to students and a certain bond of connection between the colleges and the outside world in order to enable a few men to devote themselves to "minute philosophy" and elaborate pursuit of useless knowledge. He looked with suspicion upon certain tendencies of modern Oxford. The present teaching, he says (about 1878), is "utterly bad for students," but "flattering to the teacher." The old-fashioned college-tutor, if he did his duty, gave "catechetical" lectures; that is, he dealt with students individually, stimulated their minds and investigated their progress. The new professor gives smart lectures, lets the pupils pick up what crumbs they can, but aims at winning praise for his eloquence and does not care whether his hearers are really able to follow him or at most catch the art of stringing smart phrases into a leading article. He is, in short, thinking about himself instead of his college, and has lost the old corporate spirit which was so fully imbibed by Jowett. Jowett's conservatism may have been well or ill judged. I am only concerned to say that it was at least

characteristic. The old college system which he had worked so efficiently must, he held, in no case be lowered in efficiency. He looked rather coldly, for example, upon the movement for women's education, because he thought it likely to interfere at various points with the old order, and evidently thought that Pattison's ideas were calculated to hamper the colleges without better result than endowing facile orators and useless investigation of trifles. It would diminish the educational power of the colleges in order to help the accumulation of useless knowledge dear in the eyes of Dryasdust.

The question as to the true theory of universities is a wide one, and I will not venture even to hint at any opinion about it. What is plain is that Jowett substantially adhered to the older doctrine. Even if "research" were really stimulated by substituting professors for college tutors its value was doubtful. "Is learning of any use?" he asks, and he replies that it is worse than useless except as a stimulant to thought and imagination. He thought that Green's lectures did harm by diverting lads from "poetry and literature" to wandering in the barren fields of metaphysics. Young men, the implication seems to be, should not aim at conquering any province of knowledge—the conquest must be superficial or won at the price of one-sided and narrow development. A premature specialist is a mental cripple—a prodigy made by bandaging the vital organs. And what is true of metaphysics and "learning" is equally true of theology. If Jowett's influence upon the outside world was, as I have suggested, not altogether good, it might well be excellent in the college so understood. A man with a definite creed is tempted to instil it into his pupils. He will give them a ready-made set of dogmas and try to frighten them out of obnoxious lines of enquiry. Jowett at least could not make the college into a caucus for the support of a sect. As Pater reports, part of his charm was owing to "a certain mystery about his own philosophic and other opinions." He was throwing out suggestions, not imposing opinions; going about like a Socrates cross-examining and dislodging old prejudices with a happy impartiality, not dogmatizing or enlisting recruits for any definite party. The college was to be a gymnasium to strengthen the mental fibre, not a place of drilling according to any regulation. What was a defect in a philosopher might be an excellence in a teacher. Of the disciples of Newman, half were permanently enslaved without ever looking at the doctrine from the outside, and the other half, who ultimately rebelled, suffered permanently from the dislocating effect of the revulsion. Jowett's pupils had at least not to lament that their minds had been put into a strait-waistcoat, injurious even if ultimately thrown aside.

In this sense we may understand Jowett's "influence" as

identical with the influence of the college which he did so much to mould. You might not learn anything very definite, but you were subject to a vigorous course of prodding and rousing, which is perhaps the best of training for early years. Jowett is judged from a wrong point of view when we try to regard him as a leader of thought; but his influence was excellent as an irritant, which at least would not allow a man lay himself in intellectual slumbers. You might be propelled in any direction, but at least you would not stand still. How much has been done by Balliol is not for me to say; but Jowett's real influence is to be found by considering him as an intrinsic element of Balliol. And this may suggest a final remark. The last ten years of life, as Jowett frequently remarked, are the best: best, because you are freest from care, freest from illusion and fullest of experience. They must no doubt be fullest of experience; they may be freest from care, if you are head of a college, and have no domestic ties; but unluckily the illusions which have vanished generally include the illusion that anything which you did at your best had any real value, or that anything which you can do hereafter will be even as good. One of the advantages of Jowett's identification of himself with his college was perhaps that he was never freed from this illusion. He won the advantage at a heavy price—the price of not knowing the greatest happiness. But a man who is swallowed up in a corporate body, which will outlast himself, acquires a kind of decorative immortality. His own life is only an element in the more permanent life. His work could be carried on by his successors, as the buildings which he helped to erect would remain for future generations. A man in that position might naturally, but as his authority and his experience grew with age, he was stamping himself more effectively upon the organism of which he was a member, and in that sense, hope, in spite of Dryden, to receive from "the last dregs of life" "what the first sprightly runnings could not give." That is an enviable frame of mind.

LESLIE STEPHEN.

A COLONIAL CHRONICLE.*

Introductory.

French enterprise and system are admirably illustrated by the first appearance of *La Quinzaine Coloniale*—the new fortnightly organ of the French Colonial Union—which is to keep home-keeping Frenchmen posted in the affairs of Greater France, and doubtless the various parts of Greater France *en rapport* with one another. In the course of an appreciative reference to the *Quinzaine*, *The Speaker* expresses the wish that we in England had "a Colonial fortnightly of our own." Such a publication, if it remained in the right hands, would undoubtedly serve a very useful purpose by furnishing journalists, Members of Parliament, and the ever-growing ring of Englishmen who are conscious of their Imperial citizenship, with accurate and accessible information about the different parts of the British Empire. But the boldest millionaire may well hesitate before encumbering our groaning bookstalls with yet another review, while the average Briton would certainly rebel if called upon to digest any fresh relays of periodical literature. Short of such an enterprise, however, there is a good deal to be done that has been left undone, and that ought to be done, and in some respects our existing machinery is well qualified to undertake some of the duties which the *Quinzaine* will discharge in France. What appears to us to be more required in Great Britain than a new magazine exclusively devoted to a discussion of the affairs of Greater Britain, is more frequent and regular attention to those problems by such organs as we have. Indeed, we fancy that an improvement in the deplorably meagre Colonial information in British publications—daily, weekly, and monthly—would be more appreciated in the Colonies than any number of fortnightly Colonial reviews. What our fellow-countrymen in Canada, Australia, and South Africa feel, is that in spite of our perpetual affirmations that "we are all Imperialists now," and that our fellow-subjects in Ontario, Victoria, or Natal are as near

* We shall be glad to send a press copy of *The National Review* to every daily paper in Greater Britain, and to effect an exchange with all the leading weekly papers that will kindly notify to that effect.—Editor *N.R.*, 37, Bedford Street, Strand, London.

to us as the people of Yorkshire or Surrey, we, in the old country, do not take a very serious or intelligent interest in their affairs, unless some theatrical episode, to wit a raid, attracts unwholesome prominence. The Canadian visitor to London can hardly talk with any comfort about his political affairs, even with educated Englishmen, so grossly ignorant are they of Canadian questions, and the same awkward constraint is felt by the Australian or the Cape Colonist. Our Imperial visitor turns to the British newspapers, from which he infers that their readers are eager for news from every part of the world except the British Empire, and their desires are ministered to by a whole army of Special Correspondents, maintained at great expense in every Continental capital, whence they telegraph any irrelevant gossip they may have been able to pick up from "An Eminent Diplomatist," or failing such, they transmit venomous extracts from foreign newspapers, which are alleged to "reflect" some more or less important person's hatred of England. An interview with Mr. Laurier on the Manitoba School Settlement, with Mr. Reid on the prospects of Australian Federation, with Mr. Hofmeyr on the Uitlander grievances, or articles from any of the great Colonial papers on any of the great Colonial questions now to the fore—all such, and similar matters, are practically unknown to the electric telegraph.* We believe that the conductors of newspapers are entirely responsible for this plethora of European rumour, and corresponding dearth of Colonial news, and that in neither one case nor in the other do they consult the taste of their readers. It is a tradition in the office to "set up" a column a day from Ruritania, and our editors are too conservative to move with the times. We feel convinced their readers are ahead of them, and the large majority of the latter are both weary of reading semi-official abuse from Berlin, and anxious to hear more constantly of the great Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-French, and Anglo-Dutch groups, whose future they believe to be bound up with their own.

GREATER BRITAIN MONTH BY MONTH.

We are conscious that *The National Review* is open to the very criticism that we have ventured to make in all friendliness upon contemporary journalism. We have in the past devoted a ludicrously inadequate amount of space to the problems of Greater Britain. We have therefore decided to celebrate the Jubilee by adding to

* The South African has for the moment no grievance on the score of inattention from the British Press; on the contrary, the mass of information, and misinformation, poured upon the British public might well be moderated. It is no mollification to him, as he justly attributes this abnormal flow to the fact that his unfortunate country has attracted the attention of *la haute finance*, and not to its being a part of the British Empire.

the present and future issues of the Review a certain number of pages which will be exclusively devoted to a chronicle of the chief political events occurring in different parts of the British Empire. Unless we wholly misjudge their taste, such a supplement will be welcome to English readers, as enabling them to keep in some touch with the march of events in the greater Colonies, while it may be of some slight interest to those directly concerned in the "episodes" recorded, to see them through the eyes of a distant, and one may hope dispassionate, observer. The chief obstacles to a satisfactory review of "Greater Britain Month by Month" is that the writer is largely dependent on the telegraph, which, as we have noted above, has shown itself to be a very poor Imperialist, so we hope that our shortcomings as chroniclers will be in part credited by indulgent Colonial readers to the failure of accurate information to reach this country. We need not say that any suggestions that may be made, by those interested in the subjects they deal with, to enable these pages to fulfil their purpose will be heartily welcome.

THE COLONIAL PREMIERS.

On behalf of the Queen, Mr. Chamberlain, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, recently addressed a letter, inviting the Colonial Premiers to visit Great Britain for the Diamond Jubilee celebrations as the guests of Her Majesty. Each will be accompanied by a lady member of his family and a detachment of the military forces of the Colony. An effort is evidently to be made to combine business with pleasure, and though no regular Imperial Conference will be held, the opportunity will be taken to have some informal, but none the less valuable, discussions on questions of common interest to the whole Empire. The letter of invitation contains the following important passage:—"Should this invitation be accepted by the Premiers of the self-governing colonies, Mr. Chamberlain says their presence in London would afford a most valuable opportunity for the discussion of many subjects of the greatest interest to the Empire, such as the commercial union, colonial defence, representation of the colonies, legislation with regard to immigrants from Asia and elsewhere, and other similar subjects. It is not anticipated that the duration of the actual ceremonies in connexion with the celebration will extend beyond a week; but I am disposed to think that some four or five weeks might be profitably employed, not only in the discussion of the subjects I have mentioned, but in connexion with other objects for the advancement of the interests of Her Majesty's Colonial Empire." It is most gratifying to note that the Queen's invitation has been accepted by the Premiers of all the great self-governing Colonies

though Mr. G. H. Reid, the Prime Minister of New South Wales would have preferred to celebrate the Jubilee in Australia by the creation of the great Federal Union for which he has done such splendid work.* However, the eleven Premiers of Greater Britain will be here in June; and their intended presence is more interesting and significant to our mind than that of any European representatives, for they do not come as a matter of diplomatic etiquette, but they are so many symbols of the unity of an Empire which, apart from common sentiments and common interests, would be compelled to consolidate by the amount of enmity it excites elsewhere. The following is a list of the Premiers in alphabetical order:—Sir Edward Braddon, Premier of Tasmania; the Hon. Henry Escombe, Premier of Natal; Sir John Forrest, Premier of Western Australia; the Hon. C. C. Kingston, Premier of South Australia; the Hon. Wilfrid Laurier, Premier of the Dominion of Canada; Sir Hugh Nelson, Premier of Queensland; the Hon. G. H. Reid, Premier of New South Wales; the Hon. R. Seddon, Premier of New Zealand; Sir Gordon Sprigg, Premier of Cape Colony; Sir George Turner, Premier of Victoria; Sir William Whiteway, Premier of Newfoundland. These statesmen represent a white population—principally consisting of British, French, and Dutch—of over ten million souls. It may be noted that at the date of the Queen's accession, sixty years ago, these same Colonies contained about half a million white people, so they have multiplied twentyfold during the reign which is a record in human history.

CANADA.

The organization of Canadian news is still in a very primitive condition, but the Canadian newspapers frequently reach London ten days after their day of issue in the Dominion, and with the aid of *The Canadian Gazette*, which is published in London, and the admirable articles on Canadian affairs from time to time in *The Times* Englishmen

* "The Premier (Mr. Reid) on the 17th March submitted to the Cabinet a minute relating to Mr. Chamberlain's invitation to him to attend the Queen's Diamond Jubilee celebrations. Mr. Reid states in the minute that when the invitation from the Secretary of State for the Colonies was first conveyed, he thought it advisable that the Premiers should make other arrangements to do honour to the Queen, in view of the position of Federation and of Parliamentary business. That view he intimated to Mr. Chamberlain through the Governor. Since then, however, two circumstances had occurred which had combined to compel him to act on a further request from Mr. Chamberlain that he should reconsider his decision: Firstly, all the Premiers interested in the Federal movement had decided to accept the invitation; secondly, the recent despatch from Mr. Chamberlain made it clear that subjects of vast importance to the Colonies and the Empire were to be discussed, such as matters of defence, commercial relations, and aliens restriction legislation. The Cabinet cordially approved of the Premier visiting London."—*The British Australasian.*

are able to keep in more or less imperfect touch with Canadian affairs. The daily telegraphic news is still woefully deficient, but it is improving, and when we get our all-British cable, Englishmen will become experts in Canadian politics, which are as interesting as any in the world, as Sir Charles Dilke demonstrates in his *Problems of Greater Britain*, of which it is to be hoped there may be a Jubilee edition. The great question that has agitated Canada during the last year has been the Roman Catholic demand for a restoration of rights to their schools in Manitoba, which it is claimed have been violated by the Legislature of Manitoba in defiance of the provisions of the Federal Constitution. This claim was upheld by the Privy Council, to which they appealed, and was championed by the Conservative Party at the General Election held in Canada last year, but the Tupper policy of coercing Manitoba by means of a Remedial Order from the Federal to the Provincial authority was not supported at the polls, and the Liberals, under the brilliant leadership of Mr. Laurier, swept into power after having been in opposition for eighteen years. The policy of the new Ministry (whose Premier is a Roman Catholic and a French-Canadian of an enlightened type) was to effect by compromise with Manitoba what their opponents felt should be effected peremptorily; there can be little doubt but that the summary withdrawal of privileges guaranteed to the Roman Catholic minority of Manitoba was *ultra vires*. Mr. Laurier recognized this, and shortly after his assumption of office he negotiated a settlement of the dispute with Mr. Greenway (the Premier of Manitoba), the basis of which was that although the Separate Catholic Schools were not to be maintained out of public funds, arrangements should be made ensuring Catholic teaching to Catholic children in Catholic districts. This compromise was approved, so far as we can judge, by the bulk of the Canadian people and by the moderate Catholics throughout the Dominion. A Bill was passed by the Manitoba Legislature giving effect to the Laurier-Greenway compromise by an overwhelming majority, only five members voting against it.

Bye-Elections.

While the Protestants of Canada, and a considerable element of the Catholic laity accept the "compromise" as an escape from a long and exasperating conflict, a powerful section of the Roman Catholic clergy, led by their bishops and archbishops, have fought against it with mediæval zeal, and by mediæval methods. They will neither accept the settlement themselves nor permit their flocks to abide by it, and *The Times* summarizes in graphic terms the steps they have taken to enforce obedience to their decree: "In the Province of Quebec, where the electorate is chiefly Roman Catholic, and

feeling has run most strongly on the question, the exertions of the clergy have been untiring. Notwithstanding the fact that two-thirds of the Roman Catholic population of the country supported Mr. Laurier at the general election, it has been declared to be a mortal sin, bringing in its train the worst penalties of the Church, to uphold the Settlement, or to vote for any Parliamentary candidate who upholds it. House-to-house visitations, exhortations from the pulpit, and in the confessional, the suppression of offending newspapers* by the simple process of placing them under the ban of the Church, and forbidding the faithful to buy or read them—every step which could be taken by a well-organized hierarchy to uphold the rights of the Church, and direct the political action of its members, has been boldly made. Archbishop Langevin, according to a late telegram from Winnipeg, has not shrunk from uttering the threat that all Roman Catholics who vote against the wishes of the Church in the elections shall be refused burial in consecrated ground when they die." These desperate and deplorable efforts have provoked a steady spirit of resistance in the laity which has found expression in recent bye-elections resulting in renewed expressions of confidence in Mr. Laurier. Thus, at a recent bye-election at Bonaventure, in the Province of Quebec, M. Guite, the Liberal candidate, was requested by the Roman Catholic bishop of the diocese to sign a declaration that he would not support the Laurier-Greenway Settlement. This he refused to do, on the ground that he would thereby renounce his rights as a citizen. He was returned for Bonaventure by a majority 500 larger than that accorded to his Liberal predecessor. At another bye-election in Quebec Province, Mr. Champagne, the Liberal, was returned by a 500 majority. It would appear as though the Catholic hierarchy have over-reached themselves, and have produced a serious revolt against clerical interference among the most devout and docile Catholics in the world. Mr. Laurier declares himself determined to "show to the world that Catholicism is compatible with the exercise of liberty in its highest acceptation." Mr. Tarte, a member of the Laurier Ministry, made a very striking speech from the same point of view, on the meeting of Parliament, concluding with the following statement: "The Bishops and Conservatives were not alive to the changes which had taken place in Quebec during the past twenty-five years. French-Canadians wished to be friends and brothers with their English fellow-subjects. They were determined to have freedom of the Press, freedom of speech, and political freedom in every shape."

* *Le Cultivateur*, *La Patrie*, and *Le Soleil*.

THE ABLEGATE.

The cleavage among the Canadian Catholics became so strained that the Pope was invited by forty-five Liberal Senators and members of the House of Commons to intervene, and he consented to send an ablegate, Mgr. Merry del Val, who is now in Canada seeking to effect an adjustment. He has already poured some oil on to the troubled waters by a very felicitous reference to the Pope and the Queen in replying to an address presented to him at Ottawa by some English-speaking Roman Catholics:—"It would seem easy, however, now to consolidate the duties of a loyal subject of the Crown and those of a loyal subject of the Holy Church, when the Holy See is occupied by such a Pontiff as Leo. XIII. and the British Empire is ruled by a Sovereign so esteemed and so beloved as Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria. I am happy to-day to have an occasion of manifesting, on the eve of so memorable and joyful a jubilee, the special regard which our Holy Father the Pope has for Her Majesty." The ablegate may be able to build a golden bridge for the retreat of Archbishop Langevin and his coadjutors as they would appear to have taken up a position unwelcome to the people of Canada. We are very far from suggesting that their grievance is an imaginary one, or that the compromise is an ideal arrangement in the eyes of fervent Catholics who see their schools deprived of the public sustenance guaranteed to them when Manitoba became a part of the Canadian Confederation. It is an exceedingly thorny and difficult question, and unless the Laurier-Greenway Settlement is applied with a punctilious recognition of Catholic districts a grave injustice will be done. The Catholics maintain that the administration of the Settlement will be even worse than the Settlement itself in such a community as Manitoba, where their political influence is declining owing to Protestant immigration.

THE TARIFF.

The other great question which has been occupying the public mind in Canada is the revision of the tariff, which the Liberal Party came into power pledged so effect. The Ministry have taken immense pains to acquaint themselves with the wishes and needs of the whole community, and for several months prior to the meeting of Parliament a committee of the Dominion Cabinet held sittings and examined witnesses in every province. As a result of the information presented to them, they appear to have decided not to propose any revolutionary changes, such as legislative committees in the United States delight in springing on an astonished nation. Two of Mr. Laurier's colleagues (Sir Richard Cartwright and Mr. Davies) made a pilgrimage to Washington with the object of doing a deal

on a reciprocity basis, but they received the cold shoulder and the plain hint that short of political concessions Canada had nothing to offer the United States that the latter would care to accept; indeed, the fiscal policy of the McKinley Administration seems to have been framed partly with the object of punishing Canada for her attachment to the British connection. We believe this to be a short-sighted proceeding on the part of American legislators, as the Canadian is about the last man in the world to succumb to bullying. At the time of writing the new Canadian tariff has not been introduced, but it is believed that the remissions of duty will, so far as they go, beneficially affect British goods. The trade returns for 1895-6 show that for every $44,000,000 worth of Canadian produce sold to the United States $66,000,000 is sold to Great Britain, while for every $59,000,000 bought by Canada from the United States only $33,000,000 is brought from Great Britain. That is to say we buy twice as much from Canada as she buys from us, while she buys nearly 50 per cent. more from the United States than she disposes of in that market. Considering what a much dearer shop America is than Great Britain, Canada would appear to be making her purchases in the wrong quarter. If the Dingley Bill passes in its present form it will not improbably lead to an improvement in the trade relations of Canada and Great Britain, which will do much to reconcile British opinion to Dingleyism. The Toronto *Globe*, the great Liberal paper, points out "that the more they (the United States) raise the wall against us, the more they throw us upon our own resources, and drive external trade into another channel, where it is altogether likely to remain." As these pages go to press there are rumours suggesting that the new Tariff Bill is to be an epoch-marking document.

ONTARIO AND THE QUEEN.

The Times' Ottawa correspondent recently reported one of those impressive incidents which brings vividly home to Great Britain that if she is isolated and hated in Europe, she has friends elsewhere, bound to her by that "crimson thread" so eloquently described by Sir Henry Parkes. On April 9th the Legislative Assembly of Ontario, Canada, which represents a population equal to that of Victoria and New South Wales combined, or Greece, passed an address of congratulation to Her Majesty, upon the attainment of the sixtieth year of her reign. Mr. Hardy, the Premier, moved the resolution in an eloquent and patriotic speech. It was admirably seconded by Mr. Whitney, the leader of the Opposition. "During the reading of the resolution the House rose to its feet, and at the conclusion, Mr. Hardy leading, sang *God Save the Queen*, and then gave three hearty cheers." Canada has from the first taken

the very keenest interest in the approaching Jubilee festivities, and expressed a strong desire to be represented by a military contingent, 600 strong. We cannot help regretting that the Imperial Government feels itself unable to accommodate more than 200 of the proffered troops. Canada is indeed being shabbily treated, for though her population is larger by a million than that of Australia, she will (owing to her having had the wisdom to federate) only be represented by one Premier, as against six Premiers from Australia, while her military contingent will be smaller than the aggregate Australian force. Perhaps, under the circumstances, the Imperial authorities may see their way to reconsider their discouragement of the Canadian six hundred? It is hardly an occasion for pedantry and red tape. Englishmen would also like to have had an opportunity of greeting the eight Provincial Premiers who represent and govern communities of the same character as the Colonies of Australia.

THE AUSTRALIAN FEDERAL CONVENTION.

We recorded last month the assembly of the great Australian Federal Convention, to which has been delegated the task of effecting, if possible, the long delayed consolidation of the Australian nation. To the political student the transfer of the settlement of the greatest question that has arisen on the Australian continent, since the establishment of Responsible Government, from the hands of the various Colonial Parliaments to a Convention popularly elected *ad hoc* is of deep interest, as showing that faith in Parliamentary wisdom is declining in Australia as it is in England. A perusal of the shamefully scanty reports of its proceedings that are scattered through the Press gives the following results. The Convention, consisting of ten delegates from each of the following States—as we may in future hope to call them—New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Western Australia and Tasmania, met in Adelaide, on Monday, March 22nd. Queensland was an absentee owing to a local controversy as to the method of choosing delegates, but she intimated her intention of subsequently appearing. New Zealand, on the ground that twelve hundred miles of sea afford "twelve hundred good reasons" for not joining an Australian Federation, remains altogether aloof. Mr. Kingston, the Premier of South Australia, was elected President, and Mr. Edmund Barton Q.C., of New South Wales, one of the ablest men in the Empire, was deputed to prepare resolutions embodying the fundamental principles of the new Federal Constitution. He accordingly submitted the following:—"1. That the powers, privileges, and territory of the Colonies shall remain

intact, except in respect of voluntary surrenders, with a view to secure uniformity of law and administrations. 2. That after the creation of a Federal Government there shall be no alteration of boundaries without the consent of the Colony concerned. 3. That the exclusive power of imposing and collecting Customs and excise be vested in the Federal Parliament. 4. That the exclusive military and naval control be vested in the Federal Parliament. 5. That trade and intercourse between the Federated Colonies be absolutely free." These resolutions (which were seconded by Mr. Deakin, of Victoria, who distinguished himself at the Imperial Conference of 1887) also proposed:—"That, subject to the above conditions, the Convention shall approve the framing of a Constitution whereby a Parliament shall be established consisting of a States Assembly or Senate and a National Assembly or House of Representatives, the former to consist of representatives of each Colony chosen in the manner best calculated to secure perpetual existence, with responsibility to their own people, and the latter to be elected in districts formed on a population basis and to possess the sole power to originate revenue Bills and impose taxation. The executive shall consist of a Governor-General appointed by the Queen, as well as of such persons as shall be appointed as his advisers and of the Supreme Federal Court, which shall also be the High Court of Appeal of the Federated Colonies." The Convention adjourned on the reception of these resolutions, and on the last day of March Mr. Barton's five fundamental propositions were carried unanimously, and three committees to deal with financial, constitutional, and judicial questions were appointed. The kernel of the matter is that Australia chooses the United States federal principle under which powers not specifically allotted to the federal authority remain in the States in preference to the Canadian Constitution, under which the central authority retains all powers not specifically delegated to the States.

A Crisis in the Convention.

Owing to the poverty-stricken character of the telegrams, and their confusing references to the work of the various committees of the Convention, its subsequent proceedings became shrouded in almost impenetrable darkness, but the Federal House of Representatives will undoubtedly represent population, while the Senate will represent the different States equally, as in the United States; though the election will probably not be by State legislatures, as in America, but directly by the people. The Constitutional Committee of the Federal Convention decided by a majority of one to adopt the name, "Commonwealth," in preference to that of "Dominion," and likewise agreed to a very important clause endowing the

Senate with power to amend money Bills, thus meeting the wishes of the smaller States, who not unnaturally regard the Senate as their protector. The voting in the committee on this proposal was 14 to 10, the minority consisting of the Victorian and New South Wales delegates, and the majority being made up of those from the less populated colonies of South Australia, Western Australia, and Tasmania. It was a clear issue between the large and the smaller colonies. On Monday, April 12th, Mr. Barton's draft constitution Bill was submitted to the whole Convention, and that it should not in the meantime have been telegraphed all over the Empire is an Imperial scandal. There appears to have been a most interesting debate in the Convention on the Committee's proposal to empower the Senate to amend money Bills (Tuesday, March 13th). Mr. G. H. Reid, the Premier of New South Wales, moved that the Senate shall have no power to alter taxation Bills. He was seconded by Sir George Turner, the Premier of Victoria, who declared that he dared not submit the Committee's proposal to the people of Victoria. These two were supported by almost all their co-delegates of New South Wales and Victoria, and opposed by the remaining delegations. Mr. Kingston, however, the independent-minded Premier of South Australia, supported Mr. Reid and Sir George Turner, while Mr. McMillan of New South Wales opposed them. Sir John Forrest, the Premier of Western Australia, roundly declared that if New South Wales and Victoria would not agree to the Committee's proposal they must federate by themselves. After an animated and critical debate, of which we await a full report with interest, Mr. Reid's amendment, reserving taxation Bills from the purview of the Senate, was carried by a very close vote (25 to 23). This brings the Compromise Bill of 1891 into operation, and allows the Senate to *suggest* amendments to money Bills. As showing the character of the crisis in the Convention *The Times* correspondent states that "Mr. McMillan, Mr. Brown, and Mr. Lewis (who had dissented from their delegations) crossed the floor in order to save the prospects of federation."

A South Australian Fad.

After the adoption of Mr. Reid's amendment in the teeth of Western Australia's declaration by the mouth of Sir John Forrest, we learn that the Western Australian delegates "left to-day for Perth in consequence of the approaching elections in their colony." One is perhaps not rash in surmizing that the zeal of this colony (which, physically, lies rather apart from the others) for federal union has sensibly abated since Mr. Reid's victory, and its former intention to stand aloof may revive. After their departure, which reduced the Convention to forty members—Queensland not having yet appeared on

the scene—Mr. Higgins proposed an amendment, which would, if carried, have led to the collapse of the Convention, viz., that the number of Senators elected by each State should be regulated according to population. This proposal was defeated by 32 votes to five, and it was subsequently decided to allot six Senators to each State. At a later sitting the great South Australian hobby-horse, which is Woman Suffrage, was trotted out by Mr. F. W. Holder, the treasurer of that colony, in the shape of an amendment to extend the franchise for the Federal House of Representatives to women. This fatuous proposition was only rejected by 23 votes to 12. But it would have had no practical result even if adopted by the Convention, as the common sense of the Australian people, to whom the constitution will be referred, would have repudiated any attempt to place their Government on an amazonian basis. After three weeks of session Mr. Reid, who appears to have acted throughout with great shrewdness and moderation, declared that the prospects of federation had brightened since the Convention assembled. There will be an adjournment over the Jubilee, and the sittings will be resumed in the autumn, when one may hope for the happiest issue; but there is a considerable conflict of local interests, such as Hamilton describes in *The Federalist*, and the average Australian, while conscious of the benefits of a closer union of this great group of colonies, has never been in a fever heat of enthusiasm on the subject. Australia will be far more powerful, morally and materially, if she can do what Canada did thirty years ago; and, no doubt, at her own time she will do it. The movement has made considerable progress during the last ten years, and one may hope that Mr. Reid's expectations will be justified. Perhaps Mr. Laurier, the Canadian Premier, may be able to give some useful hints to his Australian colleagues in June.

THE "PROBLEM."

If there is any part of the world where you could imagine Jingoism to be thoroughly at a discount, that place is South Africa, and yet it has for some weeks past been the chosen field of our fire-eating journalists and orators. One would gather from reading some of their ravings that Lord Salisbury's Cabinet seriously contemplated retrieving the great Rhodesian *fiasco* of last year by an "authorized" Imperial raid on the Transvaal, undertaken, not by local filibusterers, but by a couple of British army corps. Mr. Chamberlain's speech at the Milner banquet—in which excited people have affected to read all sorts of mischief—stated the Government's policy in lucid, sober, and reassuring terms. It effectually silences the absurd rumours that the Government meditate invoking a bloody civil war in South Africa. The Colonial Secretary described the South African

problem as "not free from anxiety or even danger, yet I am sanguine enough to believe that the problem now before us and Sir Alfred Milner is not an insoluble problem. For what is it? It is to reconcile and to persuade to live together in peace and goodwill races whose common interests are immeasurably greater than any differences which may unfortunately exist." Mr. Chamberlain referred to the happy solution of such problems in other parts of the Empire, notably, of course, in Canada. He continued:—

"In South Africa, at first sight, at all events, it would appear that the question is encompassed with even fewer difficulties than those which have arisen in other parts of the world. For here the differences of manners, customs, and, of what is perhaps more serious than all, of religion, are much less than in the cases to which I referred. I say, then, that in these circumstances we have reason to hope. In the Cape Colony, in Natal, and in the Orange Free State we find that these differences have been no bar to social intercourse, inter-marriage, and co-operation in all good work, and notably in the course of the recent insurrection in Matabeleland the burghers from the Transvaal have fought side by side in the same field, in the same cause, with us, and against the same foe. In these circumstances what has been proved to be possible in so many cases is possible in all. As we, on our part, are ready at all times to extend to our Dutch fellow-subjects with open hands all the privileges which we enjoy ourselves, and as we have shown again and again by our declarations and by our actions that we have no intention and no desire to interfere with the independence of neighbouring States, surely we may entertain the hope that the Government of the Transvaal will come to see that it is its duty to fulfil to the letter obligations which it has voluntarily assumed in connection with the London Convention, and that it will in time extend the hand of fellowship to that large number of foreigners who have contributed so largely to the success and to the prosperity of that State."

This passage expresses the sentiments of all who wish well to the white peoples of South Africa, and will be echoed alike by Dutch and English in Capetown, Buluwayo, Pietermaritzburg, Bloemfontein, Johannesburg, or even Pretoria. It defines in unimpeachable terms the relations that those communities should seek to cultivate with one another, and it kills the *canard* that the enfranchisement of the Uitlanders will be carried at the sword's point, while expressing the hope that the Transvaal Government will relax its *non possumus* attitude. So much for internal policy in South Africa.

THE PARAMOUNT POWER.

In the same speech Mr. Chamberlain reaffirmed the deliberate intention of the British Cabinet to maintain "in their integrity the rights which we have under the Convention and our position as paramount power in South Africa." Mr. Chamberlain was perhaps less precise than he might have been in expounding this principle:—

"It may be true, as we have recently had suggested to us, that there are eminent persons in South Africa who have aspirations for an independent federation of States, under which Dutch influence would be predominant and which would look for sympathy and support rather to the Continent of Europe than to this country.

If such aspirations exist, in my opinion they are incompatible with the highest British interests, they are incompatible with the position of the Cape itself; the most important strategical point is the Empire, the possession of which is absolutely necessary to us as a great Eastern Power. It is an aspiration which cannot be accepted by the people of this country, and until it is frankly abandoned there cannot be a final and satisfactory settlement. But, short of this, we are ready now and at all times to give the fairest and most favourable consideration to the wishes and sentiments, even to the prejudices, of parties in South Africa, and to co-operate with them in all measures for the good of the whole community."

We believe the number of Dutchmen in South Africa wishing to exchange the mild suzerainty of Great Britain for the jack-boot of Prussia is infinitesimal. President Kruger's reception of the German Emperor's telegram last year was not enthusiastic, while Mr. Hofmeyr's severe snub to that potentate showed that the colonial Dutch keenly resent the interference of any other European Power in the already complicated South African system. No candid Englishman can pretend that we have been an ideal suzerain of either the British or Dutch peoples, but we have given too many hostages to fortune to think of abandoning our position, and we shall maintain it at all costs. In so far as Mr. Chamberlain's speech was a warning to Germany that there is no room for her further expansion in South Africa, we entirely concur with it, though one's indignation at "German intrigue" is tempered by its impotence. Germany can make herself "nasty" almost anywhere, *e.g.*, Zanzibar, and she will no doubt take every opportunity of doing so as it is her settled policy, but until someone explains in what manner she can damage our position in South Africa we shall decline to make a bugbear of her, and should regret to see the Imperial policy unduly swayed by the Kaiser's indiscretions. We shall be somewhat astonished if Sir Alfred Milner takes the German menace very seriously.

THE WILLOUGHBY MARE'S NEST.

Though we have refrained from chronicling the evidence given to the South African Committee in reference to the Raid, we cannot forbear mentioning the Willoughby incident. It signalizes the keen desire and the complete failure of the Rhodesian Party to implicate the Imperial Government in the Raid, though it has been proved that two subordinate officials were seduced from their duty. Sir John Willoughby commanded the Chartered Company's forces in that ill-fated expedition. In the course of his evidence before the Committee he refused to state what was the communication made by him to the War Office as to his reasons for joining in the Raid. At an adjourned meeting of the Committee the private secretary of the Secretary of State for War appeared and read Sir John Willoughby's letter, together with the official reply.

The letter stated that he joined the Raid in pursuance of orders from the Administrator of Matabeleland (Dr. Jameson), and "in the honest and *bona-fide* belief that the steps were taken with the knowledge and assent of the Imperial authorities. I was informed by Dr. Jameson that this was the fact. It was in those circumstances and on those statements that I took in the other officers with me." To this the War Office replied that his letter only showed "that you allowed yourself and others to be led into the commission of a serious offence by most erroneous information as to the attitude of the Imperial authorities." The rebuke added that an officer of Sir John Willoughby's experience ought to have known that the authority given was *ultra vires* and invalid. "In such a case it was your duty to verify such authority by direct application to the High Commissioner or Secretary of State." On the reading of these letters, Sir John Willoughby was pressed as to who were "the Imperial authorities," but he refused to give any account of his conversation with Dr. Jameson "on public grounds." The Committee adjourned for the purpose of hearing Dr. Jameson's account of the transaction, which was to the effect that Sir John Willoughby's letter went a great deal further than anything he (Dr. Jameson) had ever said, or implied, or would have been justified in implying. Sir John Willoughby then admitted that this famous letter which has been the basis of innumerable innuendoes against the Colonial Office, was drafted by Mr. Hawkesley, the solicitor to the Chartered Company, and that he (Sir John Willoughby) then copied it and signed it under the false impression that Dr. Jameson had read and approved it, which was not the case. In his anxiety to save the commissions of his brother officers he was apparently prepared to sign anything. Not being military we are unable to say how this transaction squares with the code of honour in the army. Sir John Willoughby has, at any rate, though with evident reluctance, exposed a baseless and scandalous imputation upon the Imperial Government. It is a somewhat singular thing that the true Rhodesian is always reluctant to clear the character of Imperial authorities, though his chief is always held up to our admiration as a great Imperialist!

AN ASTONISHING ATTACK.

The weekly article in *The Times* on "The Colonies" dealing with one or other of the uppermost Imperial problems, is generally recognized as a most valuable contribution to contemporary journalism. All the more regrettable and mischievous is it when the writer's naturally clear and masculine judgment becomes violently distorted by partisanship. The readers of this column were lately startled by a

most uncalled for and reprehensible assault on Sir Henry de Villiers, the highly esteemed Chief Justice of Cape Colony. A lurid picture was drawn of the Chief Justice's impending descent from the bench into the political vortex, where he was to organize and direct a great combination with the assistance of President Kruger, aimed against British supremacy and seeking the establishment of a Republican form of Government in Cape Colony! This cock and bull story was invented in order to account for Mr. Rhodes' somewhat ominous return to Cape politics, he being held up to the British public as the only man capable of upholding British interests, in the face of a new and far reaching De Villiers-Hofmeyr-Kruger combination, though in our judgment if there is any catastrophe to the British Empire in South Africa it will be mainly due to the sinister machinations of Mr. Rhodes there and the infatuated *claque* here which supports him *per fas et nefas*. Sir Henry de Villiers recent visit to Pretoria, when he adjusted a threatening dispute between the Transvaal Legislature and the Judiciary—which to the dispassionate onlooker appeared to be an eminent public service—was positively made the peg for *The Times'* extraordinary aspersions. However, the cat was somewhat ingenuously let out of the bag by the statement that "a combination, led by Sir Henry de Villiers, is the most formidable which could be brought against the party of Mr. Rhodes." This article was in fact simply an impudent effort to discredit in advance a possible opponent of Mr. Rhodes, and is part of the general Rhodesian method of representing everyone who is anti-Rhodes as *anti-British*. Every English critic of Mr. Rhodes is to be branded as a Little Englander and all his political opponents in Cape Colony as disloyalists, but when you have *The Spectator* newspaper among the former and Sir Henry de Villiers, Mr. Rose Innes and others among the latter, it is obvious that the abusive resources of Rhodesianism must be running dry. The article we refer to, after indulging in every odious innuendo against the Chief Justice, coolly stated "such rumours must be accepted with all reserve." It appears to us that the publication of malicious gossip imputing disloyal intentions to one of the most distinguished servants of the Queen without a jot or tittle of evidence to support it, is one of those offences with which polite language is incapable of coping.

THE CHIEF JUSTICE'S REPLY.

Sir Henry de Villiers, speaking in the Legislative Council at Capetown on April 9th, made an extremely dignified and temperate reference to this unprovoked attack. He said: "*The Times* had considered him to be the leader of a political party which was in opposition to Mr.

Rhodes, and which aimed at the overthrow of British supremacy in South Africa. The association of his name with such a party was so ludicrous that it might well be dismissed with a smile. What pained him was that he should be associated with party politics after a period of twenty-four years on the bench." As one of the framers of the original convention with the Transvaal, he could not regard a deliberate breach of it by either party as a light matter; "but he had never been able to recognize the right of a Prime Minister of the Colony, acting in his capacity as a director of a group of commercial companies, to punish the Republic for its alleged breach of the convention." The speaker stated "that at certain critical times he had been approached and asked to head the moderate party with a view to a peaceful union of the different states and colonies. Whatever hopes of union existed were, however, dispelled by recent deplorable events, and without such an aim political life would have no attractions for him." It would be an admirable thing for the Colony and the Empire if a moderate party could be formed at the Cape, consisting of the best Dutch and English, under the auspices of the Chief Justice, Mr. Rose Innes, Mr. Merriman, Mr. Schreiner, and others. It would hold the balance even between the extreme section of the Dutch Afrikander Bond and the extreme section of the British South African League.

THE TRANSVAAL OUTLOOK.

The Times special travelling correspondent who has recently traversed South Africa—a very competent, reliable and fair-minded man—contributes a most interesting report on "The Future Outlook" in the Transvaal. It appeared in *The Times* of April 17th, and we hope our readers will turn it up; it concludes a series of really masterly letters that have appeared from the same pen. Of the wealth of the Transvaal he has no doubt, 700 millions of gold are already known to exist and fresh deposits are being continually discovered, while coal, iron, silver, lead, copper and other baser metals lie buried there in measureless profusion. The gold will bring population, and the healthy climate and good soil will keep it, so that in ten years there should be half a million people there, and ultimately from three to four millions; it will be the most popular State in South Africa. The Boers do not seem to recognize this, and while they are most capable as pioneers they lack the energy and the imagination required to develop so inordinately rich a country. A piece of valuable criticism follows:—

"While I was much impressed with the coolness, the quiet strength, and large-heartedness of the Boers during the troublous times at the beginning of the year (1896), I have been equally impressed during the last few months with their present

incapacity for dealing with a young and rising State. I think, therefore, that the Uitlanders for some years yet need not hope to see in the Transvaal the kind of Government which they as men of the nineteenth century have a right to expect, and which so magnificent a country deserves. They will have to anticipate constant friction and disappointment—not, I would repeat, from any deliberate intention on the part of the Boers to crush the mining industry, but from their ignorance of what rough handling of so delicate an organism means. The class of Boer who now sit in the Volkraad have no idea of what the effect of measures they so hastily pass really will be; they do not understand that the hint of such a measure as the stopping of the automatically-running stamps on Sundays has much the same effect on the industry as the touch of the hand on a sensitive plant."

If both Boers and Uitlanders were always to remain the same as they are to-day, a revival of last year's troubles "might certainly be expected." But a change, slowly affecting the stolid Boer character and caused by the surging flood of civilization that is invading them, is to be noted as a hopeful element of the situation. The young Boer is apt to weary of the solitary farm, and likes to have a glimpse of town life, while the young Boer girls like to marry Englishmen. The Boers are seeing more of the world, and those in contact with Europeans realize the necessities of progress, and the railways are steadily opening up the country. Things may therefore go faster than is generally anticipated in response to the pressure of civilization. Of President Kruger's two most likely successors in the Presidency one had said to the writer that "he looked to the time when all South African States would meet together for the settlement of matters of mutual interest." And the other said that "having regard to the increasing number of the Uitlanders who were coming into the country, he saw that the present block system could not long continue, and that a beginning must be made towards letting Uitlanders acquire the rights of citizenship to the country of their adoption."

A Policy of Patience.

We have no space to quote further from this really valuable and instructive article. The moral of it is that there is nothing theatrical to be done in South Africa. We must be moderate, forbearing, and patient; we must uphold our rights and observe our duties as a Paramount Power. We must not allow ourselves to become the catspaw of any daring schemer, who would probably be the very first to turn round upon us after we had pulled the chestnuts out of the fire for him. A motion recently introduced into the Cape Assembly, by Mr. Rose Innes, the leader of the Opposition, who is a wise and disinterested man, reflects the best opinion in Cape Colony on the present situation: "That this House, deeply impressed with the gravity of the present condition of affairs in South Africa, and

earnestly desirous to secure peace and establish mutual confidence in and between the States and colonies, is of opinion that that end will best be attained by the strict observance of the terms of the London Convention by both parties, by the consideration and redress of legitimate grievances on the part of the Transvaal, and by a continuation of a policy of moderation by Her Majesty's Government."

A Calumny.

Great and natural indignation, which we fully share, has been caused in Colonial circles by an amazing aspersion upon Colonial produce. Mr. Wingfield Digby, in recommending the Agricultural Produce (Marks) Bill to the House of Commons, said that consumers of frozen meat were liable "to cancer and other terrible diseases." Mr. Reeves, the watchful Agent-General for New Zealand, immediately wrote an effective reply to *The Times*, to which we are glad to give renewed publicity. It is discouraging to find a naturally sensible Member of Parliament making so thoughtless an observation; but he was probably unconscious of the seriousness that would be attached to it, and we feel sure had no intention of making a wholly unwarranted attack on one of our greatest Imperial industries. We give the following extract from Mr. Reeves' letter:—

"I trust you will also allow me to briefly but very strongly protest against Mr. Wingfield Digby's remark in the House on Wednesday last, that consumers of frozen meat were liable 'to cancer and other terrible diseases.' It is difficult and probably not necessary to treat this dire warning quite seriously. There is not one jot or tittle of truth in it. If Colonial meat were to any extent diseased, then the British nation must, during the last ten years, have been ravaged by plague and pestilence. Scores of millions of pounds of our meat are eaten here yearly, and Mr. Digby may be challenged to prove a single case of disease traceable to its consumption. Not only are New Zealand flocks quite free from taint, but the individual sheep sent here are selected and inspected with especial care. If Mr. Digby can secure any section of influential supporters, I trust he will induce the Government to appoint a Royal Commission to enquire into the qualities of imported meats, carefully distinguishing the countries of origin. I venture to say that the result would be the finest advertisement for New Zealand mutton that it has ever received."

CORRESPONDENCE.

Bimetallic Policies.

To the Editor of "The National Review."

Sir,—

I greatly regret that a letter of mine not intended for publication was read in the Senate, and now, dug up from the Congressional Record, appears in the pages of *The National Review*.* It is chiefly regrettable, perhaps, because it obliges me to burden your pages with a short explanation.

It has for two years past been pretty evident that the rapid growth of the forces behind silver, in the United States, must a little later secure its restoration to free coinage in that country; in which case either, as I am fully convinced, the United States can single-handed maintain the parity, or she cannot. If she can, then we have universal bimetallism again, as before 1873; if, however, she fails, so that there is a gold premium in New York, at once there will be a clamour on the part of all our American investors and exporting merchants that England shall take steps to abate the nuisance. We have seen how the exchange troubles, involved by a gold premium in India and China, have converted public opinion in Lancashire to the bimetallic remedy; and what alone is wanted to make London bimetallist is a gold premium in New York. A few days before the November election in the United States, Mr. Bryan, when in Chicago, put England's position to me in a way that I think hardly admits of a reply. "Your English Economists," he said, "agree that it is practicable to maintain the parity of the two metals by an international agreement. Again, England believes that single-handed free coinage on our part will create a gold premium and thus prove disastrous to her interests. This being her view, the remedy is with her; let England call a Conference and settle the question for her own protection."

And this situation across the water has reflected itself here with every change in the political situation there. If free coinage has seemed increasingly probable, then our merchants have started towards the sure refuge of international bimetallism; they have become ardent workers for our Bimetallic League. But with Mr. Bryan's defeat they have now, I believe, laid that dismal subject away, until it once again resurrects for the presidential campaign in 1900. Therefore, if this question of a stable currency, and rated exchanges, is to be settled without undue delay, it is

* *The National Review*, p. 274.

upon the growth of the free coinage sentiment in the United States that we must chiefly, indeed I think wholly, rely.

Such being the situation, I have discovered by the experience of the past few months that the cables of *The Times* correspondent are by far the most important auxiliaries that we from this side can use to keep the silver issue fairly before the local legislatures in the United States. Mr. Smalley's opinion is the New York opinion, that the gold standard has won the day, and that the St. Louis bimetallic declaration by the Republican Party was a mere fly-trap. Mr. Bryan is now delivering addresses to the local legislatures, at their various State capitols, and by circulating *The Times* cables, in advance of his visits, the way has been admirably prepared for him. The editorials which I have read in such important papers as *The Cincinnati Enquirer*, *The Detroit Tribune*, *The Atalanta Constitution*, *The Omaha World-Herald*, *The Denver Republican*, *The Salt Lake Tribune*, *The St. Louis Post Despatch*, *The San Francisco Examiner*, are the best evidence that the London *Times*, impartial, responsible, edited in another hemisphere, is convincing the supporters of Major McKinley in the central, the western, and the southern States, that at least Manhattan Island and its Press regard the bimetallic pledges of the President as pure "politics." How seriously the position of the President, and that of the leaders of the Republican Party, has been prejudiced by *The Times* correspondent, is evident from the emphatic manner in which the President has recently addressed himself to that correspondent. When Mr. Smalley wrote to a friend of his, a member of Lord Salisbury's Cabinet, that he need attach no significance to Senator Wolcott's mission, I, so far from "tacitly endorsing" this view, as your Washington correspondent suggests, was aware, and Senator Dubois is also aware, that the President is in dead earnest, and that, unless Europe helps him to a monetary union before 1900, his party will be on the rocks. In a recent division in the House of Representatives, the gold monometallist party objected to the proposal to press forward by diplomatic action an International Conference. This gold party, for the first time, stood up to be counted, and in a full house were able to muster just three votes! The anxiety then of the President is not unnatural; was ever a "silverite" known to recant this "silver heresy"? Does anyone suppose that the six and a half million voters who supported free silver in 1896 will fail to support it again in 1900? A transfer then of some 300,000 voters who believed that Major McKinley could and would secure international bimetallism—this transfer will elect a free coinage president, and Mr. Smalley's cables alone might well account in 1900 for this handful of scene-shifters.

I need not refer to the enormous Democratic vote thrown last November, when Mr. Bryan polled nearly 900,000 more votes than had ever before been thrown for an American president. That election was described by *The Times* correspondent and others as a "Democratic rout" and a "landslide"; but it was left to us to learn, from official figures, that during the eighteen presidential elections since 1824 only seven times had the proportion of the total votes polled by the winner been so small as in the case of Major McKinley—namely, 53 per cent. of the vote cast.

Looking back upon the efforts made by European bimetallists during the past twenty years, it is not possible to overestimate the educational value of their propaganda, and this I gratefully admit. But to-day there is a danger lest their efforts and their claims may obstruct the progress of currency reform. The pure and refined gold monopolists in the United States, those contractionists who desire nothing so little as an universe bimetallized—such self-styled "bimetallists" as these continue to draw attention to the "unparalleled growth of the English sentiment towards bimetallism" in order to assure credulous voters that if they will only antagonize free silver for yet a few years, England will "come to her senses." I have no wish to hunt the political horizon with a telescope in order to discover these ardent throngs, here in England, whose "zeal and determination" is the only argument advanced by Wall Street, why the United States should indefinitely postpone all action and all initiative. It is enough to say, that in England the trend of scientific opinion to-day is toward a rational conviction that the United States is probably able, single-handed, to maintain the parity. But just as ten years since bimetallists were "cranks" and "lunatics," so to-day those who hold that one, or at most two, first-class nations can act as money-changers for the universe, these views of commercial experts are again met, never with argument, but always with abuse. I venture to think that there is no higher authority than Mr. F. J. Faraday (the city editor of *The Manchester Guardian*). Manchester is one of the greatest centres in the world of disordered and complicated foreign exchanges, and the survival of the fittest in Manchester is the survival of that trader who deals in foreign exchange with the keenest foresight. Mr. Faraday, writing of the American election issue in *The National Review* for March, declares that after making a close canvass in Manchester both amongst bimetallists and monometallists, he "did not find one who believed that the free coinage of silver would have involved a serious or more than a very temporary depreciation of the American dollar." But if Mr. Faraday is wrong, and if Mr. Smalley and the "fifty-cent dollar" shouters are correct, then this is the very argument to use in a Monetary Conference. If the assembled delegates will not establish bimetallism when confronted by what they believe will involve a gold premium in the United States, with all its attendant disasters to Europe, then international bimetallism must indeed be past working for, and even past praying for.

As to the President's efforts to win over Europe, these do indeed attract the warmest sympathy of all those who, like myself, regard the present exchange rates with Asia as the greatest race-danger which has ever confronted white workers. I confess to being in complete ignorance as to the amount of support or encouragement which Senator Wolcott found, whether in London, Paris, or Berlin; but no one who has watched that Senator's career in connection with this currency issue, doubts for a moment that but for assurances of co-operation in the very highest quarters, he would have very gladly returned to tell the American nation that Europe is hopelessly anti-silver. The political temptation to Senator Wolcott to take this line must have been very great; an assurance from a free silver

senator who had yet supported Major McKinley, and who had come over and sounded the leading authorities in Europe and to no purpose must have presented to that returning envoy the opportunity of a lifetime. That Senator Wolcott has obtained the suggestion of an alliance from the French Republic is clear from the fact that he has put on one side a great temptation, and that he is about to return to Europe on a second bimetallic quest.

In conclusion, let me present to your American readers the latest discovery of Mr. Smalley, published in *The Times* of April 17th. Of the business position in America he writes :—

"There was a steady movement toward good business in 1895. The Silverites were beaten ; the President and Mr. Carlisle had won over their party on the free coinage issue ; the silver craze was dying out ; the agitation had almost ceased ; there was every promise of steady, increasing prosperity. Then came the Venezuela message. . . . If there had been no Venezuela message and no consequent paralysis of trade and industry, the whole domestic history of last year had been different."

The farm population of the United States is over thirty millions ; this population, upon the prosperity of which depends the ability of the country to export and thus pay the interest on its foreign loans, and also to purchase American manufactures, had been pauperized by the great fall of prices in 1893 and 1894. With the collapse of agriculture had come inevitable disaster to the other moiety of the nation. Prices of American staples in the European markets since 1893 are admitted on the highest authority to have been lower than their cost of production on the farms of the United States. To refer to a message to Congress in 1895, a disaster caused by a fall of prices in 1893—a disaster, too, which is common to every farmer in the gold standard communities of Europe and Australia—this is, indeed, a triumph of journalistic genius.

One question is, I think, permissible. In all *The Times* cables of the year past, is there anywhere the faintest glimpse of a recognition that the depreciated currencies of four-fifths of the world are incompatible with the industrial prosperity of the great debtor Republic of the West, and that America's ability to export to Europe must have been undermined by the gold premiums now existing in all Asia, in Russia, and South America. And yet this was the issue upon which the American elections were fought.

The burning question for the United States is, by what currency legislation can she best reduce these increasing foreign premiums on gold ? And the Republican Party has to stand or fall, probably for a generation, by their satisfactory reply to this question.

Yours faithfully,

MORETON FREWEN.

April 20th, 1897.

SOME READABLE BOOKS.

Believing that a monthly table of selected books may be of aid to the readers of *The National Review*, we have drawn up the appended list which comprises a few recently published volumes of interest.*

The Life of Nelson.—By Captain A. T. Mahan (Sampson Low, Marston and Co., London. Two vols. Price 36s. net). This is the book of the year; indeed, if the present decade has produced a biography more likely to live we cannot recall it. The critics have exhausted all the resources of eulogy in praising the new Nelson without overpraising it.

The Royal Navy. A History from the Earliest Times to the Present.—By W. Laird Clowes, assisted by Sir Clements Markham, Captain Mahan, Theodore Roosevelt, and others. In five volumes (Sampson Low, Marston & Co., London. Vol. I. Price 24s.). Another standard work on the sea. Mr. Laird Clowes' great undertaking is designed to teach British naval history, of which even the omniscient schoolboy knows nothing, though the preamble of the articles of war asserts an incontestable proposition: "It is upon the Navy that, under the good providence of God, the wealth, the prosperity, the peace of these islands, and of the Empire mainly depend." The presence among the contributors of Captain Mahan and Mr. Theodore Roosevelt is a guarantee of the impartial spirit in which the history is being written.

Cecil Rhodes.—A Biography and Appreciation. By Imperialist. With Personal Reminiscences, by Dr. Jameson (Chapman & Hall, London. Price 7s. 6d.). This book, which has been confidently credited by turns to Miss Shaw (the Colonial Editor of *The Times*) and to Mr. Stead (Editor of the *Review of Reviews*), is we believe the handiwork of an English clergyman of "Elizabethan" proclivities—a certain Mr. Verschoyle—who sub-edits *The Fortnightly Review*. No fetich worshipper in West Africa could prostrate himself more abjectly than does Mr. Verschoyle before Mr. Rhodes, with the result that the former becomes contemptible and the latter ridiculous. If Mr. Verschoyle—by

* We regret to find that this very unpretentious effort to assist our readers in choosing their books should excite the "critical wrath" of *The Saturday Review*, under whose ken "more indiscriminate and valueless panegyric has never come." The books, however, mentioned in these pages are labelled "readable," are arrived at by a process of exhaustion and some value attaches to all of them, though the selection is obviously far from perfect.

any chance—is not the author of this Comic History of Mr. Rhodes, we offer him our humble apologies. The book is eminently readable, and eminently laughable, because pre-eminently silly.

A Dozen Ways of Love.—By L. Dougall (Adam & Charles Black, London. Price 6s.). We always turn with interest to anything from the clever author of *Beggars All*, but we confess that the inequality among these stories is somewhat aggravating. *Young Love* is delightful.

Woman under Monasticism.—By Lina Eckenstein (Cambridge University Press, London. Price 15s.). This is a very laborious piece of research containing much curious information and giving a graphic picture of the progress of "the women's movement" prior to the dissolution of the monasteries.

From Grave to Gay.—By St. Loe Strachey (Smith, Elder & Co., London. Price 6s.). This charming volume of essays collected from *The Spectator* comes to remind us that, besides being a very able and independent political writer, the author is a cultivated student of books, while he has a keen and kindly eye for boys and bishops. The mystery of the "middle" article to which *The Spectator* owes much of its fame is partially solved by the appearance of this engaging *olla podrida*.

The Elements of Politics.—By Henry Sidgwick (Macmillan & Co., London. Price 16s.). The appearance of a revised edition of Professor Sidgwick's great contribution to general politics is both a literary and a political event. Its keynote is practical sagacity.

Live Questions.—By John P. Altgeld (Donohue & Henneberry, Chicago). English readers will turn to this book with interest, and will close it in bewilderment. It contains the published views of Governor Altgeld, whom the Press of the Eastern States consistently depict as an "Anarchist." English newspapers have taken up the cuckoo cry, but the majority of Englishmen who peruse these deeply interesting volumes will find themselves in constant agreement with Governor Altgeld, while all will be impressed by his brilliant powers. That America has no intention of discarding one of the most remarkable of her adopted sons is proved by the striking vote of confidence recently recorded by Chicago in favour of Governor Altgeld at her municipal elections.

Many Cargoes.—By W. W. Jacobs (Lawrence & Bullen, London. Price 3s. 6d.). This collection of short stories, by a writer whose name is unfamiliar to us, is the most amusing book that has appeared for a long time. As a cure for "the dumps," we recommend those inimitable stories, *After the Inquest* or *A Change of Treatment*.

South Africa as it is.—By F. Reginald Statham (T. Fisher Unwin, London. Price 12s.). This is an able retrospect of South African affairs from the Transvaal standpoint, by the writer of the chief article in this month's *National Review*.

The Wisdom of the Simple.—By Nellie K. Blissett (A. D. Innes & Co., London. Price 6s.). If this is an early effort it is brimful of promise and has attracted the attention of several good judges of fiction. Although the skit on the *Yellow Book* world is a trifle wearisome, because its objects are so wearisome, the main idea of the book is cleverly conceived and is

worked out with much quiet pathos, and even some beauty, while the delineation of the principal characters is skilful and impressive.

The Achievements of Cavalry.—By General Sir Evelyn Wood, V.C., &c. (George Bell & Sons, London. Price 7s. 6d.). Although the number of English readers prepared to follow cavalry manœuvres is somewhat limited, perhaps because we are not a great cavalry nation, Sir Evelyn Wood's literary powers and complete mastery of his subject will fascinate all who take up this volume.

The Outgoing Turk.—By H. C. Thomson (William Heinemann, London. Price 14s. net.). This is the best among the recent books that have appeared on the Eastern Question, and is a singularly lucid, dispassionate, and convincing indictment of Turkish rule. That that rule must cease if Europe is to rest is shown with renewed cogency by the author.

War, Famine, and the Food Supply.—By R. B. Marston (Sampson Low, Marston & Co., London. Price 2s. 6d.). Mr. Marston writes with great zeal and modesty on an absorbingly interesting topic. He believes that a combination consisting of our chief food suppliers, Russia and the United States, would starve us out by withholding wheat, but how could the Russian and American farmers be persuaded to commit suicide? At the same time we regard the destruction of our agricultural interest as a capital crime on the part of our parliamentary wiseacres, and we suggest to Mr. Marston that he should join the Bimetallic League (29, Cornhill, E.C.).

NOTICE.

All communications to the Editor of THE NATIONAL REVIEW should be addressed to the care of Mr. EDWARD ARNOLD, 37, Bedford Street, Strand, W.C.

The Editor cannot undertake to return rejected Manuscripts unless they are accompanied by a *properly stamped and directed envelope*, nor can he undertake to read unsolicited contributions *unless they are type-written.*

Annual Subscriptions of 30s. (including postage to any part of the world) should be sent direct to the Manager, at 37, Bedford Street, Strand, W.C.; such subscriptions may be commenced at any time.

BUFFALO MECHANICS' INSTITUTION. MEM. SHELDON.

THE NATIONAL REVIEW.

No. 172.—JUNE, 1897.

EPISODES OF THE MONTH.

THE TURKO-GREEK WAR.

The Turko-Greek war lasted for just one month. It ended—as all sensible people foresaw it must do—in the disastrous defeat of the Greeks. They were beaten on every occasion, and beaten with ignominy. There is no meaning or value in words if it is to be related and passed into history that the Greek national honour "remained untarnished." As a fact, Greece, through every manifestation of national life, whether officially or unofficially, whether through its Government, its Parliament, its Press, its Army, or, indeed, its Navy (which did nothing) has been hopelessly discredited. The army disgraced itself by three panic-stricken flights. The rout from Larissa was worse than anything described in Zola's *Debâcle*. It is said the Greek loss was two or three hundred during this flight from the fugitives firing at each other—none were killed by the Turks. Of course, there was exceptional conduct as, *e.g.*, at Hanaupoulo, in Epirus, and at Domoko, and certain officers distinguished themselves, *e.g.*, Colonels Mavromichali, Manos, and Smolenitz—but upon nearly every occasion, whether it was at the Maluna Pass, where the first serious fighting commenced, or at Mati, at Turnavo, Larissa, Phersala, or at Domoko (notwithstanding one gallant stand), the Greek army was broken up, and fled as a mere rabble. It was declared upon

each occasion to have taken up "stronger positions," and frequently did so. Domoko was "perched high up among the mountains, whose slopes on the side next the plain are intersected by deep precipitous ravines." It was at Domoko that the Crown Prince of Greece addressed his army thus :—"Soldiers of the Greek Army! The army has retired on Domoko because our positions at Phersala were not strong enough, and the enemy was greatly superior in numbers; but the positions you occupy here are so strong that our army may be considered invincible." Within a week of the proclamation of this bombast the Greeks were in full flight again from Domoko.

THE TURKISH ARMY.

And yet the Turks were not so formidable. The correspondent of *The Standard* in speaking of the character of the Turkish troops said :—

"There was nothing smart about these soldiers, either in uniform or bearing. Their clothing lacked the picturesque quality of the Redifs whom I remembered in the Russo-Turkish war, with their Zouave jackets, Turkish trousers, red waist-sash, and gaiters. In the army marching on Volo there was hardly one man with a uniform intact. When one looks at these out-of-elbow men slouching along and cuddling their rifles, one can hardly believe that they represent a victorious army, before whom the enemy is always retiring, fearing to come within sight of the whites of their eyes. It was an army of scarecrows; and as scarecrows, they have certainly done their work admirably, for the Greeks have never ventured to come within fifteen hundred yards of them."

Edhem Pasha was not a great Commander. In fact he scandalously neglected his opportunities, he might well have been in Athens within three weeks of the outbreak of hostilities. Two or three regiments of cavalry and a couple of batteries of horse artillery with a flying column of infantry could have captured or dispersed the whole Greek force after the Turnavo rout. The Turks might have occupied Volo within twenty-four hours. Had the Greeks been kept on the run they would never have stood up again. As it was the statement is made, on good authority, that there were something like 10,000 desertions from the Greek army since the war began. The men were not so much frightened as sick and disheartened, with no confidence in their officers, so they drifted by hundreds back to their villages. We have no desire to dwell upon the misfortune of the Greeks, but as there is a brazen Party in this country which persists in vindicating and extolling Greece, and whose organ bids us admire "this wonderful little nation facing vast Asiatic hordes with Eastern contempt of odds," and that tells us "the Crown Prince's army fought inch by inch a gallant and a stubborn fight," it is necessary the true facts of the campaign should be related, and we therefore give a brief narrative of events with some extracts from reliable correspondents.

THE FLIGHT FROM TURNAVO.

After the Turkish army had captured the Maluna Pass it pressed steadily forward into Thessaly. It drove the Greeks out of Mati. Upon this occasion, as upon others, Colonel Mavromichalis distinguished himself. The Greeks then fell back on Larissa, where it was stated they held a strong position. The Turks approached it during the night. To the astonishment of Edhem Pasha the Greeks bolted from it without firing a shot. An explanation given by *The Times* correspondent was that the Greek soldiers heard the Albanian regiments singing as they approached. Such a note of warning would have animated and prepared some garrisons for resistance. It had a contrary effect on the Greeks.

"In another hour the Greek lines would have been entered, but the Greek soldiers, no doubt, heard the Albanians singing their war songs as they advanced. Thereupon, it appears, panic spread to the very centre of the Greek encampment, and when daylight appeared not a single Greek was to be seen. The Greeks still held a strong position on Mount Shabana, but this position the Turks attacked at daybreak. The Greek defenders had been informed of the flight of their compatriots and offered but a feeble defence, leaving the Turks free to occupy Turnavo, which was immediately done. The retreating force left behind them large stores of provisions and an immense quantity of artillery ammunition. The next place of importance to be defended was Larissa, the Thessalian capital, but by Sunday this town, also, was in the hands of the Turks, the defenders having apparently fled in a hurry."

Reuter's special correspondent, who entered Larissa with the Turkish army, said that although practically the entire Greek population had fled, he was fortunate enough to meet an inhabitant who remained, and to obtain from him some particulars of the rout. He said that during the last week the Mahomedan inhabitants, of whom there is a large number in Larissa, were severely maltreated by the Greeks. Whenever they appeared in the streets their fezes were snatched off their heads and torn to pieces. This correspondent was struck with the great strength of the Greek defences. They seemed capable of enabling resolute defenders to resist successfully the attack of almost any army. Why the Greeks abandoned a position of such strength no one was able to explain, unless by the assumption that they were absolutely panic-stricken.

"THE TURKS ARE UPON US."

Some further incidents of the retreat from Turnavo are thus related by the Reuter's correspondent who was with the Greeks :—

"In a few moments, above all the noise and shouting, could be distinguished prolonged cries of 'The Turks are upon us.' One had hardly time to realize what was happening when a dozen or more horsemen, accompanied by a few riderless steeds, appeared on the left at full gallop, shouting in a perfect frenzy, 'Run,

run; the Turks are here." In a moment there was a stampede. The animals were lashed by the men. Women, children, and soldiers pell-mell made one mad rush forward. Many fell and were trampled to death. Vehicles of every description were overturned, mixing together in inextricable confusion, bedding, furniture, ammunition, horses, donkeys, oxen, buffaloes, in the depths of the black night. At the side of our carriage two infantry soldiers appeared, their faces blanched with terror. They jumped on the step. When we tried to keep them out one levelled his rifle. Then suddenly their weight overbalanced the vehicle, which overturned and was smashed to pieces, all the occupants, including *The Times* Correspondent and myself, being thrown out. My leg was pinned down by the broken timbers, but I somehow managed to release it and join *The Times* Correspondent. All the others had disappeared in the darkness. Then began a perfect pandemonium. In their insane terror, soldiers, irregulars, and armed peasants commenced to fire their rifles in all directions. From front and rear, right and left, bullets whizzed, the reports being scarcely heard above the roar of human voices, and the screaming of the terror-stricken animals. I had been through the battle of the Shipka Pass, and in the hottest part of the fighting at Plevna, but never before had I witnessed such wild firing as now took place. The whole plain was lit by the constant flashes. Five newspaper correspondents were involved in the stampede, and all miraculously escaped. They were the representatives of *The Times*, *The Illustrated London News*, and *The Manchester Guardian*, Lieutenant Western, who is acting as correspondent for a newspaper in Stockholm, and myself. The correspondent of *The Daily Chronicle* remained for the night at Turnavo, hanging a Union Jack out of his window in case the Turks might actually appear. He arrived all right in the morning at Larissa, where the other correspondents had been from an early hour. The representative of *The Illustrated London News* lost all his sketches, baggage, money, and manuscripts."

It is refreshing to observe that the correspondent of *The Daily Chronicle* found refuge under the folds of the Union Jack. An English volunteer who was serving in the Foreign Legion, and who took part in the battles, gave the following graphic description of his experience :—

"In the twilight we received orders to prepare to march, and thought we were going to attack the Turks. What a delusion! We had to fall back on Larissa. This meant nothing but an ignoble and cowardly retreat without firing a shot. When darkness came on the retreat commenced, and for ten or twelve miles everything was in order. The men were weary and footsore. The hearts of the Britons were nearly broken. They would rather have fought a fight through the night than run away. When we were within a few miles of Larissa an alarm was given in the rear that the Turks were coming, and many began firing their rifles. Then began a terrible panic. Cavalry, artillerymen, horses, wagons, and mules all rushed helter-skelter along the road and through the fields. Captain Birch ordered the Englishmen into a field, and about a dozen who heard the order obeyed. We made an effort to form into line, but were soon carried away by the wild rush of fugitives. I saw that it was a case of every man for himself, so I threw away my blanket, waterproof, sword, and cartridge pouches, only retaining my rifle and cartridge belt, with sixty rounds of ammunition. I could not regain the road, and had to run over rocky ground and ploughed fields. I constantly fell, but was nevertheless making fair progress till, within a mile or two of Larissa, a horse knocked me over an embankment into a dried-up river. I knew I was injured, but to stay there meant to be run over by a gun or trampled upon by men and horses. I managed to get to my feet and dragged myself along to Larissa."

After the evacuation of Larissa the Greek army, 40,000 strong, fell back on Phersala, where "the line of defence is considered far stronger than the frontier line." On May 5th the Turks attacked Phersala and the Crown Prince made a night retreat to Domoko. Phersala was occupied by the Turks on the following morning. The Greeks had left behind several guns and a large quantity of war material. Volo was captured on the 8th; there was the usual panic although there was no fighting, and the enemy was not sighted. A correspondent gave his account of endeavouring to embark:—"All telegrams being refused at the Volo office, I determined to take a caique, and, having succeeded in hiring one, I went on board with my 'carryall,' but before we could get away a great commotion arose, the crowd shouting to me to come out. Men rushed on board, threw out my 'carryall,' and pushed me ashore, the panic-stricken mob being evidently determined that, if they could not escape, no one else should get away. 'We must all die together,' they shouted."

THE FLIGHT FROM DOMOKO.

A telegram from Lamia, dated May 18th, announced that "The Greeks, headed by the Crown Prince, fled from Domoko early this morning, and have fallen back on the old frontier." The said Prince had a week previously declared his position to be so strong that "our army might be considered invincible." On the first Turkish attack it was found to be "untenable." The following appeared from *The Times* Athens correspondent:—

"For the third time the Greek army has effected a retreat at night. The success of the Turks in driving back the right wing rendered the position of the Crown Prince at Domoko untenable, and the order to retreat towards the passes of Mount Othrys was given at three o'clock this morning. It is stated that the retreat was carried out in good order, and that all the artillery was brought away except some heavy guns, which were left at the Akropolis of Domoko. It appears, however, that a considerable amount of war material was left behind."

The Turks now, for the first time, followed up their victory, and attacked the Greek army at Phourka and other positions on Mount Othrys, and compelled it to retreat again—this time on Thermopylæ.

THE CAMPAIGN IN EPIRUS.

The Greeks did not distinguish themselves in Epirus any more than they had done in Thessaly. It was there they were expected to compensate themselves for their defeat in Thessaly. In the first instance they advanced and occupied some Turkish positions. The Turks, however, recovered them after some severe fighting. When defeated, the usual panic followed amid the bulk of the troops. The Euzonoi fought well and showed no symptoms of panic, but walked off down

the pass slowly, with angry looks, and in silence. *The Times* correspondent thus described the retreat to Arta :—

"When our correspondent reached Kumuzades at 9 p.m. he found the 3,000 men in that strong position also gone to swell this extraordinary rout, taking off their six guns. No stand was made anywhere, the whole army crumpling up without firing a shot. It was a strange panic which seized the army, sullen with no excitement in it, seemingly, a stubborn determination not to fight, urging men towards Arta in a sluggish but irresistible wave. Officers, too, their regiments melted away, walked on with a gloomy, shamed expression, quite unable to get their men in hand. The 7,000 soldiers were joined by the scared inhabitants of all the villages on the line of retreat, who, fearing Turkish vengeance for having lent assistance to the Greeks, were fleeing to Arta. 'There were thousands of men, women and children, with their property in great bundles on their backs, staggering along, driving immense numbers of cattle, sheep and goats before them, so that the narrow road in places was packed with a rolling mass of terror-maddened creatures, bellowing, bleating, and leaping over each other and trampling on and killing one another. With the villagers it was little better, with the cries of parents who had lost their children, and of children who had lost their parents, the few lanterns carried by some casting a feeble light here and there on the weird and painful scene, while as we slowly drifted on the lurid glare of their burning homes behind reminded the poor people of all they had lost. At half-past two in the morning we reached Arta bridge, and there were no Greeks on the right bank of the Arachthos by dawn. Troops had poured in from Filippiada, so that 11,000 men with forty guns who had made a successful raid into Turkey and strongly established themselves were all back again.'"

After such crushing and irretrievable defeats, Greece had nothing to do but to submit and obtain shelter under the protection of the Great Powers whom she had hitherto defied. The alternative clearly was the complete subjection of Greece to Turkey. The Greek Government was given to understand that the recall of Colonel Vassos and the army from Crete was an indispensable preliminary to any mediation on the part of the Powers. This condition was complied with, and the expedition to Crete was at last recalled.

THE ARMISTICE OF MAY 18TH.

While the Powers were mediating the last collapse of Greece had occurred at Domoko. The Greeks became eager for peace. One of Mr. Gladstone's "Youthful Despots" was induced to intervene. The Tsar of Russia made an appeal to the "august sensibility" of the Sultan to cease hostilities and to grant an armistice pending the discussion of terms of peace. As the Government of Russia belongs to the European Concert, it would have been worth a few hours' delay for the purpose of consulting the Powers so as to have made a joint appeal to the Sultan, but time no doubt pressed, and Royal Family influences were anxiously at work. The Powers would certainly not have consented to adopt the abject and fulsome language which characterized the Tsar's appeal. We were never among those

who thought Great Britain was called upon to embark on a single-handed war to avenge the Armenian massacres, but we believe that among diplomatists generally and those who are in a position to judge, it is considered that the responsibility for the massacres rests exclusively with the Sultan. He could have prevented them if he had desired to do so. The admirable control exercised over the Turkish army during the recent campaign proves that Turkish soldiers are perfectly in hand when the authorities desire them to be so. Excesses were forbidden in Thessaly, where Europe watched the scene, and they might have been forbidden to massacre as effectually in Armenia had there been a desire to restrain them. The Sultan may not deserve the epithet of "Assassin" which has been so freely applied to him by the righteous school in this country, for after all he represents the State, but there is a long distance between this term of obloquy and assuring the Sultan as the Tsar did of "the respect and admiration which you personally inspire." The Sultan hastened to comply with this flattering appeal and gave orders at once for an armistice to be arranged.

THE TERMS OF PEACE.

An armistice was easily enough settled between the contending forces. The terms of peace proposed by the Sultan were as follows—(1) The cession of Thessaly; (2) the payment of an indemnity of £10,000,000; (3) the renunciation of ex-territorial privileges; (4) the conclusion of an extradition treaty. These terms were communicated to the Powers. A few days later the six Ambassadors received their instructions to reply that (1) was inadmissible, though a small purely strategic rectification of the Thessalian frontier may be permitted; (2) must be subject to a reduction; (3) inadmissible, though there may be some modification in the existing treaties; (4) admissible. It appears that Turkey stands out strongly for the abolition of the capitulations which give the Greeks special privileges of Consular jurisdiction, which the Porte remarks, even Servia and Roumania do not possess. The Greeks scandalously misuse their exceptional rights. "The confident hope is expressed that Europe will have a sufficient sense of justice not to press Turkey upon a point which she is determined not to yield." We have little doubt but what the Concert will manage to adjust the terms, though the negotiations must pass through critical stages. Russia, France, and England are likely to remain united in their policy, and are sufficiently formidable to impose their wishes, but it must be remembered that since her triumphant war Turkey is no longer the Power we were dealing with a few weeks ago. Her position as affected by the war has been admirably

described in *Punch's* cartoon of May 22nd. It pourtrayed a wounded figure representing Greece acknowledging her defeat, as she hands her sword to a jubilant Sultan.

GREECE—"My mistake, sir."
JUBILANT SULTAN.—"Not at all! Extremely indebted to you. You've quite set me on my legs again."

That precisely sums up the situation. Greece, by her egregious folly, has re-established Turkey in Europe for perhaps another hundred years. She has been transformed in one month from a weak Asiatic Power into a strong European Power engaged in enlarging her boundary.

CAN GREECE RECOVER?

How can the guilt of Greece be more fitly measured than by the result of the war she forced upon Turkey. With all her braggadocio, her fighting capacity turned out to be *nil*. Nothing less, however, than the smashing defeat she has received could have served to bring her into the realm of sobriety. May she remain within it for a generation! We have, however, little hopes of her. The Man in the Street in Athens, who is such an influential person in Greek politics, is already declaring that "If the Powers had not intervened, we should have driven the Turks out of the country, and our fleet would have captured Salonica." Royalty in Greece has certainly not distinguished itself during recent events. The King is weak and has, apparently, no judgment of his own, or has no character to act upon it. He has a fatal weakness for newspaper correspondents, who pretend to represent Public Opinion. Mr. Henry Norman, of *The Daily Chronicle*, unfortunately obtained the royal ear, and very much misled the King about Public Opinion in England. This gentleman is a fanatical Party man and belongs to the neurotic school of journalism. His mission as a *Daily Chronicler* is apparently to go abroad (he played this part in the United States on the Venezuela Question) and endeavour to put the Government of his own country entirely in the wrong. A procession of Head Lines accompanies the utterances of Our Special Commissioner in his organ at home. It was he who presented the message of evil encouragement to the King, signed by a hundred Members of Parliament, which Lord Salisbury properly stigmatized as "a disgrace to the House of Commons." We find ourselves for the first time in agreement with Mr. H. M. Hyndman, the Socialist, who wrote to *The Times* to suggest that the hundred Members of the House of Commons who egged the Greeks on to war and ruin should now pay one third of the indemnity of £3,000,000. "An average amount of £10,000 a piece is not much to pay for the privilege of having a fine sentimental policy all to

G.W.R. MECHANICS INSTITUTION

themselves without any responsibility whatsoever." The Greek King was unfortunate. He was misled by his Ministers—intimidated by the mob—and misled about popular sympathy abroad. He was urged on in a fatuous course by a rabid Press. He was terrorized by the Secret Society known as the Ethnike Hetairia. He committed the blunder of consenting to remain a King when he should properly have abdicated. How much more kingly he would have been now if in the Danish home which always awaits him.

THE ITALIANS IN AFRICA.

There can be no doubt that the Italians have had enough of their Red Sea Colony, and they meditate withdrawal on a large scale. The Marquis di Rudini has announced that the Italian occupation is to be re-restricted to Massowah and to a limited territory in its neighbourhood, which will not include any of the high plateau. This means that they will withdraw also from Kassala, which they captured in 1894 from the Dervishes. Baron Sonnino, who was a Minister in the Crispi Cabinet, proposed to postpone all decision in view of the pending negotiation between Major Nerazzini, the Italian envoy, and the Emperor Menelik, to cede Kassala to the Anglo-Egyptians, and to maintain Italian influence and prestige with only two fortresses on the high plateau. The Marquis di Rudini obtained support for his policy by a majority of 320 to 58. A total abandonment motion was rejected only by a majority of 89, which shows there is a large party in favour of abandonment. The Italian Prime Minister has undertaken to arrange with us for the transfer of Kassala to the Anglo-Egyptian Government. It is certainly due to our interests in Egypt that the Italians should not be precipitate in abandoning the Abyssinian passes which lead to Kassala. Menelik is supposed to have maintained friendly relations with the Dervishes with a view to their eventual co-operation against England. We are strongly of opinion that as the Italian Government is in the mood for abandonment, the British Government should endeavour to persuade it to evacuate entirely, and allow Menelik to possess Massowah as a seaport for Abbyssinia. It is a grievance to him and his people that he should have no seaport in the Red Sea. It would be a good stroke of policy to secure Massowah as the Abyssinian port. Menelik would thus be secured as an ally, and with our sea-power we should be enabled to maintain a desirable influence and to develop commerce with the interior.

A TREASURY POLICY.

Sir Michael Hicks-Beach (Chancellor of the Exchequer) recently landed the Unionist Government in a serious mess by his futile and untenable attitude towards a real Irish grievance. From this they have been

rescued by the skill and sagacity of Mr. Balfour, who has made the most of a very great opportunity. Our readers will remember that owing to the terrible agricultural depression caused by the continuous fall of prices, the Cabinet was compelled to introduce an Agricultural Rating Bill last year, remitting half the rates on agricultural land in Great Britain. Ireland's case remained to be dealt with this year; and the Irish very fairly assumed that as the British Treasury declined to entertain their claim to be regarded as "a separate financial entity" for purposes of revenue, their country would at any rate have the benefit of identical treatment with Great Britain in a case of expenditure. They calculated that half the Irish agricultural rates amounted to £650,000, and that some such sum would be allotted to Ireland as her share under the Agricultural Rating Act. But they reckoned without the Treasury and its chief, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach. Ireland was this time treated as "a separate financial entity," and awarded £150,000, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer thus saved a cool half million. Ireland was informed that she was being given "a fair equivalent," whatever that may mean, and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach defended the indefensible by what even *The Times* stigmatized as "the extraordinary contention that Irish agriculture has not shared in the depression produced here by the continuous fall in prices and the increasing stringency of foreign competition." The Irish were unanimous in their indignation at this shabby treatment, and cynics everywhere were delighted to see the nest of pedants known as "the Treasury" overreach itself, as it was clear from the moment it was taken that this fatuous decision could not be sustained. It has been overruled in a startling manner in the last days of May. Ireland's best friend, Mr. Arthur Balfour, unfolded in the House of Commons on May 21st an Irish programme of a far reaching character which was greeted with a general chorus of approval from all parts of the House of Commons and by every section of Irishmen. Mr. Carson, representing the landlords, pronounced the proposals "not only statesmanlike, but entirely in accordance with Unionist principles." Colonel Saunderson, of the same party, said the scheme "would give very great satisfaction." Mr. T. M. Healy said "that he had never known a Tory Government produce such a hopeful and auspicious statement of policy." Mr. John Redmond "could not remember any statement that was ever made, not only by any Conservative Government, but by any Government whatever—on this vexed Irish question, which has been received with so universal an expression of agreement as this." Even *The Daily Chronicle* was carried away by the sensational success achieved by Mr. Balfour's declaration of policy:—

"For what followed was one of the most remarkable orgies of

sheer universal benevolence that I have ever witnessed in the House of Commons. It reminded one of that curious episode in the history of the French Constitutional Assembly when strife was set aside, and all with one accord passed a unanimous resolution of universal affection."

A Jubilee Policy.

Mr. Balfour's Irish Policy—for the new development is generally credited to the Leader of the House of Commons, just as the Workmen's Compensation Bill is fathered on Mr. Chamberlain—has been promulgated too late in the month for detailed treatment here. We may only say that if its future can be judged by the spontaneous and general heartiness of its reception Mr. Balfour may be congratulated on one of the greatest triumphs of modern statesmanship. But any personal glory that may be acquired is a very small matter compared to the immense public gain of endowing Ireland with a solid and permanent institution which she feels herself able to accept and work in the spirit in which it is offered. In sketching the new programme Mr. Balfour recalled various Unionist pledges to reform county government in Ireland, and confessed that his own Bill of 1892 was abortive owing to its "elaborate precautions." At any rate the Cabinet believed that a unique opportunity had arisen for pushing on with this policy, and while effecting the promised extension of local government to Ireland they will be able to meet the financial claims "which have been put forward with so much energy and eloquence for the last few weeks." Next year, therefore, a measure will be introduced "to place both the Poor Law and county administration upon a broad and popular basis." This could only be done if the owners of land were relieved of their apprehensions of the extravagance of the new bodies. Therefore the landlords must be relieved of all rural rates in Ireland for the future. Roughly speaking, the landlord's liability for agricultural land at this moment consists in paying half the Poor Rate. That half the Government propose to pay out of Imperial funds. They also propose to relieve the tenant by paying half the county cess. While there is this double benefit to the two classes, the Government gain the object they have in view, viz., that of launching local government under circumstances which would enable it to work smoothly and safely for all classes.

Six Merits.

Any Bill for local government in Ireland should contain provisions to secure, first, that the tenant should reap the whole benefit of the half of the county cess to be given to him out of the Imperial Exchequer; and

secondly, that he should reap the whole benefit from any economies which might be introduced into the administrative system. On the other hand, the landlord ought to be protected from any extravagance due to the inexperience or design of the new county councils and Poor Law guardians. To insure the State against local extravagance and to secure to the localities the full benefit of any economies they may effect, the Imperial grant will be fixed in amount at about £650,000, *i.e.*, Ireland's fair share under the Agricultural Rating Bill. Mr. Balfour's proposals are at once seen to be lucid, simple, and most ingenious. No doubt the voice of criticism will in time be heard, but owing to his wisdom in taking the country into his confidence several months before the Bill is drafted he disarms hostility by inviting suggestion. After the bitter experience of the last thirty years we decline to be deliriously joyful over any Irish measure, but the new departure is brimful of promise for these reasons among others:—(1) The Unionist pledge with regard to local government is to be redeemed on Unionist lines. (2) The glaring grievance under the Rating Act is redressed. (3) Ireland's claim to compensation as a sufferer by the British fiscal system is recognized. (4) A substantial solatium is awarded to a cruelly despoiled class—the landlords. (5) The Imperial liability is strictly limited. (6) Mr. Healy, Mr. Redmond, and Colonel Saunderson are equally gratified.

COMPENSATION FOR ACCIDENTS BILL.

The Cabinet have produced their Compensation to Workmen for Injuries Bill. It ranks with the chief industrial measures of the Queen's Reign—indeed it would be difficult to point to any surpassing it in importance. Broadly speaking it makes the lives and limbs of some 6,000,000 workmen in the United Kingdom a first charge on the various industries to which they belong. This is from the point of view of the working-classes a very great step in advance of anything ever proposed by a British Government. In the trades to which the Bill applies—seamen, agricultural labourers, domestic servants, and workers in building trades where steam engines are not used, or in workshops without them, are without its scope—the employer has to give compensation in all cases of death or injury, no matter who was responsible for the accident, except in case of suicide, or voluntarily self-inflicted injuries. In case of death the "dependants" will get three years' wages or £150, whichever is the larger sum, but never more than £300. One of the best features in the Bill is the effort to keep disabled workmen out of the hands of speculative solicitors, and in this respect it offers a shining con-

trast to Mr. Asquith's abortive Bill, which Mr. Chamberlain very appropriately christened "a Lawyer's Employment Bill." The present Bill does not aim at employing lawyers or punishing employers, but simply at compensating unfortunate workmen who have been injured in the course of their calling. The amount of compensation, within the limits laid down above, is to be settled by arbitral committees, or else by an umpire to be named in case of disagreement by the County Court Judge. Another admirable feature of the Bill is the permission given to men to contract themselves out of it provided they can show to the Registrar of Friendly Societies that they get as good terms from their Insurance Society—endowed by the employer—as under the Act. The Bill was extremely well received by the great employers; *e.g.*, Mr. J. Wilson, claiming to be "an employer of about one-thirtieth part of the whole mining population of Scotland," expressed his hearty approval. Mr. Wolff, of the great Irish firm, followed suit. Mr. Asquith, on the other hand, who thinks that Codlin (Asquith) should be the friend of the working-classes, not Short (Chamberlain), took a green-eyed view of it, and *The Daily News* forthwith christened it "Ridley's Folly," Sir Matthew White Ridley having introduced it. The Opposition have, however, been wise enough to reconsider their attitude, and the House of Commons carried the second reading of the Folly *nemine contradicente*. The Trade Union leaders, though mostly keen Radical politicians, dare not oppose the Bill even if they wished, and in justice to them it must be said that they generally recognize what a splendid boon the Bill confers upon the working-classes.

Coal. Barristers dislike it, and solicitors loathe it, while colliery proprietors view it with much concern as they fear having a tremendous risk cast upon them. The illustration is given of an obstinate young fool who insists, in the face of remonstrance, on lighting his pipe in a mine at the cost of an explosion, and a loss of four hundred lives, for each of which at a moderate estimate the employer would have to pay £200. Total £80,000. It is affirmed that insurance against such a contingency would be a most expensive proceeding, and it is suggested that the royalty owner should in some way be made a contributory. It must be remembered that colliery proprietors are not necessarily millionaires, and that the industry is nothing like as lucrative or as robust as it was a few years ago. We hope it may be possible, however, to add one penny, or possibly twopence, to the price of coal per ton. This would be no hardship to the moderate consumer, who at present is served at absurdly low prices, and it is only fair that the burden of such a great national benefit as

general compensation for accidents should be spread over the shoulders of the whole community, and not imposed on any one class. The small consumer of coal who is already so infamously plundered by the little retailer, who sells a handkerchief full of bad coal at the rate of 100 shillings a ton, would not be affected if the price of the ton were put up twopence. The crux of the question is, of course, can the price of coal be raised in the face of foreign competition? No doubt when the Bill is discussed in Committee the whole question will be thrashed out and actuarial estimates of the cost of insurance will be forthcoming. We cannot understand the criticism of those who complain that the Bill, not being punitive, is not preventive, and that prevention is more important than compensation. You can't prevent accidents, but you can compensate their victims, and as compensation is costly and accidents are frequently painful, when not actually fatal, it will be everybody's interest under the operation of the new Act that accidents shall not take place. That is as effective a form of prevention as you can have. We regard the Bill as one of the greatest and most beneficial measures ever introduced by any Government, and we wish it a short and prosperous Parliamentary career. In is undoubtedly viewed with general favour.

THE ARBITRATION TREATY.

The final rejection of the remnant of the Arbitration Treaty by the United States Senate on May 5th, when the requisite two-thirds majority required by the Constitution to ratify treaties failed to be forthcoming, terminates one of the most diverting political comedies of the day. As the question was debated in "executive" or secret session, the reasons for the Senate's action can only be surmised, for it would be a breach of privilege for any Senator to divulge the debates. Newspaper speculation on the subject has been very wild; some of the American papers even treating the decision as "a rebuff to England," while one foolish person has talked about "a second Bunker's Hill," all of which adds to the gaiety of the situation. No doubt amiable enthusiasts in England, misled by the well-meaning and festive gush which the late American Ambassador, Mr. Bayard, used to pour forth on all occasions, said many fatuous things as to the millennium to be ushered in by the new treaty. But the great bulk of the British anticipated no such millennium. They regarded the signature of the treaty by their Ambassador in Washington as a graceful concession to the American people, who were supposed to cherish an indiscriminate affection for the cause of arbitration. The whole episode is a striking object-lesson on the complete severance between popular sentiment in the United

States and Executive action. Two successive Executives applauded arbitration, but public opinion rejected it. After all the wrath that is emptied on the Senate it remains the most representative, popular, authoritative, and independent body in the United States. To many of our readers—saturated with the abuse and ridicule which its enemies pour upon that body *via* New York—this view will sound paradoxical. Remember, however, that in American papers similar abuse and ridicule are bestowed upon the House of Lords, but we in England know that the House of Lords stands high in the esteem and confidence of the English people. It is more popular and more respected than the House of Commons, because it is more independent, and though hereditary, represents the best opinion of the country. Nor do we believe that the Senate of the United States has degenerated as its censors declare, certainly not relatively to the House of Representatives, for the latter has become a "one man House," in which freedom of speech has been stifled, freedom of action crippled, and where no man may lift his little finger without the leave of Mr. Reed, the Speaker. It has indeed sunk so low that permission to discuss the Dingley Bill, which stinks in the nostrils probably of the great majority of Americans, was actually withheld from it. Under the circumstances it is far safer to regard the Senate as undoubtedly the more important and representative body of the two, and we shall not be wrong in assuming that it acted in unison with American sentiment in repudiating the Arbitration Treaty.

AN AMERICAN FAD.

Never having been intoxicated with joy at the prospect of perpetual litigation with "our kin beyond the sea," which the Arbitration Treaty unfolded, we feel indisposed to tear our hair at its disappearance. They distrust litigation; that is the long and short of it, and have finally extinguished the best advertised "fad" of this generation. The fad was of American and not of British origin, and we sincerely sympathize with the eager and devoted enthusiasts who promoted it, in their bitter disappointment. The advocates of arbitration in the United States are a highly respected body of men, whose motives are admirable while their faith is touching. Unfortunately it is not shared by the bulk of their countrymen—hence the shipwreck of their movement. Their principal achievement was to capture Mr. Olney, the Secretary of State in the Cleveland Administration, a very able man, but a Bostonian and a lawyer. Now the word "arbitration" is rolled by the average Bostonian "as a sweet morsel under the tongue," and Mr. Olney as a lawyer not unnaturally believes that litigation is the solution

of all human woe. Consequently, when last year in the midst of the Venezuela negotiations, Lord Salisbury made a mild and tentative proposal to submit trivial disputes to arbitration, admitting that "to the warmer advocates of arbitration this plan will seem unsatisfying and imperfect," Mr. Olney at once replied welcoming the proposals, but pooh poohing their "cautiously restricted" character. In his turn he proposed a far bolder programme. A long correspondence ensued, in the course of which, in response to Mr. Olney's pressure, Lord Salisbury advanced step by step towards the sacred goal of the true faith. After various concessions, however, to the American view, Lord Salisbury was not very politely informed that his amended proposals must have "a tendency to bring all arbitration into contempt," for he desired that "all the forms and ceremonies of arbitration should be gone through with," while the essence of arbitration was left out. Mr. Olney stated the difference between the proposals of the two countries thus: "The latter (the proposals of the United States) is a genuine arbitration; the former is a mere imitation, which may have its uses, but like all other imitations, cannot compare in value with the real article."

A "Climb Down."

On the publication of the correspondence there was a great outbreak of gush in the two countries, and several editors had hysterics. Lord Salisbury was peremptorily called upon to meet America by large and liberal concessions. That Mr. Olney did not represent American public opinion hardly dawned upon any English person at the time* so persistently misinformed is this nation as to the sentiments of the most nearly related foreign Power. Ultimately, as we all know, Great Britain "climbed down" and a treaty was signed, calculated and designed to satisfy "the warmer advocates of arbitration" to whose views Lord Salisbury had demurred. The treaty was forthwith emasculated by the late Senate, and the present Senate has both emasculated and rejected it. The moral is one that we have strenuously preached in these pages, viz., that America is not identical with New York and Boston, and that an object of

* We hope we may not be deemed egotistical for recalling a comment we made in these pages last August: "If there is a genuine sentiment for arbitration in America, it is entitled to the profoundest respect, but is there such a sentiment beyond the professional, editorial, and literary America of the East? Do even the same classes in the Western States care a red cent about arbitration?" The New York *Sun* replied to our enquiry by a statement (which has been strikingly confirmed by subsequent events) that the supporters of arbitration in America, all working together, "could not influence a tenth of 1 per cent. of the popular vote," and that "there is not even in the East, any such thing as a sentiment for arbitration."

great enthusiasm in these cities may excite little or no enthusiasm in the greater community of which they form a part. The Senate has not gained "a second Bunker's Hill," but she has rejected a highly respectable Boston fad. We condole with Boston. But Great Britain is happily in no way damnified. We expressed her position three months ago in discussing the gutted treaty in language which remains true to-day:—

"The Senate has at any rate saved Great Britain from a Quaker campaign at a particularly critical juncture of European affairs, and has indeed strengthened the hands of the Philistines. The champions of adequate armament very forcibly point out that if the New World—the mother of arbitration—is hostile to its adoption, it is idle to suppose that serious European differences can be settled through its instrumentality. . . . We shall learn the ultimate fate of this treaty with perfect equanimity. We only ask that if the Senate is averse to arbitration it will frankly say so by rejecting the treaty. The amended draft would serve no useful purpose, as it is an arbitration treaty with all the arbitration taken out."

A Silver View of Arbitration.

Though we have never been able to share the enthusiasm for arbitration which animates many Americans, it must be recognized, in spite of the recent action of the Senate, that the devotees of the cause are in no way dismayed or shaken in their faith. We gladly quote the following passage from *The Farm Field and Fireside*, an excellent weekly paper published in Chicago, which has a great circulation among the farmers of the middle West. It shares the views on the Silver question of the 6½ millions of voters who supported Mr. Bryan last November, and expresses its belief in arbitration with much terseness, sobriety, and force. Had the common-sense of the editor of this paper directed the campaign of the arbitrationists—which has been run on hysterical lines—they would probably have gained their point—gush always starts a reaction. *The Farm Field and Fireside* of May 8th comments thus:—

"In some quarters of the United States, as in Europe, the Arbitration Treaty is misunderstood. It is no concession to Great Britain, and would in no sense be a subjection of our country in any policy to her dictation. It is the result of many years of agitation by those who are opposed to war. This treaty has the same relation to war that a public sentiment sustaining a court of law in place of duelling for settling personal difficulties has to that relic of barbarism. The first of this century some of our noblest statesmen, like Alexander Hamilton, and later Jonathan Cilley, were murdered in the duel, and this practice was sustained by a public sentiment in the South long after it had been discarded as degrading, cruel, and barbarous in the North. So now war may seem appropriate to the Turks or the Boers of South Africa, or the North-American Indian, but it is time that civilized nations should have their eyes open to its inevitable barbarities, its cruelty, its utter uselessness and indefensible character. Men, like Michael Davitt, who can see nothing good to come from the British Government, claim that a treaty of this kind will be taken as an endorsement of the British policy in sustaining the Turk, and in conniving at the destruction of the Boer Republic in South Africa and its other iniquitous doings. There is absolutely no ground for

this conclusion. We would make a similar treaty with Germany, France, and any other European nation. Its only purpose is to substitute peaceable methods, such as Grant suggested and tried at Geneva, for war. When the two great English-speaking and nominally Christian nations have adopted the broad and fraternal policy of arbitration, other civilized nations will soon follow."

EAST AND WEST.

Among the reasons alleged for the rejection of the Arbitration Treaty by the Senate is the disinclination of the American people to give an "indorsement" to British policy on the Eastern Question. *The Daily Chronicle* exultingly quotes the opinion of a Senator to the effect "that the one thing which had tended more than anything else to defeat it was England's action in having joined with the Powers to bombard the Cretans." The ratification of the Arbitration Treaty would have simply signified that the high contracting parties were prepared to adopt a particular mode of settling their mutual differences, and would in no respect have committed either of them to an approval of the other's policy towards third parties. Certain Cretan insurgents were bombarded because they advanced, in spite of repeated warnings, in a threatening manner on the handful of bluejackets landed by the ships of the Powers to protect life and property on shore. No other course was open to the Admirals, and an American Admiral in the position of the British Admiral would have had to act in precisely the same way, or he would have been subsequently courtmartialled and cashiered for wantonly endangering the lives of his men. Whether the bombardment was imperative or not it bore no relation, that we can discern, to the Arbitration Treaty. As well might Great Britain object to enter into a Bimetallic arrangement with the United States as a protest against lynching in Alabama, or, to take a closer analogy, because the Cuban policy of two American Administrations has been more cynical than that of Russia towards Armenia. Any British statesman who advanced so puerile a reason for refusing international co-operation would be speedily extinguished. There is fortunately no occasion to indulge in unprofitable recrimination about Crete and Cuba, for the American people, as distinguished from the American Government—over which the people lose virtually all control after the first week in every fourth November—are fairly aflame with indignation at the ghastly state of things in Cuba. Even President McKinley has so far departed from his inert policy as to send a message to Congress asking for a special vote to relieve starving Americans in that miserable island. It transpires that when a Sub-Committee from the Senatorial Committee on Foreign Relations asked to be shown the various Consular reports, "both the President and the Secretary of State placed their documents in the possession of the Sub-Committee,

but imposed a restriction that the names of the Consuls and the contents of the reports should not be made public," for "if the names of the Consuls were known, they would probably be assassinated"!

PUBLIC OPINION IN AMERICA.

On the 20th May, the Senate passed a resolution in favour of recognizing the belligerency of the Cuban insurgents. The great bulk of the American people desire to intervene in Cuba at all costs, but they have become almost accustomed to have their wishes overruled. We have repeatedly endeavoured to impress on our readers the true character of the Cuban agitation in America. It can only be compared in depth and intensity to the Armenian agitation in England last autumn, and it is infinitely more disinterested than the Greek passion to "liberate" Crete, which has excited so much admiration among those who have not read the last Blue Book. Cuba is the same distance from Florida as Ireland is from Wales, or Crete from Greece. It has been officially declared to be "an American question" and as such beyond the purview of European intervention, and Europe apparently acquiesces in that view. Conscientious Americans ask themselves "how are we discharging our responsibilities?" and they are told by the Administration "you musn't speak too loud or your Consuls in Cuba will be assassinated." The actual condition of the horrible pandemonium off their coast has recently been brought home to them in a vivid and authentic manner which is no doubt in part responsible for the fresh outbreak of feeling we are now witnessing in the States. Mr. Stephen Bonsal who served with distinction in the American diplomatic service was recently sent to Cuba by a leading New York paper to "write up" the Spanish side and silence his "jingo" compatriots, but we believe that after a couple of articles, further contributions from his pen were declined as too "rebel." At any rate, he now publishes the results of a thoroughly independent investigation in the American edition of *The Review of Reviews* (which is quite a distinct publication from Mr. Stead's). It is one of the most interesting magazine articles of the year, and is entitled "The Real Condition of Cuba To-day."

THE TWO CUBAS.

The writer describes the two Cubas that he has seen with his own eyes. They are divided from one another by the famous "trocha," which, if it serves no military purpose, divides "Free Cuba" from "Spanish Cuba." In the former, which is controlled by the insurgents, the farmers occupy their homesteads, and have to a great extent escaped the horrors of the war, though their occupations are liable to interruption, as the Spaniards hold what they are

pleased to call "strategic points" in these provinces. The maintenance of these points is a heavy drain on the Spanish army and a great boon to the Cubans, as one of their armies (under Calixto Garcia) "has been almost exclusively fed, clothed, and armed with the stores captured from the military convoys which are sent up to revictual these inland garrisons." West of the "trocha" lies "Spanish Cuba," where very different conditions are observable: "The whole country has been reduced to a mass of ruins and ashes by what General Weyler has been pleased to call due process of military law. With the exception of some twenty or thirty Centrales, or sugar estates, there has not been kept standing a single house, not even a *guano* hut, in these four provinces (Santa Clara, Matanzas, Havana, and Pinar del Rio), outside of the Spanish lines surrounding the occupied towns." Then follows this amazing statement:—"While these sugar estates have been guarded by large bodies of regular Spanish troops, and by bands of irregulars, *movilzadors*, as they are called, I am well within the truth when I say that not even upon these estates, which fly the Spanish flag, which are surrounded by innumerable forts and trochas on a small scale, a single sack has been made that has not paid the tax imposed by the local prefects of the Cuban Republic." And this is in what is conceded to be "Spanish Cuba." Under the famous Weyler proclamation of *reconcentracion* men, women, and children found within eight days after its promulgation in any part of this desert are to be regarded as rebels, and shot down in cold blood, though as a special act of clemency the women and children are occasionally spared and kept as prostitutes. Spanish troops and irregulars roam about "Spanish Cuba," but rarely come in contact with the enemy, and there have not been any operations attempted by General Weyler for six months in "Free Cuba." The rains have now commenced and all operations are everywhere impossible until the autumn, and General Weyler's second campaign is at an end. What are the results and what are the prospects of the Weyler policy which was inaugurated with so much pomp and promise? He assumed command fourteen months ago, since when 250,000 men have been placed at his disposal, and £26,000,000 have been spent by the unhappy and ill-served Spanish people. These resources have been squandered without appreciable returns.

WHAT SPANISH SUCCESS MEANS.

It has long been clear to all acquainted with the facts that even if a miracle happened, and Spain at the eleventh hour triumphed over the insurrection, the island would be irretrievably ruined. Cuba would be saddled with a debt the interest on which would be £6,000,000 per annum, and an army of occupation of at least 100,000, which

even under honest administration would cost another £15,000,000 annually; in fact, with other expenses the total budget of the island would be over £20,000,000, for she could expect no assistance from the mother country, who will have in any case to repudiate her own obligations. Mr. Bonsal points out that Cuba has never been able to produce more than £6,000,000 in taxes under the most favourable conditions, and the war has utterly destroyed her resources. "It is only in studying these figures, which can neither be denied nor explained away, that I have been able to fathom the somewhat contradictory attitude of the Spanish land-owner, and, in fact, of every Spaniard who has a financial interest in the welfare of the island. He is invariably loyal to a fault, but he earnestly prays that he may be spared from enjoying the bitter fruits of the victory to which he has patriotically contributed." The reforms are regarded as a mere ruse, but the time has gone by even for serious reforms, and the issue between the combatants is now clearly understood—one side is endeavouring to exterminate "all who desire to throw off the Bourbon yoke," while the other side is fighting for "independence, complete and unconditional, and without any limitation of any kind or description. Autonomy would not be satisfactory, not even the autonomy of Canada." General Weyler's Plan of Campaign has indeed made all compromise impossible; it has earned the title of "El Vencedor de los Pacificos, or the Conqueror of the Non-Combatants, a name which will never die, because it justly describes a campaign which cannot escape a shameful immortality, which will be remembered when every Spaniard, worthy of the name, will wish to cover up its many atrocities and many crimes with the cloak of oblivion." We will not harrow our readers by descriptions of the utterly destitute and starving condition of the population in the towns under Spanish control. "I found them everywhere in the same state, completely stupified by the sufferings and the misery they had undergone, and the prospect of impending famine, starvation, and plague which confronts them." Their frightful fiasco has brutalized the Spanish authorities, and Spanish action has ceased to be civilized, and has reverted to barbarism. Military success is no longer sought, but in its place we have the steady extermination of a noxious population, whose women and old men have been driven into the towns, where they are slowly starved to death. Another means of getting rid of the enemy is by exile:—

"The mail steamers leave Havana for Spain every ten days. During the *régime* of General Weyler these packets have carried on the average two hundred *deportados* each voyage, or six hundred a month, or about eight thousand four hundred during the fourteen months General Weyler has acted as Captain-General. Campos deported fewer, about two thousand during his stay in Cuba.

So we find that since the beginning of the war at least ten thousand of the most prominent citizens of Cuba have been torn from their families, without charge or explanation, and sentenced to exile, generally for life, to the filthy, overcrowded *galeras* of Ceuta or the deadly swamps of Fernando Po, in comparison with which places Siberia is a terrestrial paradise. I cannot recall a single Cuban family of prominence that does not mourn as dead at least one member banished to these penal settlements. With a good constitution and plenty of money to bribe the jailers it is possible to survive in Ceuta, but no one comes back from Fernando Po."

"A Character To Redeem."

We venture upon a final quotation from Mr. Bonsal's article because he is an unprejudiced observer and because owing to the rooted determination of some of the American gentlemen who furnish information from the other side to travesty and malign the sentiment and actions of their countrymen, some of our readers may have acquired a wholly false impression of the heartfelt horror of the American people at the hideous scenes of which they are virtually the witnesses.

"Of the many true statements of fact and accurate descriptions of the situation that are to be found in President Cleveland's comprehensive message on the Cuban question which was sent to Congress in December last, no one was recalled so frequently to my recollection as I travelled in Cuba, as that sentence in which he says: 'The United States, nevertheless, has a character as a nation to maintain.' Perhaps after our delay, our inactivity, which has permitted atrocities to be committed, and a policy of extermination to be enforced which is without a parallel in modern history, and a war to be waged according to the Mosaic law almost within our borders, and well within the sphere of our political influence, we must admit that if six months ago we had a character to maintain as a nation in the vanguard of the powers of civilization and of humanity, we now have that character to redeem. At all events, our Government and our people are on trial before the tribunal of the civilized world. And the result of the trial will be to prove whether Romero Robledo, and other Spanish statesman of his rank, and a very great majority of Spanish publicists, are correct when they describe the Americans simply as a race of white Hottentots, singularly successful in barter, in packing pork, and in other revolting ways of amassing sordid gold, but a civilized people, with traditions and ideals, never!

"During the last forty years all the interested Powers have recognized expressly or implicitly the position publicly assumed by our Government. So, however unpleasant it may be, we must admit that when the consular representatives of France and of England in Cuba say, as I have heard many of them say, in commenting upon the unparalleled horrors of the situation, that the Government and people of our country are directly responsible for all the bloody crimes that are committed in the name of warfare, they are right. I believe that our share of responsibility for all this blood guiltiness is a heavy one. We have announced our peculiar rights as to Cuba; we have said to other nations that they must keep their hands off; we block the way and stop all interference, and assist Spain the while to encompass her ends by the activity of our fleet and the exertions of our federal officers.

"I once remember hearing a Congressman say, one who has since been retired from public life by a well-nigh unanimous expression of public opinion, that 'We want Cuba, but we want it without a single Cuban on it.' I do not want Cuba, but I protest against our Government assisting the Spaniards in the campaign which, if

not interrupted, will end in the extermination of a race which, born on American soil, has not unnaturally accepted American ideas and American aspirations. As I claim, the warfare that is being carried on in Cuba under our auspices is without a parallel in modern history. The atrocities committed by the Turks in Bulgaria, in Macedonia, and in Armenia, pale before the acts which are committed in Cuba at our very doors, not covertly and in secret, but publicly and before all the world in obedience to a proclamation of the Captain-General, the responsible Officer of Her Catholic Majesty. I make this broad statement advisedly, and I think with justification, for I visited the scenes of the Bulgarian atrocities a very few years after they were committed, when their memory was fresh in the remembrance of the survivors, and I was personally an eye-witness to the outrages in Macedonia during the summer of 1890."

A PROTEST.

We have discussed the Cuban question at considerable length, though it is not an English question, and so far as we can see does not—in the selfish sense of the term—touch any British interest. We have sought to impress on our readers the sentiment of practically all Americans who are not mere money-grubbers towards the continuance of the hideous scandal at their very doors. The present writer has discussed the subject with a great number of the best Americans, who feel greatly humiliated by their Government's inaction, which they regard as a gross failure to discharge a duty to civilization. That is for them to settle, however, with their own Government. What we do most emphatically protest against in the interests of such cordial relations between the two Anglo-Saxon nations as may be possible—our well-advised Washington contributor's article prevents our sharing the Bryce-Bayard Fool's Paradise—is the wilful and mendacious abuse which *The Times* New York correspondent is allowed to heap daily upon every American movement viewed askance by his own contemptible coterie. (The New York *Sun*, under the brilliant editorship of Mr. Charles A. Dana, has been at the head of the movement for the emancipation of Cuba. It has rendered a conspicuous service to civilization and humanity by its steadiness in keeping the condition of that unhappy island before the American people. By one of those incalculable ironies, it apparently goes against the grain of *The Sun* ever to give Great Britain credit for any of the civilizing work.) If *The Times* correspondent were paid a princely salary to aggravate the relations between Great Britain and the United States he could not cable more poisonous or perilous twaddle than the following, which appeared in *The Times* of May 14th:—

"It is worth noting, since the President is supposed to take some interest in silver, that one ground of his objection to the Senate resolution is the support of it by the Silverites, and the certainty that it is one part of their many-sided scheme to compel the Treasury to abandon gold payments. To that the President,

for all his coquetry with bimetallism, is inflexibly opposed. *Nor does the country fail to take notice that the Silver Party shows itself ready to plunge into war in order to increase the gains of the silver mine-owners.*"

The conductors of *The Times* can hardly be conscious of the prestige of their paper abroad, or they would not allow its columns to be defiled by such drivelling rubbish as the suggestion that the cupidity of silver mine-owners is the mainspring of the Cuban movement in the States. We console ourselves by the reflection that *The Times'* American correspondent is not an Englishman—any decent Englishman would at once appreciate an "Armenian" agitation when he sees it, and whether he sympathized with its objects or not, would abstain from calumny as idiotic as it is infamous. The only parallel to such criticism that we can recall is the Russian suggestion that Great Britain fomented Armenian risings in order to grab Armenia. We hope that *The Times*, which we are sure is not animated by any intentional unfairness, and which has both a splendid record of humanitarian work behind it, and a sincere desire to see friendly relations established with the United States, will try and mitigate the blind ferocity of its representative in New York. Americans regard him as an international outrage.

JAPAN AND THE GOLD STANDARD.

Further reports upon the Japanese monetary change enable us fully to confirm the sketch which we gave in our April number of Japan's important new departure. *The Times* correspondent in Tokio furnished his journal (May 10th) with a careful and thoughtful study, which will have to be decently forgotten before the hack leader-writer of *The Times* is commissioned to write his next article on bimetallism. We are not concerned here to dilate upon the "mechanics" of the change, and need only note that our inference as to the ratio chosen (32·34, or more exactly 32·348 to 1) is confirmed, viz., that the old gold coins will be kept in circulation with their nominal values doubled (the old Japanese ratio having been 16·17 to 1). That is to say, as compared with her status in 1871 and the few years following, Japan has adopted the fifty cent dollar, and has chosen to render permanent the advantage which a 100 per cent. gold premium (as compared with her said former status) has given her over ourselves and other peoples which have "enjoyed" the gold standard all this time. The future fate of the silver yen is of great speculative interest; but this, also, is of secondary importance beside the international significance of the new standard. The Japanese are not merely closing their mints to silver, as the French did in 1873; they are undertaking the demonetization of the existing silver yen. It may be, as Mr. Ottomar Haupt would have us think, that they

meant to under-value silver in order that the silver yen might quit the country. If so, they singularly miscalculated the moral and commercial effect of their action, for silver has fallen to such a price that it is over-valued by their new ratio, which will not only keep existing silver yens in Japan, but will tend to bring them back from other Eastern countries for the redemption in gold money intended for them (but not yet definitely promised) by the new Act. The future, therefore, of the silver yen is shrouded in uncertainty.

THE HISTORY OF THE CHANGE.

So, we must remark, is the history of the change. The true story of this Japanese monetary *coup* has yet to be written, and *The Times* correspondent seems to be aware of a *non-sequitur* in the proceedings :—

"It cannot be said that the measure was preceded by thorough discussion, or by any general consent of popular intelligence and will. Four years ago, indeed, a Commission was appointed by the Japanese Government to investigate the problem of the two metals, and, after deliberations extending over twenty-two months, a majority of the Commissioners recorded their opinion that the adoption of the gold standard would be advantageous, but that the time for such a step had not arrived. Scarcely any attention was paid by the nation at large to that decision. Very few people noticed even what the decision had been. The vernacular press hardly alluded to it, and the general feeling was that the subject belonged wholly to the field of academical discussion. Much surprise was felt, therefore, when some of the leading journals announced about a month ago that the Cabinet seriously contemplated the introduction of the gold standard. At first the announcement did not receive credence ; but, as details too accurate to be the invention of mere newsmongers began to find their way into print, people understood that the momentous change had really entered the arena of practical politics. Still, it was difficult to conceive that any attempt would be made to carry a measure of such magnitude through the Legislature in the closing days of a short Session, and that no opportunity would be afforded for the nation at large to express its views. Japanese statesmen, however, are nothing if not resolute. On the 2nd of March, a Bill, embodying a drastic scheme of currency reform, was placed in the hands of the House of Representatives. The Minister of Finance personally introduced it in a speech lasting nearly an hour and a half. By the House, it was entrusted, as the law of Parliamentary precedure directs, to a special committee. Eight days afterwards the committee reported in favour of the project, and the House, after eight hours' debate, passed the Bill through all its readings by a majority such as had seldom been previously recorded in the Japanese Diet."

That there is strong opposition to the measure among the classes to whose industrial and commercial activity Japan owes her recent progress (under the silver standard) is quite certain, though this opposition is naturally much less than it would have been if the new standard yen had been made more valuable than the silver yen, and prices had therefore been depressed. The nature of the opposition is made clearer, and the genesis of the new law is made more obscure, by reference to the findings of the Commission mentioned above. They found, *inter alia*, (1) that, although the progress of Japan was doubtless due to the intelligence and energy of

her people, it had been accomplished by the help of the change of relative value between gold and silver; thanks to this change, they manufactured at home the things which they had before imported, and only had to buy the raw materials; (2) that the accompanying increase in public expenditure was more than compensated by the development of industry, agriculture, and trade, which caused a parallel increase in the State's resources; (3) that any loss to creditors by the diminished purchasing power of money was compensated by the increased demand for capital arising from the country's prosperity; (4) that any loss to those in receipt of fixed incomes was much mitigated by the increasing demand for labour and services; (5) that the rise in the price of goods imported from gold-standard countries was counteracted by the increase in exports, the raised prices of imported goods serving like protective duties in stimulating the national production.

THE REASON OF THE CHANGE.

The Times correspondent, doubtless well-acquainted with the results of this Commission, asks himself why Japan has skipped off on to a gold standard, but cannot find a satisfactory answer. First of all he says emphatically that it was *not* the inconvenience of silver coinage. "By way of object lesson to economists, who denounce silver money on account of its clumsy bulkiness, it may be interesting to note that during all the years of the Japanese people's allegiance to silver they never experienced any of the inconveniences popularly ascribed to it. The precious metals played virtually no part in their daily business transactions." That is to say, they used exactly as much or as little silver as they wanted and let the rest lie in reserve. "Moreover,"—and here the writer comes to the kernel of the subject, but neglected, alas! to consider the feelings of Mr. Smalley and his New York friends,—"Moreover, Japan throve splendidly on her silver system. She found herself always in the pleasant position of selling in a rising market and buying in a falling. Thus stimulated, her foreign trade developed with extraordinary rapidity. In 1878, when the yen exchanged for 4s., her exports and imports totalled 58½ million yen; in 1896, when the yen had fallen to nearly one-half of that price in sterling, her exports and imports aggregated 289½ millions." The gradual oncoming of the fifty cent dollar appears to have been excellent business. Two reasons are suggested to account for the new departure; first, the belief that the anti-silver tide has reached its ebb. This ground was explained in our former notice. "Undoubtedly one of the reasons influencing the advocates of the change is a conviction that silver has reached virtually its lowest point; that its rehabilitation may be expected before long; and

that its sterling price will rise largely within the next few years. Having been made rich by silver that cheapened in terms of gold, they now hope to take advantage of the reverse process in order to benefit by the prospective appreciation of silver." Secondly, the wish, or need, to borrow in gold countries—an obvious conjecture, which has been proved true already by the issue of a loan.

THE MORAL.

The moral of the matter is hard to find; but *The Journal of Finance* (May) does not err in saying: "It has been asserted by a shrewd observer that Japan apes civilization rather than introduces it; and colour is lent to this pronouncement by the adoption of the gold standard. Surely, no painstaking study could lead to such a decision; for every Japanese who investigates the matter in Europe and America must find that men of science are bimetallists almost to a man, whilst among business men the number of those who favour the double standard grows daily. But Japan, seeing that most civilized countries are on a gold basis, has drawn wrong inferences from that fact, and has followed them in their error." And for the United States, the country most vexed to-day about things monetary, there is a moral to hand, which we have already hinted at. The United States chose the gold standard *in prospectu* in 1873, and actually resumed payments thereon in 1879, confirming their choice. Japan, as *The Times* correspondent informs us, chose the gold standard in 1871, but quickly abandoned the choice and settled upon the silver standard. The United States were admittedly never so prosperous as when they were working on paper with a gold premium; and they might have done what Japan did, and abandoned the struggle to maintain the gold standard, which has brought them to their present *impasse*. Japan "throve splendidly" upon silver; the United States failed magnificently upon gold. Now we are told by the gold extremists in New York that a silver standard in America would mean general ruin. In the Land of the Rising Sun, under silver, the sun has risen to his zenith; in the Land of the Stars and Stripes, under silver, the whole sky would fall. Well—the intelligent reader may judge. But it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that "talking gold" sometimes means talking nonsense.

THE FIRE IN PARIS.

An appalling disaster occurred in Paris on Tuesday afternoon, May 4th, at a charitable bazaar, which was being held in a temporary structure in the Rue Jean Goujon, situated in the Champs Elysées quarter. The building caught fire owing to the imprudent use of a

match near some ether which was being poured into a lamp connected with a kinematograph. Within a few minutes the whole building was in a blaze. At the time all the stalls were occupied by the ladies, who were keeping them with their friends and attendants. The place was full of visitors, nearly all women, in their gossamer toilettes. Some 1,200 persons were in the hall. There were eight doors to the building, but most of them were unknown. There were only two visible exits, which became immediately blocked by frantic fugitives. The roof, the scenery, the ladies' dresses and their hats all seemed to flare up in one minute. The conflagration was at an end within half an hour, during which some 150 people were consumed. The victims were some of the most fashionable ladies in Paris. Among them was the Duchess d'Alençon, sister of the Empress of Austria. The following terrible description appeared in *The Times* :—

"The building in which the bazaar was held faces No. 26, Rue Jean Goujon, where the stables of Baron Alphonse de Rothschild are situated. One of the Baron's grooms named Gamard, who was standing in the doorway of No. 26, was better able than almost any spectator to give an account of the disaster which he witnessed from its very beginning. In the course of an interview he said :—I have never seen a more appalling sight. In less than five minutes there was nothing left of the Charity Bazaar. It was about twenty minutes past four when I saw a woman, who I afterwards learned was the Comtesse de Resse, rush out of the bazaar into the street shouting 'Fire, fire!' I looked to see where the fire was, and saw nothing but a little smoke, a sort of steam, which rose from the roof of the structure, near the centre. I could not think why the woman was in such a fright, when suddenly I heard a kind of roar or rather confused murmur. Then instantly the roof burst into flames, just like a box of matches to which you set fire. Instantly there was a rush of people like a wave into the street. Terror was depicted on every face. The hair of some was burning and the clothes of others were scorched. There was such a crush from the inside of the building to the door that ten women fell together in a heap on the pavement. Those following naturally tumbled pell-mell over their bodies, crushing and bruising them, and the poor women shrieked in agony. It was heartrending. I rushed out to try and lift some of them up, but I was completely driven back by the flood of frenzied people who, with death behind them, poured forth from the blazing building, shrieking with agony. Many threw themselves to the ground and rolled from side to side in an attempt to stifle the flames which were consuming their faces. One lady, whose name I do not know, had reached the street in safety. Then, apparently noticing that someone, her child perhaps, was not with her, she had the sublime courage to turn and force her way back against the human torrent, biting and scratching like a mad creature to gain a path for herself, and re-entered the furnace, from which there can hardly be a doubt she never again emerged. Then came men with hair and beards in flames. Among them I saw General Munier with his clothes ablaze. In his agony he ran into the courtyard in front of the Baron de Rothschild's stables, and seeing a trough full of water jumped into it. Fetching a quantity of hose, we turned jets of water on to the burning people, and so saved several from being roasted alive."

This ghastly event threw not less than a thousand of the best known families in France into mourning. Messages of condolence

were poured in from all the Sovereigns of Europe, and munificent donations were sent. Among them was one for £40,000 on the part of the Countess de Castellane for the purchase of a plot of ground and the construction thereon of a safe, durable, and commodious building for the annual charity *fêtes* of Paris. *The Figaro* opened a subscription which ran up to £50,000. Words are futile in presence of such an awful calamity. The sympathy has to be silent; but one wonders how it is that such a terrible warning should be necessary to secure an innocent public from the possibility of entering a building which, in the event of fire, must be a death-trap.

WAR THROUGH PEACE SPECTACLES.

PROPHETS of evil have doubtless existed from the earliest times, and their uses are unquestioned. Although Cassandra appears to have been regarded as a bore by the light-hearted Trojans, her slighted warnings might, we are given to understand, have saved Agamemnon from the hatchet stroke of Clytemnestra. There will always be minds so constituted, or so trained, as to incline towards gloomy vaticinations, paradox, or views of any kind believed to differ from those generally accepted. This may be due to the attractions which criticism offers, to natural combativeness, or to unconscious pessimism. In the world of politics, a minority inevitably tends to strengthen its language in proportion to its numerical weakness, and the greater the measure of a national effort, the more positively will the existence of some fatal flaw be asserted.

During the present reign, the British Empire has passed through periods of deadly peril—periods when the outbreak of a great war would have found the Navy hopelessly inadequate and certain disaster must have followed. In 1840, Lord Colchester stated in the House of Commons that the available naval strength in home waters consisted of three guardships with one-third crews, one frigate of thirty-six guns, and some schooners. There were then two sail of the line at Lisbon, and twelve in the Mediterranean, while the *personnel* of the Navy amounted to about 35,000 men. France at this time had forty sail of the line and twelve frigates, besides smaller vessels, with a total of 34,000 men. Russia counted forty-one sail of the line, twenty-nine frigates, and more than 44,000 men. The British fleet was actually weaker than in 1792, when the population of the United Kingdom was less than one-half, and the resources less than one-fourth those of 1840. On the sea, as pointed out by Lord Minto, then first Lord of the Admiralty, it would have been scarcely possible to withstand Russia alone. "Looking back to the extraordinary infatuation of these times, and the enormous perils with which it was attended, we feel as if reflecting on the movements of a somnambulist on the edge of

a precipice, whom a single false step might at any moment have precipitated into the abyss."*

In 1859, a Parliamentary Committee, appointed to enquire into the relative strength of the British and French navies, arrived at the following totals of ships then available:—

	British.	French.
Line	29	29
Frigates	26	34
Total	55	63

Of ships building and completing, there were:—

Line	21	11
Frigates	8	12
Total	29	23
Total built and building ...	84	86

Public opinion being aroused, line of battleships were hastily added to the fleet to become almost immediately obsolete in consequence of the introduction of armour and iron hulls. From this period onwards, for nearly 30 years, there is no sign of a stable policy founded upon definite principles, and ruled by national requirements. Expenditure on ship-building fluctuated in sympathy with recurring scares,† frequently falling to equality with or even below that of France. The Naval Defence Act of 1889, marked the beginning of a real national effort brought about by the earnest endeavours of individual writers with the strong support of the Press and of the mercantile community. In the records of Her Majesty's wonderful reign, there is nothing more remarkable than this naval movement, to which our history furnishes no parallel. Notable additions have been made to the Navy, and a standard has at length been authoritatively laid down. The result appears in the Admiralty Return of August, 1896, from which the following figures are taken:—

SHIPS BUILT AND BUILDING.

Class.	Great Britain		France.		Russia.	
	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.
Battleships	57	634,510	35	325,971	18	179,000
Cruisers { Armoured	18	137,250	10	60,712	11	82,273
Cruisers { Protected	116	484,625	37	130,291	5	25,038
Cruisers { Unprotected	16	44,290	7	22,749	3	8,400
Coast Defence Vessels	15	58,430	14	41,628	16	48,738
Torpedo Vessels	22	27,840	13	9,212	17	14,316
,, Destroyers	93	—	—	—	5	—
,, Boats‡	81	—	191	—	74	—

At the same time, the *personnel* of the fleet has been steadily in-

* Alison.

† See *The British Navy for 100 Years*, by C. McL. McHardy.

‡ Above 100 feet in length.

creased and will shortly reach 100,000 men, thus exceeding by more than 25,000 men the standing force of France and Russia combined. Measures have also been taken on a large scale for meeting the many other war needs of the Navy. I do not for a moment contend that the results of the past dangerous impolicy have been wholly obliterated. Much yet remains to be done; but the present Board of Admiralty has a right to the full confidence of the nation. For some years effort directed to definite ends has been consistently sustained, and the powerful appeal to reason and to history has by no means spent its force.

Effort so unusual and so consistent has, quite naturally, stimulated the activities of our Cassandras, to whom the signs of the restoration of the ancient faith in the Navy, indicating an unaccustomed national hopefulness, are naturally anti-pathetic. The publicist, who is always with us, sees his chances, and is not slow to turn them to account. There are writers like Mr. G. W. Steevens who cannot make up their minds as to whether the British Navy is the "first in the world or the last," but evidently incline to the latter hypothesis. Others, such as Mr. T. Gibson Bowles, have convinced themselves that a much smaller Navy than that which Great Britain now possesses, would "more than suffice . . . not merely to destroy the enemy's commerce, and to drive his merchantmen from the seas, but also to protect her own commerce, and to secure safety for her own merchantmen." But our present Navy is a delusion, because "the Declaration of Paris would ruin our shipowners; would but very imperfectly protect our merchants; and would not protect at all the nation at large from starvation, or the nation's fleets from coal famine." A third group of writers and speakers stoutly affirm that naval strength is unavailing, unless a year's corn supply is always stored in the United Kingdom, and that an enemy, by timely speculation on foreign Corn Exchanges, could starve us into submission without firing a shot.

I do not propose to discuss the vexed questions of relative naval strength and of the naval requirements of the Empire. The present standard of our cruiser force is not, in my opinion, adequate to the demands which may be made upon it; but the rehabilitation of the Navy cannot be accomplished in a few years, and its numerous and varying needs must be gradually supplied.

On the other hand, the supposed disabilities arising out of the Declaration of Paris can be examined with advantage. It is on all accounts desirable that we should know how we stand under existing arrangements, and the voice of Cassandra frequently upraised may create superfluous misgivings.

I have already dealt with the views of Mr. Gibson Bowles,*

* *The Navy and the Nation.*

which are mutually destructive and regardless of history to a surprising extent. The British case against the Declaration of Paris has been recently stated by Mr. Nicholas Synnott* with moderation and some attempt to meet the logical objections. His general contention is that the existing rules of maritime warfare constitute "a grave peril to our carrying trade on the one hand, and seriously hamper us in our power of injuring the enemy on the other," and that it is possible and essential for Great Britain to "announce her adhesion to the old doctrine which she consistently maintained in all her naval wars from the days of Howard and Drake to the time of Collingwood and Nelson."

The Rules embodied in the Declaration of Paris are as follows:—

I. Privateering is and remains abolished.

II. The neutral flag protects enemy's merchandise, except contrabrand of war.

III. Neutral merchandise, except contrabrand of war, cannot be captured under the enemy's flag.

IV. Blockades to be obligatory must be effective.

Rules I. and II. furnish the usual texts of the publicist. Rules III. and IV. in Mr. Synnott's view, made "no alteration in the recognized doctrine and practice of civilized nations, and it is ununlikely their provisions will ever meet with serious dissent." Rule III. was, however, set at naught by Great Britain and France—both claiming to be "civilized nations," in the wars of the French Revolution and Empire; while Rule IV. has given rise and is certain again to give rise to "dissent," since few things are more difficult to define than effective blockade. In place of being regarded as "recognized doctrine and practice," this Rule also was absolutely violated by the British Government and by Napoleon. The former proclaimed blockades which no practicable measure of naval supremacy could have rendered effective; the latter ordained the close blockade of the United Kingdom at a time when no French squadron could put to sea. It is clear, therefore, that no special sanction on the ground of general recognition can be claimed for Rules III. and IV.

Privateering is regarded by the publicist as a special weapon of peculiar value to this country. As a matter of fact, it is a mere relic of barbarism—a legacy of days when private war by sea or land was an habitual proceeding, and when highly organized States did not exist. The depredations of the Norsemen upon our coasts were mainly acts of private war, which was carried on in much later periods by the gentlemen adventurers. The fleet of the Cinque Ports could and did make war in 1293 on its own account. In the reign of Richard II., Alderman John Philpot, of London,

* *Fortnightly Review*, April, 1897.

equipped a small squadron, which defeated the force of Mercer, a Scottish freebooter, and captured some rich prizes. Such measures were natural when highly organized national navies had not arisen, and when the present centralization of authority in the State was unknown. The system led to the grossest abuses, and was little if at all removed from piracy. The opinion of Nelson, speaking with full knowledge, deserves to be recalled. "Respecting privateers," he wrote,* "I own I am decidedly of opinion that with very few exceptions they are a disgrace to our country; and it would be truly honourable never to permit one after this war." "But all privateers are very incorrect, and I sincerely wish there was no such vessels allowed. They are only one degree removed from pirates."† "If I had the least authority whatever in controlling the privateers, whose conduct is so disgraceful to the British nation, I would instantly take their commissions from them."‡ Nelson again and again returns to the subject in the same terms. Privateering—as it existed at the beginning of this century—could not now be carried on by any belligerent without incurring universal reprobation, certain in the long run to inflict grave injury upon his cause. Even more hopelessly impracticable are now the proceedings of Drake, to which Mr. Synnott wishes us to revert. Thus Rule I. of the Declaration of Paris simply recognizes an evident fact arising out of modern conditions. A Power which had not subscribed to the Declaration would none the less find itself obliged, from motives of pure self-interest, to severely regulate the action of its privateers. The proceedings of the "sanctioned robbers," which roused the anger of Nelson, are possible only when, as in his days, the susceptibilities of neutrals are of little or no account.

In tacitly assuming that Rule I. prevents a nation from bringing its whole maritime resources to bear upon an enemy, the publicist begs the entire question. There is nothing to hinder any Power from making suitable arrangements to employ every available ship and every available man in naval operations, against an enemy, and most Great Powers are making preparations with this object. The State, if it has occasion, can now do all that the syndicate or the private ship-owner formerly accomplished—and more effectually. Any national vessel, from a Cunarder to a harbour tug, can be transformed into a ship of war, and any officer, seaman, or stoker, can be added to the Royal Navy for the purposes of war by the simplest means. The inducements held out to the official privateersman may be even greater than those which sufficed

* To H. Addington, 27th May, 1801.
† To T. Jackson, 10th February, 1804.
‡ To W. Marsden, 7th August, 1804.

to attract his predecessor, since the State can dispose of prize money as it pleases and need not, like the syndicate or private owner, have an eye to personal profits.* The much bewailed first Rule, therefore, does not impose any restriction upon the State, which cannot possibly be deprived of the inalienable right to bring the whole of its resources to bear upon the needs of war within limits fixed only by its own capacity for organization.

The publicist, however, will retort that, under the operation of Rule II., there could be nothing to capture. Mr. Gibson Bowles has even discovered that the British Navy would join the ranks of the unemployed on the outbreak of a great naval war. It would not, he states, "in all probability, find so much as an enemy to fight with. Why should the enemy fight under these circumstances?" Mr. Synnott, on the other hand, admits that Rule I. is "too loose and inexact to be of any value as a prohibition"; but regards privateering as a system which, if employed against Great Britain, would commend itself to neutrals. He holds, however, that the first Rule, "is primarily a concession to belligerents, the second a concession to neutrals." The two Rules cannot be considered apart; since, as I have shown, the first standing alone can have no practical effect in restraining the action of a belligerent.

The consequences of Rule II.—that the neutral flag covers enemy's merchandise, except contrabrand—are clear to Mr. Gibson Bowles. "British merchant ships," he writes, "would at once—not merely on the outbreak, but on the mere rumour of war—cease to find employment." Mr. Synnott puts the case more cautiously, but states that "the inevitable result" of this fateful Rule "would be that our ships would lie up in port or be transferred or sold to neutrals." In these circumstances, "the stronger Power whose fleets are able to keep the seas is the one that is injured, whilst the weaker obtains, through the neutral, aid and reinforcement which he cannot provide himself." And again, "the weaker belligerent will find that fear of capture by its cruisers can thus indirectly sweep away its enemy's commercial marine, whilst the navy of the stronger is deprived of its natural objective—starving the enemy into submission." *A fortiori*—though this fact is generally ignored—the greater fear inspired by the cruisers of the stronger belligerent must sweep away *his* enemy's commercial marine; but it seems to be believed that the trade of any belligerent except Great Britain would be recovered when war ended, while we, even if victorious at sea, must find our loss irrevocable. In a Franco-British war, therefore, according to the prophets, the French and British commercial marines will be "swept away" under the operation of Rule II., either

* The French privateer *Bordelais*, captured in 1799, is stated to have brought her owners a profit of a million sterling in four years.

rotting in their respective ports or being transferred to neutrals, and Great Britain—at sea the stronger belligerent—will be unable to bring any maritime pressure to bear upon her enemy.

A variety of assumptions are here involved, which the publicist either ignores altogether, or touches so lightly as to lull suspicion. And, further, a veil is artistically disposed over the conditions and the proceedings of the last great naval war, which conditions and proceedings, it is implied, can be, and in our highest interests ought to be, reproduced to-day.

The suggestion of Mr. Gibson Bowles that British merchant ships would "cease to find employment" is equivalent to the statement that more than half the trade of the world would suddenly cease. The tonnage of the British mercantile marine is about 13¼ millions; that of fourteen other commercial Powers is about 7¼ millions, of which France accounts for a little over one million.* "On the mere rumour of war" between Great Britain and France therefore, according to Mr. Gibson Bowles, more than fourteen millions of tons of shipping would be thrown out of employment. Either, therefore, the trade of the world would be paralyzed until other Powers had made good this vast deficit by fresh construction, or transfer of British and French vessels to a neutral flag must take place on an enormous scale. Such transfer involves not only a change of ownership of shipping, but the denationalization of immense numbers of officers and seamen. In 1896, out of 232,900 seamen in our merchant service, there were 31,050 foreigners. This foreign element might have no personal objections to transfer its allegiance; but the officers who navigate our ships, and the engineers who keep them in movement are British, and might decline to renounce their citizenship.† To replace them by competent substitutes is utterly beyond the means of any combination of foreign Powers. I cannot pause to argue this point which has been effectively dealt with by other writers.‡ I simply assert that this lightly contemplated transfer of ships and of men to an alien flag is, in present circumstances, absolutely impracticable. On the other hand, there is no difficulty in effecting a legal transfer of the ownership of cargoes, and whether Rule II. is maintained or not, neutral ships will be perfectly able to carry belligerent property, not declared contraband, up to the full measure of their capacity. As easily can *any* merchandise carried under an enemy's flag be converted into neutral property for the purposes of a voyage, even if Rule III. is not recognized.

* Admiralty Returns, 1895.

† On the other hand, there is an important British element in certain foreign mercantile marines, which might in war prefer to return to the national flag.

‡ See *Edinburgh Review*, October, 1888.

As regards the question of contraband, Mr. Synnott, to some extent, recognizes the difficulty of his position. In the halcyon days of the last war, Napoleon ordained that the presence of any article of British commerce on board any ship made her good prize. The vital food supply and most articles of British imports might unquestionably be proclaimed contraband. "Governments," as Mr. Synnott quite correctly remarks, "have more frequently than not framed definitions of contraband, just as it suited their purpose, or according to the exigencies of war." In other words, the definition of contraband is a matter of circumstance. It necessarily follows that a great portion of British trade would be safer under the national flag than under any neutral bunting, and that Rule II. is deprived of its terrors.

The gloomy anticipations of the publicist arise from his hopeless failure to recognize the essential peculiarity of the conditions which existed between 1793 and 1814. Napoleon, by conquering Europe, Great Britain by her overwhelming sea-power, was able to trample ruthlessly on the rights of neutrals. France, by her armies, bent the Continental Powers to her will, forcibly transforming them into belligerents. In this contest of giants, the maritime neutral across the Atlantic was deliberately flouted. Napoleon's declaration—"There are no neutrals"—thus almost became an accomplished fact. On the other hand, the principle asserted by the British Government—"No neutral trade except through Great Britain"—was nearly realized. While, however, the neutral suffered heavy losses, his restricted services were undoubtedly more beneficial to Great Britain than to France, and this fact alone might have suggested caution to the publicist.

A careful study of the war reveals the dominating *rôle* which, under other conditions, will inevitably be played by neutrals in the next maritime contest. The tenderness shown by Great Britain towards Tuscany and Genoa in 1794-5 is significant. The goodwill of these petty States had, for the moment, some local importance, and they consequently received consideration. The menace of the armed neutrality of the North, which was nominally formed to uphold neutral rights, entailed upon Great Britain the battle of Copenhagen, and would have involved the destruction of the Russian Baltic fleet by Nelson but for the change of policy consequent upon the accession of Alexander I. In 1798, the United States were driven into war with France, and although at this period their navy was unable to inflict material injury on the cause of Napoleon, the French lost the benefit of the trade which Americans had carried for them. The revolt of Russia against the Continental system enforced by Napoleon led to the frightful disaster of the Moscow

* See *Edinburgh Review*, October, 1889.

campaign, by which Napoleon's domination of Europe was shattered. In 1812, the United States were impelled to declare war with Great Britain, in spite of President Jefferson's "passion for peace." As Captain Mahan states: "The submission of the United States lasted until Napoleon was committed to his final blunder, thus justifying the risk taken by Great Britain, and awarding to her the strategic triumph." If this "submission" had ended earlier, or if the armed neutrality had assumed a practical form in 1797, it might have been impossible for Great Britain to win the battles of St. Vincent and the Nile. The "risk" accepted was real and serious. In 1801, after the murder of the Czar Paul, a mutual arrangement was regarded as desirable by both Russia and Great Britain. "At this time," writes Captain Mahan, "the British Navy was superior to the combined forces of Europe." Nevertheless, under the treaty signed on June 5th, Great Britain conceded to the late head of the armed neutrality the right to trade between the ports of a belligerent, and admitted that belligerent property sold to a neutral was not liable to seizure. The produce of hostile colonies was, however, excluded from this provision, and could not be carried directly to the mother country even if it had become neutral property. On the other hand, Russia renounced her claim that the neutral flag covered enemy's goods. Thus, although what is now Rule II. of the Declaration of Paris was rejected by this treaty, the power of seizure was greatly restricted by the formal recognition of the right of the belligerent to sell to the neutral. Such a provision would, at the present day, have practically the same effect as the observance of Rule II., since by means of suitable arrangements easily made, a neutral could always carry the goods—not contraband—of a belligerent. The effect, in 1801, was that Great Britain abandoned the claim to seize naval stores as contraband—a claim which, while asserted, had been extremely injurious to Russia.* Such concessions to neutral rights—concessions made to a Power which after the Peace of Tilsit, in 1807, was again hostile—are necessarily significant. If, at a period when British naval supremacy was so overpowering as Captain Mahan has stated, such a Treaty was voluntarily made, there can be no doubt with regard to the policy which this country must adopt towards neutrals in any probable naval conflict.

Here are plain lessons and grave warnings which may not be disregarded. If the Declaration of Paris had existed as an international arrangement in 1793 it would infallibly have been torn to shreds by the combatants. On the other hand, whether or no Great Britain withdraws from her adhesion to the four Rules, it is absolutely certain that she could not, in the next maritime war, attempt the high-handed action which is the admiration and the

* Naval stores at this period largely came from the Baltic.

ideal of the publicist. The great and highly organized States of modern Europe could not now be successively overthrown by a second Napoleon, and forced to accept a policy which was ruinous to their interests. The navies of neutrals could not now be set at nought, as they were by Great Britain during the wars of the Revolution and Empire. "The submission of the United States," on which Great Britain staked, could not now be counted upon. Crushing as was our naval supremacy at the beginning of this century, it was fortunate that this submission lasted till 1812. And the fact that Great Britain made important concessions to Russia in 1801, and was prepared to make other concessions to the United States in 1812, at periods when she had no possible rival on the seas, tells its tale. The United States are now a considerable naval Power, and their sea-borne commerce stands next to our own. It is inconceivable that they would tolerate such a confiscation of their property as occurred in 1809, when American cargoes, admitted to Dutch ports by Louis Bonaparte, were seized by the orders of Napoleon. It is as inconceivable that they would recognize the vast paper blockade proclaimed by the British Government in November, 1807. Russia, more formidable now than when she headed the Armed Neutrality, would, if neutral, be well able to guard her interests, and those interests would be the same as in 1801.

In war involving all naval Powers, there would be no effective neutrals, and each group of belligerents might act in accordance with its interests, uncontrolled save by the action of its enemies. In any other war, the neutrals will practically determine the rules, and we may be certain that the determination will be in accordance with their material interests, and that belligerents will be forced to make concessions to any neutral or neutrals whose hostility would change the balance to their disadvantage. The new naval Power, Japan, in a contest of European navies on the China seas, would be well able to ensure respect for her rights as a neutral. There is here a law which overrides all declarations, and the practical question for a belligerent, at the outbreak of the next maritime war, will not be, "What is the position and meaning of existing agreements?" but "How far can I injure the enemy without incurring the risk of bringing a fresh combatant upon the scene?" There is nothing so certain as that the next great maritime contest cannot be carried on under the conditions which ruled the last, and the elaborate structure erected by the publicist upon the opposite assumption is but the "baseless fabric of a vision." The experience of the wars of the French Revolution and Empire, on which he mainly relies, proves on examination to be replete with lessons of another kind.

The self-absorption, which is one of the causes of our unpopularity, is characteristically exhibited by writers who regard all

foreign navies as created solely with a view to prey upon British commerce. That the foreigner should aspire to the possession of a fleet appears to them in the light of a personal grievance. Thus Mr. Steevens is convinced that the Russian fleet "is offensive and can only be intended for aggression. . . . Russia is the one great European Power which could have dispensed with the costly luxury of a navy." Similarly, the United States, in his view, have no right to maintain a fleet. "No Power, whether naval or otherwise, wishes to commit aggression upon them." "They have no great carrying trade," &c. Mr. Steevens even deplores Lord Salisbury's omission to declare war with our Transatlantic cousins at the beginning of last year, in which case "with a few heavy blows at the outset we might have sickened them of the war and of the new fleet at the same time." A more recent writer, Mr. G. C. Craig,* goes a step further and suggests that if the "European Powers do not stop the building of warships . . . an ultimatum should be sent to them by some modern Pitt and, if not attended to, British fleets should be sent to destroy them in foreign ports and dockyards." The existence amongst us of such a spirit as is displayed by these writers would alone suffice to explain the general dislike with which we are regarded.

To assume that the growing navies of foreign Powers have not been created with a view to possible aggression would be imbecile. On the other hand, there is nothing so certain as that these Powers, the United States especially, if only contemplating neutrality, would show culpable negligence in not maintaining fleets. "To secure respect to a neutral flag," wisely wrote Washington a century ago, "requires a naval force organized and ready to vindicate it from insult or aggression. This may prevent even the necessity of going to war."† These words were strikingly prophetic, as the United States found to their cost, and if their people had not created the navy which arouses Mr. Steevens' indignation they would merit the insults and the losses which in the next great naval war, as in the last, would undoubtedly be inflicted upon them. The possession of an effective fleet would have saved the United States from the wars of 1798 and 1812.

The conditions of the next great maritime contest cannot be the same as those of the last, nor can we expect that the policy which may appear best suited to our interests as belligerents will be that which we shall be able to adopt. We have to deal with the new conditions now existing, and whether or no we disavow the Declaration of Paris, those conditions must determine our treatment of neutral shipping.

* *The Federal Defence of Australasia.*

† Eighth Annual Address, 1796.

G. S. CLARKE.

THE DOWNFALL OF GREECE.

"States and individuals that have a future are in a position to wait," observed Lord Beaconsfield, in 1878, at the Congress of Berlin, when discussing the rectification of the Greek frontier. Above all, it is their impatience that has brought upon the Greeks their disasters. Without sitting down beforehand to count the cost, they rushed into a war which must ruin the hopes of Greece for a generation.

Their own history might have instructed them, had they reflected. For all this has happened before. History, it has been said, repeats itself, or, if we like to transmute the saying, the character of races does not change, and will from generation to generation issue in similar actions. On the eve of the Crimean War, when Turkey was hotly engaged with Russia, before England and France had as yet actively intervened in the struggle, it occurred to King Otho that the moment was favourable for the seizure of Epirus and Thessaly. Regular troops were collected at Athens and along the frontier, by the simple expedient of opening the jails, and by dismissing from the ranks of the army soldiers who, it was well understood, were to enroll themselves in guerilla bands. Greek volunteers and soldiers left for the frontier, acclaimed by mobs, blessed by priests and bishops. Incendiary proclamations were circulated throughout Thessaly and Epirus. In January, 1854, the war for ἡ ἔξω Ἑλλας began, exactly, it will be observed, as it began forty-three years later. Six thousand or more of the irregulars crossed the frontier—M. Tricoupis having just before given assurances to England and France that Greece was not arming or preparing to attack Turkey. The war cry as announced in proclamations was "The Hellenic Empire or Death!"

People who put forth such proclamations should live—or die—up to them. The Greek irregulars did nothing of the kind. With the slightest dash or courage they might have taken Prevesa, Domoko, and Volo, all strangely familiar names to us, but then garrisoned with Turks. They had, however, no stomach for fighting. At Pelta the Turks stormed their entrenched position, and they fled in a wild panic, which anticipates the features of the

scurry from Larissa, flinging away arms, equipments, and everything. At Domoko the Greeks besieged a small Turkish garrison. The garrison made a sally, and immediately the Greeks ran away. They devastated Epirus and Thessaly in revenge, living at free quarters on the unhappy inhabitants, Christian or Mussulman, and stealing and sending over the frontier 10,000 head of cattle and 50,000 of sheep. Finally they were driven over the frontier to plunder their own countrymen; and the Christian subjects of the Sultan were only too delighted to be rid of them. The judgment of Finlay, from whom I have taken these facts, is instructive to-day. "They [the Greeks] overrated their own military strength and political importance; they mistook the violence of Christian hostility to Mohammedanism among the population of European Turkey. . . . The want of capacity to execute any plan on the part of the Greek Ministers, the neglect of discipline in the Greek army, and the disorderly and cowardly behaviour of the soldiers, criminals, and brigands . . . rendered the treachery of the Greek Government abortive."

Finlay is a harsh critic, and Greece, perhaps, had more provocation than he is willing to admit. But the complete failure of the raid, followed as it was by an Anglo-French occupation of Athens, ought at least to have taught the Greeks prudence and foresight. In 1877, Greece caused Turkey little trouble, and tried the waiting game. She obtained a very handsome reward, though, all things considered, not so much as she was entitled to, or as was originally intended to be bestowed upon her. The 13th protocol of the Berlin Congress shows that Italy and France promised her a frontier which would have run from the northernmost summit of Olympos to the mouth of the Calamas, making Elassona, Metzovo, and Janina, Greek towns. This frontier was delimited by the Powers, 1st July, 1880, and accepted by Greece on the 16th July. On the 26th, however, Turkey declared against it, on the ground that it gave Greece great strategical advantages—as it undoubtedly did. On 25th August, the Powers declined to reopen the question with Turkey, only to give way on the 27th March, 1881, when the present frontier line was drawn.

Unkind people and M. Couitéas, a Greek, amongst them, ascribe the inaction of Greece to other causes than trust in the Powers, or goodwill to Turkey. It could scarcely be expected that Greece would, of her own free will, have missed so good a chance of pressing the cause of "unredeemed Greece." But when the time came to mobilize the army, terrible discoveries were made. A force of between 8,000 and 10,000 men was all that could be assembled. "Not only was there no army, but there were no stores, material, ammunition—nothing for a defensive campaign, much less for an

offensive one." The whole people wanted war, and a Greek army corps in the field in the doubtful hour of Plevna might have moved the Greek frontier forward to Salonika. But realizing the hopeless impotence of Greece, King George held his subjects in, and the Greek armies did not cross the frontier.

The Congress of Berlin and the famous treaty had not solved the Eastern question. Foreseeing that it would, before long, be re-opened, the Greek Government determined to arm. In 1882 a law was passing, enforcing universal military service, and a flotilla of torpedo boats was purchased. The term of service was to be two years in the active army, and eighteen in the reserve, which would give a "mobilizable" force, it was hoped, of 150,000 men. Before this new system had been long at work came the *coup d'état* in Eastern Roumelia. At that moment, in September, 1885, both Greece and Servia began to mobilize. Turkey had not in Europe more than 30,000 or 40,000 men, and had they struck, might easily have been defeated—at all events at the beginning of the war. But the Bill of 1882 and the army reorganization in Greece had not after all produced an army. The soldiers were wanting; for, owing to the extreme poverty of the country, the privates had been sent on furlough, and practically only *cadres* of officers had been maintained. However, the whole male population of Greece volunteered. Nothing now remained but to arm, clothe, and equip the volunteers, and declare war. Unfortunately, arms, clothing, and equipments were not to be found in the arsenals. The Greek army took eight months instead of eight days to mobilize, and then could collect only 40,000 men, in place of the nominal 75,000, on the Thessalian frontier. And meantime Turkey had echeloned 200,000 soldiers along the Servian and Thessalian frontiers, and the Powers had intervened against Greece, in spite of Greece's protest that she only wanted Elassona, Metzovo, and Janina, which were hers by the Protocol of Berlin.

The Greek generals reported absolutely against fighting; the reserves, after the first flush of enthusiasm had died away, did not come forward freely, and the Powers closely blockaded the coast. It was the best thing for Greece that could have happened—short of the complete satisfaction of her wishes—since her Ministers, by bowing to the irresistible force of the Powers, were enabled to avoid a struggle with Turkey, which could only have issued in defeat for Greece. There was a little burning of powder, meanwhile, on the Thessalian frontier, in which the Greeks had much the worst of matters. On 31st May, 1886, Greece demobilized.

Twice, then, within seven years had Greece failed to carry out her laudable policy of freeing captive Hellas, because she lacked material force. On each occasion she found that her army was no

army, her arsenals and magazines were empty, and that her mobilization scheme was hopelessly slow. On each occasion she lost a magnificent opportunity. If the Greeks had had any backbone in them, they would have sat down to provide a strong army and to remedy defects of organization. Between 1886 and 1897 they have had eleven years, a period quite long enough to eliminate the older and more incapable officers, to train a respectable force of privates, and to fill magazines and stores. But they have done none of these things. They have even neglected to make sure of allies. And then in 1897 they have blundered into a hopeless war.

The quality of the army was in no way improved between 1886 and 1897: indeed, if anything, it deteriorated. It was corrupted by politics. By degrees the Greek Prime Ministers, M. Delyannis, and M. Tricoupis, overthrew discipline and overrode orders. The King was the nominal head and commander, but by artful evasions his authority was undermined. Each Minister had a train of political adherents, generals, colonels, and majors; and commands in the army were part of the Greek "spoils system." The profound demoralization which such intermeddling of the politicians produced can be easily understood. The orders of the unhappy King were disobeyed; the authority of politicians was substituted, till finally, as we should expect, even the Prime Minister for the time being found himself flouted. In 1894 M. Tricoupis removed from his command of the 6th Chasseurs at Larissa a certain colonel, says M. Couitéas,* and sent an officer to replace him. With insolent insubordination the deposed colonel said to his supplanter, when the latter arrived, "*J'y suis, j'y reste!*" and refused to go. M. Tricoupis actually passed over this glaring act of disobedience, and beamed on the offender—outwardly at least. The erring colonel was not got rid of till some months later, when he was given another appointment. And then comes M. Delyannis back to power, and the offender is reinstated in his command at Larissa!

In 1890 there were other instances to show the discipline of the Greek army. On 18th February there was one of the periodical crises at Athens, and all the troops were confined to barracks. Their officers, however, disobeyed the order, and captains and lieutenants of the artillery and engineers had a little *fracas* near the palace, and in the actual sight and hearing of the King. The engineers were well-disposed towards the Royal Family, and therefore an aide-de-camp of the War Minister ordered them off. On this, a colonel of artillery appeared and asked what the aide-de-camp was doing out of barracks. The aide-de-camp ordered the colonel to withdraw in the name of the War Minister: the colonel refused saying,

* *La Grèce apres la Faillite.* Paris, 1895.

"I only take my orders from the King." And this in poor King George's presence!

Even more disastrous were the jobbery and peculation which, according to M. Couitéas, prevailed in all ranks. Captains embezzled the pay of their companies and passed unpunished so long as their political friends were in power. The conscription was shamefully evaded by those who had money to bribe or friends to vote. "The law of 1882 filled the ranks and augmented the army: the want of funds, favouritism and exemptions decimated it. . . . Discipline could not resist the contagion." People of high family stooped to the most dishonourable expedients to avoid military service. An eye rubbed with tobacco-juice was enough to physically incapacitate a conscript. Absence on leave in bad health was counted as service, and, says an ironical observer, "Hercules could under the present conditions get leave of absence for ill-health." In fact, the state of things was even in 1895 much as in 1863, when, Finlay tells us, pay was drawn for 1,160 men in a certain battalion, though there were only 410 men with the colours, and when one regiment actually paraded in the streets of Athens with five officers, ten sergeant-majors, twelve sergeants, eleven corporals, and *seven privates*. This beats even Nicaragua.

With such facts before us, how can we wonder at the complete collapse of Greece? Untrained levies can never hope to face with success the stolid, unflinching courage of the Turks, the only race perhaps in Europe which feels the true *gaudium certaminis*. At Plevna, as we all know, the Ottoman showed himself quite able to face the Russian infantry—judged by General Gordon to be amongst the bravest, if not the bravest, in the world. An army without discipline is liable to go to pieces at the slightest check. We have seen this once at least already at Bull Run, when, after attacking with vigour, bravery, and dash, men of our own race suddenly bolted ignominiously. And yet, the privates who ran on that terrible day were afterwards the backbone of the heroic army of the Potomac. On many a bloody field they showed that they were no cowards. Two conditions are necessary, says Mr. Ropes in his criticism of this battle, if the raw soldier is to fight well. He must be brought upon the field in good order and condition, and "he must have no cause to distrust the skill of his commanders." We know that in the case of the Greeks both conditions were lacking.

The distressing feature to the Phil-Hellene is that on no occasion as yet have the Greeks shown heroism or stomach for the fight. At Bull Run the Northerners lost 11 per cent. of their force before they made their "strategic movement to the rear." In the fighting at the Milona pass the Greeks seem to have fallen back with a loss of less than 1 per cent. At Phersala, again, they retired with-

out losing heavily. In this war they have displayed all the mismanagement which characterized the French conduct of the 1870-1 campaign, and little of the passionate devotion, the recollection of which tempers the Frenchman's shame and sorrow for the events of that terrible year. No Greek Marguerite has ridden to death, and compelled from his adversaries the cry of "*Ah! les braves gens!*" "Defeat is great, death and dismay are great," sings the poet, but surely not such a defeat, such a dismay as this. The pity is that Greece has not realized what Europe and what her admirers demand of her. Had her soldiers fallen gloriously by the hundred or thousand in stubborn fight at Larissa or Phersala, though she had lost all she would have won the world's respect. "Italy," says Bandiera, "will never live till Italians have learned to die." Greece, too, must realize this hard truth. If others are to give their lives for her, she must be unsparing of her own sons.

In all this there is no matter for jeers. A chivalrous nation will not taunt the fallen, but the welfare of Greece is dear to most reflecting Englishmen, and the criticism of a candid friend, however ill-received, will be salutary. Before Greece can aspire to that empire on which her affections are fixed she must purge herself. Four lessons already she has had, in 1854, 1878, 1886, and 1897. If she neglected the teaching of the first three, will she heed the last? Will she understand that right without force at its back is helpless? Will she abandon her shiftless, dishonourable ways? Will she reform and reorganize her army? And last, but not least, will the conditions of peace permit her to do all this?

It cannot be denied that the character of the Greek nation is such as to dim one's hopes of the future, as it has first and foremost contributed to the disasters of to-day. I have often wondered why the individual Greek is so unpopular among our naval officers who have been much in the Levant. I imagine that the explanation is to be found in his want of truthfulness and of a high sense of personal honour. This is seen in the corruption of which I have given instances, and in the venality of Greek politics. Centuries ago Polybius wrote of the Greeks of his day: "Their public men cannot keep their faith, though they be trusted only with a talent in the presence of twenty witnesses, and though they sign and seal ten solemn declarations." Their bad faith in the matter of their debt has brought upon them the cruellest punishment by alienating Germany and estranging France. Their weak, treacherous, underhand diplomacy has produced a general distrust of their promises. They have given their whole mind to petty politics, and over-educated the great mass of the people, till to-day, as a Greek said sadly to Miss Armstrong, "We produce nothing but writers and professors in Greece." They have thrown up no

really able man in all their sixty years or more of freedom. Writers, professors, education, all are good in their way, but the fate of Greece warns us that a smattering of universal knowledge does not necessarily make a good citizen. Like England, Greece has forgotten that education of character is the essential complement of education of the intellect. The sense of duty, said Finlay, forty years ago, is wanting in the Greeks. The sense of duty would steady their instability, temper the turbulence of their politics, and favour public morality. If instead of having more *lycées* per thousand inhabitants than any other state of Europe—except Germany—they had paid their debts, how much better their position would have been to-day. Honesty is sometimes, after all, the best policy.

Another contributing cause to the Greek defeat has been the weakness of the present frontier. The line runs in the north of Thessaly along the hill crests, but these crests are commanded by higher ranges in Turkish territory, and within gunshot. Thus the Turks could mass their artillery ready to strike; they could see from their look-out points every movement of the Greeks, whilst their own dispositions were veiled from the enemy. The wedge of territory in which stands Elassona enabled them to menace Larissa and Trikhala at once. By the 13th Protocol of the Berlin Congress and by the frontier proposed in 1880, all this territory and the crests of the higher range would have been Greek. In that case the frontier might have been defended with far greater success.

The numerical strength of the Turks, however, enabled them to attack, and in war the assailant generally beats the defender, because the first can make his own plans and attack at any one point, whereas the second, unless he happen exactly to divine the assailant's plans, must be prepared at every point. As in 1885, the tardiness of the Greek mobilization lost Greèce her opportunity. Had she been ready with even 80,000 men early in March, before the Turkish concentration was half completed, she might have reached Salonika without a battle, though remembering the raw, undisciplined character of her army it is doubtful whether she could not have been badly beaten in the end. Still, her army once at Salonika, the powder mine in the Balkans would have exploded: Servia and Bulgaria would probably have joined in the fray: Macedonia would have risen, and the task of the Turks would have been rendered infinitely more difficult. It is said that Russia has held down Macedonia by her influence, but writing, as I hope without bias, I cannot forget that in 1853–4 Thessaly and Epirus failed to rise when Greece was marching to their rescue, and when the influence of Russia was certainly exerted in her favour. Is it after all so certain that the Christians of Macedonia wish for union

with Greece? Or have centuries of Turkish cruelty and oppression deprived them of all courage?

The Greek reserves were called out on 4th March: a day earlier the Turks had begun their concentration on the Thessalian frontier. Before the end of March, according to perfectly trustworthy correspondents, Turkey had 135,000 in line on the frontier. The Greek mobilization—including the territorial army—should have produced about 170,000 men: as a matter of fact, there do not seem to have been more than 60,000 or 70,000 men at the outside with the colours, and of these at least 10,000 were in Epirus, so that probably a bare 50,000 men represented the army in Thessaly. As in 1885, the arsenals were empty: shells, ammunition, rifles, uniforms, equipments were wanting to enable the reservists promptly to take the field. The numerical weakness of the Greek force had no compensations. The men, as we have seen, were not well-trained or well-handled. In artillery, by far the most important arm, the Greeks were grievously outnumbered. Their whole force of guns was only 120, whereas each Turkish army corps has 234. Though the Turkish artillery has not succeeded in inflicting heavy losses on the Greeks, it has done its work well, since its fire has demoralized the Greek infantry. To be subjected to a heavy shell or shrapnel fire must always be a severe trial to the nerves—especially when the soldier has not the moral support of artillery on his own side, and when he is not thoroughly disciplined. In the initial artillery duel the Turks have invariably had the advantage.

Again, the Greek infantry were badly armed. The old Gras single-loader which they carried is inferior to the Martini-Henri and still more inferior to the Mauser magazine-rifle. The range is shorter; the shooting less accurate; the cartridges much heavier. Of cavalry the Greek army has next to none. On the peace-footing it nominally possessed 1,600 officers and troopers, but we may doubt whether in fact so many men were with the colours. In the first period of the war, when the fighting was in the mountains to the north of Thessaly, this lack of mounted men did not influence the course of the struggle, but when the Greeks had been driven back on Phersala, they were unable to reconnoitre or obtain information of their enemy's movements, and were condemned to grope blindly in the dark.

Not less serious was their want of an organized commissariat and train. The troops have been wretchedly supplied with food, both in Thessaly and Epirus. The soldiers who had fought at Pentepigadia were for twenty-four hours without anything to eat; and ammunition failed them at the most critical moment. At Arta, *The Daily Mail* tells us, the soldiers broke into the bakers' shops, and their colonel came down and made appealing speeches

to them, by way of satisfying their hunger. Lee's army in the American Civil War did, indeed, manage to subsist almost without food for days and weeks—without food, that is to say, supplied by the commissariat. But then this army was composed of veteran soldiers, not of raw recruits. On the Turkish side Mr. Steevens waxes quite enthusiastic as to the excellence of Edhem Pasha's train. The Turkish army has been reorganized by Germans, whose methodic foresight and practical experience have led them very rightly to attach enormous importance to the train and commissariat. An army nowadays must be regularly fed, and to ensure the regular and orderly transmission of supplies to the front, an extensive organization is necessary, which makes no show in peace. Greece, being a desperately poor country, has sacrificed the solid for the showy; but England can throw no stones at her so long as the Crimean War is remembered.

The utter impotence of the Greek fleet has been a remarkable feature of the war. Composed of three good, though small, battleships, and a dozen effective torpedo boats, with a discipline far superior to that of the Greek army—it has only made mistakes. From the first it has had the command of the sea, as the Turkish ironclads have prudently kept within the friendly shelter of the Dardanelles. The Greek bombardments of Prevesa, Katerina, and Platamona, have been resultless; for a poor navy they were almost criminal, since in them valuable ammunition has been wasted, which Greece might not be able to replace. To strike hard and decisive blows an expeditionary force will always be required, for ironclads cannot, like some of the ships created by Jules Verne's fancy, act upon dry land. It is obvious that the Turkish line of communications should have been aimed at in any naval operations undertaken. These could have been menaced at three points—Salonika, Kavala, and Dedeagatch. Salonika was, perhaps, open to an attack in force early in March, but the defences were greatly strengthened before the war began, and could latterly defy any bombardment. At Kavala Bay the Salonika-Constantinople railway comes down to the sea; the ridge, however, above the railway, gives very fine positions for artillery, which could attack the ironclads with a plunging fire. At Dedeagatch it is much the same.

A force of troops—at least 10,000 strong—if landed at other points might have cut the railway and fatally hampered Edhem Pasha. Sea-power gives great mobility, and enables the predominant navy to threaten in all directions at once. The mere menace of 10,000 men held ready in transports must have compelled the Turks to concentrate considerable bodies of troops for the protection of the railway, and so must, at the outset, have diminished their army on the Greek frontier. The question for Greece was, Could she spare the men? The position was much the same as

in 1795, when Nelson urged the Austrians to detach a force, which was to be transported in British ships, and which was to seize a point on the French line of communications. This plan, says Captain Mahan, was not really practicable. "Retreat and embarkation under cover of the guns of a squadron, when pressed by the enemy, are too critical to be hazarded for less than the greatest ends." With an ill-disciplined army the operation would probably entail defeat and disaster. Yet in war risks must always be run, and considering what Greece stood to gain, if successful, how hopeless was her situation if she did not make some such attempt, it seems that the risk might have been run.

The men needed could not have been diverted from Thessaly, but they might have been drawn from Epirus, where by all accounts there are 10,000 Greek soldiers and irregulars. It is difficult to understand what the Greeks expected to gain by their advance on Janina. By operating with a weak army on two fronts they ensured their own defeat. Epirus might have been conquered in Thessaly or at Kavala, if it was to be conquered at all. Had Arta been strongly garrisoned and defended with earthworks, it is not probable that the Turks, who in this direction have displayed little energy or enterprise, would have gone far. The range of Pindus would have effectually prevented them from menacing the Greek left in Thessaly. The country is so wild and difficult, and the passes are so bad, that they could not well have forced their way to Lamia in the rear of the main Greek army.

It is possible that Greece was not permitted by the Powers to attempt any such operations on the Turkish sea-board; and it is certainly significant that as soon as the Greek fleet moved towards Salonika, Italian and French warships appeared on the scene. It is known that for years Greece has been meditating a maritime attack on Turkey, since Mr. Bickford-Smith, in his work on Greece, written in 1893, tells us that the Greek plan of campaign was a landing at Dedeagatch and a march on Constantinople.

The Greeks have been urged by their supporters in England to fight on, and—in the manner of the Spaniards—to harass the Turks by a protracted guerilla warfare. Unfortunately, the Turks would meantime be advancing with leisurely but irresistible steps on Athens; and, it should be noted, that there is no manner of war which so embitters the combatants as a guerilla struggle. The Germans in 1870 were as merciless to the Francs-tireurs as Napoleon in his day was to the Spanish bands he captured. The Turks would not be likely to spare Greece under such conditions. Moreover, the Spaniards through a great part of their war had the solid support of a British army and of British gold. For fighting cartridges are wanted, and these cost money. Greece is already out of ammunition, and in the most desperate financial straits. I can-

not see where she is to get even powder and bullets. The Greeks were not likely to further their cause by protracting the war, with an empty exchequer and a hopelessly disorganized army.

The Powers have intervened to put a stop to the war, and to impose terms of peace on both combatants. It is to the interest of England that Greece should be strong, for a strong Greece, side by side with a strong Servia and a strong Bulgaria, would be a sure bulwark against the advance of Slavdom. Nor need we be deeply concerned about doing the Turks what is—ironically, I suppose—described as "injustice," by forbiddiug them to extort the cession of Thessaly, the surrender of the Greek fleet, and a great indemnity. "Justice" has still to be done for the Armenian atrocities, and this nation, whose will was flouted by the Sultan, can now show him that it has a long memory and a strong arm. The reversion of Thessaly from the Cross to the Crescent is impossible, and would be an intolerable shame to Europe. A slight rectification of the frontier is the most that can be permitted. A large indemnity simply means a payment by Greece to Russia, for if anything is certain, it is that Russia would at once claim the arrears of the debt which Turkey owes her. The most that should be allowed by the Powers should be the payment by Greece of Turkey's bare expenses in the campaign. The transfer of the Greek fleet to Turkey would mean a considerable reinforcement of the German navy, and, as such, would disturb the balance of power to our disadvantage. If the Powers could in 1878 deprive Russia of her spoils, they can to-day act in the same way towards Turkey, and with far greater justification. They are responsible for the weakness of Greece, since they gave her so confined a territory and so weak a frontier. They are responsible, in part, at least, for her defeat, since they have localized the struggle.

If there is to be any occupation of Thessaly, as a security for payment, it should be a joint occupation by the Powers. In this way the Turks would be protected against any sudden or treacherous attack by Greece in the near future. But let us hope that the Hellenes have learnt at last the lesson, "*Recta animi primum debuit esse via*"; and that they will reform at once their diplomacy and their administration. Adversity is a cruel schoolmistress: if it purges them of their turbulence and corruption this war will have been not without profit to them. They must, however, for at least a generation, be condemned to impotence as the result of their heedless precipitancy. High aspirations do not, unfortunately, compensate for the total lack of material strength in this world of ours, much less when men do not live up to them.

H. W. Wilson.

THE ACADEMY.

Invited to indulge in general reflections on the Royal Academy in this year of Jubilee, I am struck less by anything new in the exhibition itself than by a new attitude towards it on the part of the public. Six or seven years ago, when I first had to do with Academy exhibitions in print, it was thought a wild and youthful exaggeration to say that these shows on the whole were a shocking spectacle, and that only some five or six really good pictures could be found in the nearly two thousand annually exhibited. No one attacked that view as too amiable and generous—a side from which it was vulnerable enough; but there was a general presumption on one side that all those Academicians about whom columns of respectful eulogy periodically appeared, must be extremely important artists, or there was the alternative argument, that one must not be superfine in one's tastes—that those painters might not be great painters, but that they gave pleasure to a vast number of people, and therefore Academy exhibitions were praiseworthy things. Now I find repeated on every side, with a sense of sudden discovery and disillusion, what has always been a commonplace with those who were forced to consider the matter. People say, "A wretched Academy this year—not six good pictures in it; a disgrace to the country; something ought to be done." I may base my impression of a change of tone on too narrow an experience, but one indication is rather decisive, and that is the tone of the editors. Instead of gently repressing the severity of criticism as they used to do, they actually invite the critic and incite him to come and do his worst.

In these sudden reversals of popular judgment there is a danger of new fallacies being embraced as blindly as the old. When people argued that there must be plenty of good pictures in the Academy —or, if there were not, the painters had, after all, done their best, and we ought to pretend the pictures were good, or that the pictures were bad pictures, but gave pleasure to good people—we had a pretty mixture of fallacies to combat and expose. But when people say with an air of complaint and reproach, "There are only a few good pictures, and the rest is rubbish," and appear to wish to haul the President and his colleagues to the Tower for neglect of public duty because there are not more, there is danger of the

reproach being as ill-directed as was the approval. We must not expect to see an Academy thickly hung with masterpieces. No power on earth, not a Committee of both Houses, with power to compel the attendance of pictures, could secure us that. The chief neglect of duty after all is on the part of the order of things, which is niggardly in creating talented painters. The chief reason that there are few masterpieces in one year is that *there are very few good painters.* The proportion of good things at the Academy is very much what it is at any large indiscriminate exhibition. It is a dream to think that Paris is much better off, though it is true that she draws on all the other countries, and on our own talent into the bargain. Now, it is our duty as critics to be on the watch for individual injustices, for cases where the stupidity of Academy procedure, more often than malignity, has kept a good man out. These cases occur, and in its own interest we let the Academy hear about them. But were all these injustices redressed, the proportion of good things would be very slightly raised—the victims can be counted almost on one's fingers—and the result at the best would be an Academy with seven or eight, or nine or ten, very good things, instead of the amiable estimate as things are of "five or six." I do not wish to suggest that that is a small difference. One real masterpiece would make any exhibition not only respectable, but memorable; no accumulation of rubbish could affect that, and for every additional good painter the Academy can secure its prestige is increased in furious geometrical progression. If, in addition to Messrs. Watts, Orchardson, and Sargent, the Academy could show Sir Edward Burne-Jones, and Messrs. Whistler and Legros, its share of the master-painters of our time would be magnificent.

Now, the only serious concern for the reformer of these picture exhibitions is that the Academy should glean to the utmost the tiny harvest of good pictures, should treat with the greatest attention and with the courtesy due to princes the small number of men from whom they may be expected, and cut away, as far as nerve will permit, the crowd of incapable performers, whose offerings clog the machine. Where the reformers of the Academy constantly go off the track is in supposing that there exists a vast body of talent in the country habitually suppressed and discouraged, that among the outsiders who clamour at the doors of Burlington House there are enough good painters to take the places of those the sight of whose works we are, it seems, at last agreed to deplore. The belief is touching—it is fostered by the outsiders themselves, who, in the present state of painting in this country, must be a formidable body, numerous enough to turn a general election if their interests were made a party cry. But the alphabet of this question is to understand that not the insiders or Academicians are

the worst enemy—they are bad enough, many of them, but they are only one hundred after all—the enemy is the host of outsiders. The problem is to discourage and choke off their monstrous productiveness, because it is their productiveness that swamps the faculties of the selecting jury, such as they are, and reduces the chances of the few promising pictures in the throng to the merest toss-up. Nothing but cowardly good nature induces the Academicians to subject themselves to the mechanism for deadening their sense and conscience that is annually at work when twelve thousand pictures are hurried past them. Everyone who writes in the journals on this topic should therefore understand that the first elementary reform called for is to reduce the number of works any outsider may submit—say to two*—this to relieve the jury and make attention possible; and the second is to suppress at least the two upper rows of pictures hung in the galleries—this to raise the standard of selection to a point at which conscience works and responsibility comes in for what is exhibited.

If weak good nature still finds arguments for the present jumble, then it remains to be pointed out how dangerous to the Academy is this compliance. Not only must these indiscriminate shows be a laughing-stock and a bore, but the happy-go-lucky results of the annual scrimmage are bringing the exhibition into contempt among the younger men of talent, who begin to fight shy of the Academy in a fashion that is significant. The Academy has always been somewhat luckless as a machine for collecting all the masters of the time. Gainsborough in the last century was estranged, Burne-Jones in this. The genius of our own day in Stevens the sculptor, Rossetti the designer, Keene the draughtsman, "Greek" Thomson the architect, has been left outside. When the Grosvenor Gallery exhibitions began, the possible counter-Academy made a threatening combination, and such an Academy could still be put together as would show well beside Burlington House. But masters are wayward, and do not always like Academies. What is less natural, and ought to give the Academicians matter for reflection, is that new men of talent, instead of competing for a place in the big national show, are driven to avoid it as a matter of self-respect. In the generation that is maturing, there is no more marked talent than that of James Guthrie, Wilson Steer, Charles Shannon, Charles Conder, to name a few men of ideas and style as various as possible. These are alike absent from Academy exhibitions.

How the present lumbering machine works with its silly "catholicity" for the worthless and sudden snubs to outstand-

* At present anyone may send *eight* works. The proposed number, two, might well be extended, in certain cases, by special invitation.

ing talent, may be seen in the case of a man about whose claim to respect there was, I imagine, no question in or out of the Academy. The late Alfred Hunt's life was embittered to its close by the treatment he received. That he should have felt it so deeply was surprising to others, but so it was. The sudden rejection of a picture, by accident or design, cut him to the quick, and from that time onward the harassing doubt as to whether and where he would be hung cost a sensitive nature so much pain that in the end he ceased to send to the Academy, and almost dropped the practice of oil. It seems strange that a body of gentlemen, not to say artists, found it impossible to make the amend after so stupid a miscarriage of justice.

It is those cases, where the quality of the work ought to put it *hors concours*, or secure at least deliberate attention, that give the Academy so bad a name—the snub given to an acknowledged artist, while a thousand pictures that no one would defend when challenged slip indifferently in. The men who deserve such attention are perfectly well-known and not numerous; it should be the business of the selecting jury to arrange that they get it. It may seem to the casual observer that the number of deserving painters is so vast, that nothing like a complete knowledge of individuals is possible. That is a delusion. The faintest claim to individual talent makes a man notorious among his colleagues in a very short time. When such a man appears in the exhibition every painter in the place is aware of him, and he is marked from that hour. But in the face of this general recognition, a man of talent like Guthrie after his one or two successful appearances is liable for no reason to be excluded. Everybody is probably as much surprised as himself when this happens—but a painter, if he is a proud man, is apt thenceforward to take his pictures elsewhere.

I am inclined to allow, with the writer of a sensible article in *The Speaker* that recently appeared on this subject, that the cause of so much mismanagement is not so much malignity, jealousy, or ignorance as sheer overworked incapability of coping with the mass of claimants. The consequence of such a state of mind is irritable moments followed by stretches of despairing tolerance. But I am not prepared to allow that spite has not played its part at times, especially when we look to the hanging, and I am certain that "sincere dislike," that is ignorance and lack of taste, must come in when certain of our Academicians are the judges. Mr. Brett, if I understand him—and he has a cheerful courage in backing his taste—would exclude most of the old masters, beginning with Raphael. But this question of the constitution of the jury raises a more thorny debate. The elementary reforms of cutting down the number of pictures sent in, and suppressing the upper rows, where

it is an insult to be hung, should be measures outside of dispute. Then if the Academicians were to submit their own works to the choice or rejection of the selecting jury, they would have a right to treat with the same severity the work of outsiders who have won respect.

These reforms would do something to make the Academy exhibitions less ridiculously indiscriminate and unjust, and to tempt to them the not very numerous men of promise whose presence is so badly wanted. I do not wish to prejudice such elementary reforms by what follows, but my own conviction has always been that real reform must lie in the abolition of the life-status of the Academician. I am aware that the desirability of this status is deeply guaranteed by the benefit-club arrangements that go with it. The wealth of the Academy is perhaps properly employed in succouring the needy artist or his widow, but the distribution ought to be on a clearer basis of misfortune. The present basis is that of success, since the elected associate is usually on the way to make money. What is unsatisfactory is the election to office for life of men whose notoriety may be the merest flash in the pan—a success of passing fashion—and their remaining for the term of their life to be an encumbrance and drag. The Academy should have the power of purging itself by periodical retirement of members and fresh election to office, the office being that of executive for the time being. On such a body certain men would have a permanent place because of their talent or their taste and justice; the others would come and go.

The Academy is not only an Exhibition and a Benefit Club, it is also a School. If the first function raises most interest outside, and the second is attractive to needy artists, the School is the heart of the business, since the free education given in it must influence for good or bad each generation of artists. One would be glad to believe that we possessed in this institution a severe school of drawing, where students were set upon the intelligent study of the collections in our Museums, in the National Gallery, and in the Print Room by scholars of design, and were taught to appreciate Euphorion and Utamaro, Donatello and Stevens, Andrea del Sarto and Watteau, concurrently with their study from the life. The Academy, so far, has given its name only to a system of small realisms—stippling over the cracks in Elgin marbles, notation of trifling differences of tone in life studies, and on the top of this a medley of advice in painting from Academicians in which the most flashy styles naturally carried the day with the green student. How things stand at this moment I am not in a position to say: whether the landscape student emerges with a notion of how Titian drew a tree, or the portrait painter with a notion of Holbein's treatment

of a head. The influence of the new President, negative and petty as his own examples must prove, will doubtless be in favour of a scholarly discipline. The School, by his election, has at least escaped the control of a Herkomer.*

But the question of Academy reconstruction, over and above these matters of Exhibition, Club, and School, cannot fail to be affected by a new demand, the growth of the present reign. If the Academy is reformed, the long-debated changes will probably come with a rush, because the wave of a bigger change takes the defences at an unlooked for angle. The old debates have regarded the Academy almost wholly as an academy of painters, spite of the sculptors and architects included. Painting has passed through a period of absurd inflation. Every boy or girl can be taught to make studies of nature up to a certain point, as all girls used to learn the piano, and the practice has amused a generation that hangs a halo round the painter's head. The time is coming when this sort of accomplishment will be voted a bore, the social attractions of the studio and student life will be transferred to other idols, the poverty of painted photographs will be found out, and painting will depend once more on its rank as one among the arts of design. Now these arts already have something like a counter Academy in the Societies of the Art Workers Guild, and Arts and Crafts Exhibitions, and the problem for the Academicians will be to accommodate themselves to this natural return of the designer to his old domains. When the vital performances in art of this reign come to be summed up, not only will our greatest sculptor, Stevens, our greatest poetic designer, Rossetti, our most strenuous realists of the week-day and Sunday, Madox Brown and Holman Hunt, be found among the outsiders, but another man of genius whose activity illustrates the changed direction of artistic forces. William Morris will live not so much in any masterpiece of his own as in the cordial inspiration, the scholar's lore, and the poet's glamour that his big nature threw into the revival of a dozen crafts. The Academy stands at this moment somewhat stunned by recent losses, but the closing of one age and the beginning of another ought to find her plastic to the reformer's action. When the men to whom the destinies of an institution of somewhat battered reputation are entrusted look round for the means of securing a sounder future, they may find that health lies not only in checking the plague of pictures, but in giving a more liberal scope, as well as a stricter application, to the title "Academy of Arts."

D. S. MacColl.

* The Academy's interest in drawing may be measured by the place given to pure drawing in the exhibitions, and its ideas on the subject, by a regulation that excludes all drawings "*without backgrounds.*"

A RETROSPECT OF THE REIGN.

I PROPOSE in this article, with the help of the useful little biographies entitled *The Queen's Prime Ministers*, to attempt a brief comparison of the position in which certain of our national institutions, and certain leading public questions, now stand, with that which they occupied at the commencement of Her Majesty's reign. Such a retrospect cannot be exhaustive, and must of necessity be liable to the same criticism as all summaries are exposed to in which the selection of subjects is arbitrary. But I hope that in this case they will not be found wholly without connecting links, and that the result, however imperfect, will not be destitute of unity.

In order to make a fair start we must take a few steps backwards, to the period when the first of the Queen's Prime Ministers succeeded Lord Grey at the Treasury. It was on the 16th of July, 1834, that Lord Melbourne kissed hands as First Lord, and it was in the following November that, on the death of Lord Spencer, and the removal of Lord Althorpe to the Upper House, William the Fourth dismissed the Whig Ministry of his own accord, and sent, in the absence of Sir Robert Peel, for the Duke of Wellington. His Majesty's ostensible reason was the difficulty, which Melbourne himself had admitted, of carrying on the Government without Lord Althorpe in the House of Commons. But this was not the real or the principal reason. The King had failed to obtain from Lord Melbourne the assurances which he required when Lord Grey resigned, and was glad to seize the first opportunity that offered of changing the Administration. We all know what followed. Sir Robert Peel consented to form a Government. He dissolved Parliament, and his Party gained a hundred seats, raising their numbers from a hundred and fifty to two hundred and fifty. But the Whigs were still left with a very powerful majority, and when Parliament reassembled, Sir Robert Peel soon found that even with the help of "the Moderates" which was liberally afforded him, he could not hold his own. It is, however, worthy of remark that after a General Election which turned to a great extent on the exercise of the Royal Prerogative, the Minister who represented it could only be defeated in the House of Commons by very small

majorities. From forty to fifty independent members gave him their support, and more than once on a division he counted more than three hundred votes. The King's attempt was premature; but could he have waited, as Pitt or George the Third would have waited, the result might have been different.

However, it was not to be; and the failure of this, the only attempt which has been made since 1832 to vindicate the right of the Crown to choose its own Ministers without absolute dependence on a majority of the House of Commons, is a landmark in our history second only in importance to the Reform Bill itself. This attempt was made by Sir Robert Peel in 1835, after, and not before, a General Election, when he had no prospect of converting his minority into a majority at the polling booths. What he then sought was not a mere Party truce, a provisional Administration, till arrangements could be made for a dissolution: it was the establishment of a principle which, had he been successful, might perhaps have been restored to its original place in our constitutional system; the principle, namely, that the Ministers of the Crown had a right to hold office till their policy and their measures were before the country, whether they had a majority in Parliament, or not. They were not to be condemned unheard. Sir Robert was of opinion that if his Administration were allowed fair play he would gain public opinion to his side, and gradually detach from the Whig Party a certain number of members who would, it was thought, have been too glad of an excuse for supporting a Conservative Government. Sir Joseph Wallinger in *Coningsby* was the type of a numerous class; and Lord Melbourne and Lord John Russell were aware of it. They took care, therefore, that Peel should not have the opportunity he required; and since that time an Opposition with a majority has usually followed their example.

But the events of 1835 must, of course, be read together with the events of 1834. It was the action of William the Fourth in the November previous which gave more than half its significance to the struggle of Sir Robert Peel in the February following. The King had, of his own accord, dismissed a Ministry commanding a large majority in the House of Commons, and had sent for the Leader of the Opposition, whose regular supporters at that time were barely a hundred and fifty. It is quite true that the Ministerial Party were split up into hostile sections, which might have caused their downfall very shortly. But they still presented a united front, and on any question of confidence would have swept the field. It was this exercise of the prerogative which Peel's attempt to hold office directly represented, and which naturally united the

Whig Party against him to a man. The political drama from the 15th of November, 1834, to the 7th of April, 1835, must of course be regarded, as a whole, complete within itself, and must be read from beginning to end to be understood.

Accordingly, when Queen Victoria ascended the throne in 1837, this question had been cleared out of the way. What might have followed, had Peel obtained a majority on his appeal to the country, is an interesting question which has not been much considered by political writers. It would probably have been said that the King was quite right, and as fully justified as George the Third had been in 1783. Had the event so turned out, many things might have happened differently afterwards. As it was, the failure of Sir Robert Peel has been held to amount to a final declaration of Parliamentary opinion on this subject, and to be a bar to any future exercise of the prerogative to a similar effect.

Perhaps unfortunately: for, as we shall see later on, emergencies may still arise when the intervention of the Crown might be the means of of extricating Parliament from difficulties injurious alike to its dignity and its efficiency. On the other hand lies of course the danger that such action on the part of the Sovereign might nowadays be so distorted or exaggerated by Party spirit as to make the remedy worse than the disease. I myself think that such an exertion of the power which still constitutionally belongs to the Sovereign would, in certain given circumstances, be far from unpopular. But it is necessary to look at both sides of the question, and to remember, too, that an act like William the Fourth's, followed by a defeat like Sir Robert Peel's, might at the present day be attended with more disastrous consequences than it was then.

We may here pause for a moment to point out the absurdity of stigmatizing William the Fourth's action as "unconstitutional." Mr. Gladstone himself asserts the contrary. The fact is that the words constitutional and unconstitutional are bandied about very glibly, without much thought being given to what they really mean. The Sovereign may change the Government as often as he or she pleases; if the Ministers appointed are not acceptable to the House of Commons, the confidence of the House is withdrawn from them. If the Crown then refuses to dismiss them, the supplies are stopped. All these several steps are strictly constitutional. But an old-womanish practice of applying the word unconstitutional to almost everything that is unusual in politics has lately sprung up which only has the effect of blinding men's eyes to what really is so. It reminds one of the pickpocket in *Oliver Twist*, who thought that the style in which his hair was cut in prison was decidedly "unconstitutional."

Some lingering traditions of the old *régime* survived for a time after Her Majesty's accession. The famous Bedchamber Plot may perhaps be thought a case in point; and twelve or thirteen years afterwards attempts seem to have been made to secure in some departments of Government a larger share of influence to the Crown. But on the whole, the last shadow of personal Government may be said to have disappeared in 1835. Some attempts were made twenty years ago to fasten on Lord Beaconsfield a project for reviving it. But they fell stillborn from the Press, and did no harm whatever either to the Ministry or the Monarchy.

With Queen Victoria, then, we enter on a new epoch. The question of prerogative seemed to have been finally settled. The last effort had been made and failed. And one very obvious subject for enquiry which it suggests to us is the degree in which our home and foreign policy has been affected by this change in the functions of the monarchy. The suspension of the Sovereign's right to appoint his own Ministers has been accompanied by the tacit abandonment of the Royal veto; by which I do not mean the veto upon Bills carried through both Houses of Parliament, but the veto upon measures recommended by the Government to the Crown. In former times the Sovereign had no difficulty in the matter. The King could refuse to allow measures to be brought forward of which he disapproved; and if persisted in against his will, had his remedy at hand. The Roman Catholic question is the leading case in point, which caused the dismissal of the Grenville Ministry in 1807. But the Indian Bill of 1783 is another, and the refusal of William the Fourth to allow any of his Ministers to support the confiscation of Irish Church Revenues is a third (Croker, ii. 243). But we are not aware that during the present reign any similar instance has occurred.

When, *e.g.*, the concession of Home Rule was first proposed to Her Majesty she had no alternative but to recommend it in the Speech from the Throne when Mr. Gladstone insisted on it. The question is not whether this abdication of the Royal authority in any given case is wise or unwise. We merely call attention to the fact that this authority has fallen into complete desuetude, and that the Crown has practically at the present day no will of its own. If anything should ever "happen" to the House of Lords this would be a very serious consideration. And even as it is, the change is not one exclusively for good. It requires no conjuror to see that when the Party system is disorganized, and Ministers are supported, not by a homogeneous body who have confidence in their general principles, and leave details to the Treasury Bench, but by a number of small groups each anxious for the success of its own pet project, the Government are always in danger of

being hurried into measures against their own better judgment, in order to prevent the defection of some powerful contingent which would at once place them in a minority. Might not the authority of the Sovereign be exerted to great advantage in such cases as these? There certainly have been periods during the last half century when, if the policy of the Court had been allowed to prevail the country might have escaped some great calamities. If we are to believe what has been repeatedly asserted by the most competent authorities, the Peelites were after the break-up of the Conservative Party in 1846, the favourites of the Court. Lord Aberdeen was the leader of the Peelites, and had Lord Aberdeen been the real head of his Cabinet, we should have had no Crimean War. But Lord Aberdeen was outvoted. He had to accept the opinion of the majority, and to report to Her Majesty that such was the decision of her Ministers. Could the Queen have replied as George III. once replied to the elder Pitt, "Well, my Lord, this won't do," England might have been spared the Crimean winter, and have kept the Russian Alliance. I hope I shall not be misunderstood—I am not laying down the law with regard to the war of 1854—it may have been the lesser of two evils. But there is a very numerous and influential Party in this country, consisting very largely too of advanced Liberals, who are not of that opinion, and it is for their benefit that I ask the question whether the abandonment of the prohibitive or preventive power which the Crown formerly exercised has always worked exclusively for good?

The Marquis of Lorne in his *Life of Lord Palmerston* scarcely alludes at all to the views of the Court in 1854. But it is well-known that they were represented by Lord Aberdeen, who, as both Mr. Russell and Lord Stanmore assure us, desired to stand aloof and leave Turkey and Russia to fight it out if they chose, which in that case it is supposed they would not have chosen. On looking back over the long and beneficent reign which has filled nearly two-thirds of the nineteenth century, it would be a mistake to speak of the Queen as having effaced herself. But partly owing to her extreme youth when she ascended the throne, partly, perhaps, for some years, to her love of domestic life, and the supreme happiness which she found in it, Her Majesty, it would seem, made little effort to retain in her hands powers which sixty years ago might still have been preserved, though after so long a lapse of time they can hardly be revived. Few of her Prime Ministers were likely to remind her of prerogatives which might have interfered with their own, and the consequence has been, as men of leading are now beginning to perceive, that we are left without any barrier against popular

impetuosity, except the House of Lords, whereas, had the resisting power been shared between the Monarchy and the Peers, it would have rested on a wider basis, and have been free from some objections to which, perhaps, it is open now.

Of course, the question may be asked whether Monarchy during the last sixty years could have borne the strain, and whether the policy of the Court during that time has not been the only one that was possible. It may be so. But I do not see that it has been in the truest sense of the word more "constitutional" than that of the Queen's immediate predecessors. The constitution, as far as the power of the Crown is concerned, is just what it was in the reign of William the Third. It might be very unwise or worse than unwise to attempt to wield the powers which he exercised without reproach. But there they are. To revive them would not be unconstitutional.

We have said so much on this point because the Queen has so often been called the most constitutional sovereign who ever sat upon the throne. Her Majesty's scrupulous and patriotic observance of both the letter and spirit of the constitution during the whole of her long tenure of power deserves the fullest and most grateful recognition by the whole body of her subjects. But we hope it may be said, without any disrespect to so beloved and so venerable a princess, that in her laudable anxiety not to exceed the limits of the constitution, she may sometimes have kept herself too closely within them; and that in the fear of doing more than was proper to a Queen of England, she may occasionally have done less.

We have heard it said by a great Whig lady, who was, doubtless, speaking the opinions of those among whom she had been brought up, that with all the admiration deservedly entertained by the country for the great abilities and high character of Prince Albert, he might, had he lived, have been the cause of some political trouble in consequence of his dissatisfaction with the position occupied by the Crown. And I have been told, on much higher authority than this, that after 1852 the Court did entertain the hope for a time of being able to introduce some change into the existing system whereby the powers of the sovereign would have been very considerably increased. The instrument by which Prince Albert hoped to effect this object was a Cabinet composed of men not belonging to either of the two great Parties in the State. He believed that a third Party answering to "the King's friends" might be formed, with a purely Peelite Cabinet at the head of them, taking its instructions on foreign affairs directly from the Crown. If it is true that the vision of a Government independent of all Parties did dance before the eyes of Sir Robert Peel himself we should

hardly like to call it impossible. But the country was certainly not ripe for it forty years ago. There is no fault to be found with Prince Albert, much the reverse, for wishing to see the Crown more powerful; but it is surprising that so able a man should have underrated, as he evidently did, the difficulties that stood in the way of it.

Among the various changes, social, political, and ecclesiastical, which have marked the reign of Queen Victoria, the changed position of the Crown is the most important, though the least exposed to observation. Down to Her Majesty's accession when any great measure was in contemplation, it was always asked what will the King say. That question is not asked nowadays, at all events by the public. Baron Stockmar accuses the Queen's Prime Ministers of having abandoned or failed to maintain her prerogatives. Mr. Gladstone* enquires what prerogatives? What he calls the statutory prerogatives of the Crown have never been assailed either by the Ministry or the Opposition, while "those immemorial and inherent powers which have no written warrant, which form the real and genuine prerogatives, and gives the monarch an undoubted *locus standi* in all the deliberations of a government, remain as they were." This last position is what I venture to doubt. And Mr. Gladstone himself seems conscious of a difference when he allows a little further on "that the subordination in the last resort of the royal to the national will when expressed through the constitutional organs, which was fact before the Reform Bill, has been more patent and admitted fact since that measure became law." That is not all. There is an unintentional equivocation in Mr. Gladstone's use of the word "fact." The power of the Sovereign to refuse assent to a measure proposed by his Ministers, and thereby at least to postpone it perhaps for several years, which was "fact" before the death of William the Fourth, has not been fact during the present reign. Such at least is the contention in this article, by one who has no pretentions to be behind the scenes, and has access to no other information than is open to the public at large. Is any instance to be found, since 1837, when the Crown has refused to be a party to measures recommended by the Government, thereby causing them to be either deferred or abandoned? Mr. Gladstone names George the Fourth's opposition to the Roman Catholic Bill as the last example of "independent kingship." I have assigned this honour to William the Fourth's opposition to the proposal afterwards known as the Appropriation Clause. This was his chief reason for the dismissal of the Whig Ministry. His subsequent submission, when the Appropriation Clause was em-

* *Gleanings*, vol. i. 76-79.

bodied in the Tithes Bill of 1836, is what I should call "the death of British kingship in its older sense"—if we should not rather say the suspended animation of "British kingship in its older sense." But there was certainly no understanding at that time that it was never to be used again; and I can see no tangible or obvious reason why the Queen should not have kept it alive had she been so minded. If it has been her Prime Ministers who have dissuaded her from doing so, then of course Baron Stockmar is in the right. But whether or no, the fact remains—and it is one of the most important facts that greet us in a retrospect of the last sixty years—that this particular element of authority, this one great constitutional check, has been allowed to fall into desuetude, and with it an additional guarantee for the maturity and stability of all accomplished legislation.

Before quitting this subject we shall call a very important witness to the truth of the above remarks.

"The knowledge that the king holds firmly a certain opinion, and will abide by it, prevents in many cases an opposite opinion being offered to him. If offered it will be withdrawn (witness the admission of Roman Catholics to the army and navy in 1806-1807).

"The personal character of a really constitutional king, of mature age, of experience in public affairs, and knowledge of men, manners, and customs is, practically, so much ballast keeping the vessel of the State steady in her course, counteracting the levity of popular Ministers, of orators forced by oratory into public councils, the blasts of democratic passions, the ground swell of discontent, and 'the ignorant impatience for the relaxation of taxation.'

"But at this crisis of our fate we are deprived of this aid."

The writer of these words was Sir Robert Peel, in July, 1837.

He probably meant that when the Queen had reached mature age, and gained the necessary experience, she might be expected to assume this function. That Her Majesty has not done so to any appreciable extent is only my own opinion, and I should be glad to see it refuted. The lives of the Prime Ministers afford us very little assistance in questions of this kind, and we should gather from Mr. Justice M'Carthy's *Life of Peel* that he had never even read the above letter. He tells us that constitutional government only began with the accession of Queen Victoria. If we are to accept the authority of Sir Robert Peel, an important element of constitutional government was then dropped. With regard to the simple fact, they both seem to be at one, and to confirm what we have here said.

The next great "fact" which strikes us on looking back over the past, is that, no matter what Prime Minister was in power, the stream of progress has flowed steadily on with only one important break throughout the whole reign. Its source indeed is to be

looked for higher up. It rises in the early part of the reign of George the Fourth, some seventy-five years ago. But the Victorian era accounts for sixty of these years, and what we seem to learn from the whole long history is that while great organic changes depend a good deal on the character and will of individuals, the course of quiet domestic improvement pursues the even tenor of its way, whatever statesman is in office. Lord Melbourne passed the new Poor Law and the Municipal Corporations Act. Peel and Russell between them reconstructed the Tariff and abolished Protection. Lord Palmerston passed the Divorce Act, fortified our forts and dockyards, and placed on the Statute Book that very useful administrative measure the Union Chargeability Bill. In 1852 Lord Derby reorganised the Militia. To Mr. Gladstone we owe the Education Act, the Licensing Act, the Ballot Act, the abolition of Purchase in the Army, and the University Tests Act. Mr. Disraeli addressed himself to questions of local administration. To the local ratepayers he afforded a large measure of relief; and the Rating Act, the Highways Act, and the Prisons' Act were all measures of the same quality. Besides these he passed into law between 1874 and 1880 no less than fifteen measures, all directed to the protection of the public health, the improvement of the condition of the poor, and the removal of the special grievances under which they believed themselves to be suffering. For some of these measures he was publicly thanked by the labour representatives in Parliament, and they are frequently referred to with approbation at the present day. He reformed the English Universities, amended Mr. Forster's Education Act, and gave the British agriculturist security for unexhausted improvements. Lord Salisbury established a system of local self-government in the English counties, to which Mr. Gladstone added another wing, passed measures for bringing the peasantry into closer connection with the land, and has since carried out a very valuable educational reform, and a great measure of relief urgently demanded by the landed interest.

Of course any attempt to give an exhaustive enumeration of this class of measures would be both ridiculous and impossible. The above mentioned are sufficient to illustrate our meaning. They were nearly all of them practical reforms of which the country stood in need, not forced on by agitation, but by the gradual growth of public opinion testifying to the existence of a real demand founded on matured experience. Measures of this kind have been sure of passing whoever was in power; and with this evidence before us we should see that reaction, in any practical sense, is the merest bugbear. The country, as a rule, to which, however, we have some glaring exceptions, can rely on the con-

tinuation of this healthy domestic progress as steadily by one side as the other.

But when we turn to another class of questions, to organic or constitutional changes, of which, during the Queen's reign, some have been effected, and others introduced without success, we observe a very interesting and suggestive difference. These measures, whether good or bad, successful or unsuccessful, have almost always been due either to individuals or to the combination of a few statesmen, who saw in them the only avenue to power, or the only move on the board to checkmate an adversary. These reforms or resolutions, call them by what name we may, have come from above. The other kind has come from below.

The Bill of 1832 was out of all proportion to any demand for Parliamentary reform which existed in the country. It was intended to dish the Tories, in which it effectually succeeded. As much may be said of the Reform Bill of 1867. It was intended to dish the Whigs. And though there is a very good defence for both measures upon public grounds, we question whether we should ever have seen either of them had they depended upon nothing else. The later of the two measures was the work of two men only. We should point out in parenthesis that it is quite a mistake to suppose that in regard to the ratepaying suffrage, the original basis of the Bill of 1867, Lord Derby was overborne by Mr. Disraeli: it was as much Lord Derby's idea as Mr. Disraeli's, if not more. Then came the Irish Church Bill, a bold and brilliant counter-move, by which Mr. Gladstone effectually nonplussed his adversary, and intercepted the victory which would certainly otherwise have rewarded the Conservative leaders. In 1885 it was necessary to change the constituencies in order to avoid a change of Government, as the Ministry would certainly have lost their seats at a general election had no such manipulation taken place. But for this all-powerful motive, which operated only on a few leading men, the old electorate might have lasted till the present moment. It is needless to speak of Home Rule and all that has followed since that time: the attacks upon the Church of England, the attacks upon the House of Lords. That there was no popular demand for either has been abundantly proved.

Mr. Russell, in his *Life of Mr. Gladstone*, hardly takes the trouble to answer this explanation of the Irish Church Bill, though it was before him when he wrote. He quotes the words of Bishop Wilberforce: "I am afraid Gladstone has been drawn into it from the unconscious restlessness of his being out of office, though I have no doubt his hatred to the low tone of the Irish Church has had a great deal to do with it." Exactly: as with Parliamentary Reform so with the Irish Bill, there was, no doubt, a case to be set

up for Disestablishment; but what was the instigating motive at the moment? Mr. Russell remarks that Mr. Gladstone's "letter to Dr. Hannah in 1865 only meant that he did not see how soon the occasion might arise for giving effect to an opinion which had long been forming in his mind." Exactly so, again. When Mr. Disraeli seemed likely to return to power with a large majority, the occasion *had* arisen: the formation of opinion was completed. On the Reform Bill of 1885 Mr. Russell is silent. But on the dissolution of 1886 following within six months of the previous one, he adds another instance of the royal will being set aside. Her Majesty was very much opposed to another dissolution. But she was obliged to yield.

If there is any truth in the above diagnosis it follows that it is to the people we are to look for great practical reforms, and to discontented individuals for blazing revolutionary projects. It is to be noted, too, that this is a distinctive feature of the present reign; and particularly of the latter half of it. When Lord Melbourne, or Sir Robert Peel, or Lord John Russell, or Lord Palmerston were driven from office, they did not at once try to get up a revolution as the best way of reinstating themselves. The retrospect suggested by the lives of the Queen's Prime Ministers exhibits this practice as an unhappily salient characteristic of the later Victorian era: one of the least satisfactory symptoms of the condition of Parliamentary Government.

And this remark leads us to another curious reflection on the comparative positions of the two Houses of Parliament at the accession of Her Majesty and at the present day. Mr. Gladstone has said that the House of Commons reached the zenith of its power and popularity about the middle of the century; and no doubt for some forty years after the Reform Bill it continued to stand at a high level in public estimation. But I need not be afraid of adding, what is matter of common notoriety, that this high level has not been maintained down to the present time. The decline is not perhaps to be attributed to any one single cause; but Mr. Parnell had the honour of setting an example which soon found imitators among English parties, not indeed with a similar object in view, but with a similar disregard of Parliamentary traditions, and those unwritten laws which had hitherto been held sacred. They did not avow, like the Irishmen, that it was part of their design to make Parliament impotent and contemptible; but in using the same means for the furtherance of different ends, they were contributing to the general relaxation of discipline which began to be apparent during Mr. Gladstone's second Administration. Then, as men gradually found their way into the House of Commons who, neither through per-

sonal experience nor social connection, had any knowledge of Parliamentary usage, or appreciation of Parliamentary dignity, the evil grew worse. Even the old respect for the authority of the Speaker was not always preserved. Unseemly brawls became not infrequent, and it grew in time to be a colloquial commonplace to describe the House of Commons as a bear-garden.

Side by side with the growth of disorder sprang up also a new system of opposition, traceable in part perhaps to the character of the new constituencies as formed by the successive Reform Bills of 1867 and 1885. When it was once recognized, or thought to be recognized, that electoral majorities represented only the impulse of the moment, there was no reason why the defeated party of to-day should not be the conquering hero of to-morrow; the natural result being that the party which is placed in a minority instantly sets to work to weaken and discredit the Government by every means at its command. This becomes its sole object, and hitherto events have justified it. Hence the practice of straining every nerve to prevent Government Bills from being carried, in order that Ministries at the end of every Session may stand convicted of barrenness and incompetence. This is done without any regard to the merits of the legislation proposed. The one thing is to convict the Government of failure, and the means by which this end is attained, though it may spin out discussion to any length, is fatal to real eloquence and the rise of genuine orators. The majestic stream of Parliamentary debate is gradually being lost in the swamps and shallows of obstruction.

It cannot be supposed that the country does not notice these things; and it is not wonderful that all combined they have wrought a considerable change in the status of the Lower House; and though we trust that its downward progress may yet be arrested, its decline both in moral weight and practical efficiency since 1837 is, we fear, indisputable.

On the other hand, if we compare the position of the House of Lords at the present day with its position when Lord Melbourne was Prime Minister, we shall be struck with the fact that in proportion as the House of Commons has sunk in public opinion, the House of Lords has risen. We have nothing to do but to read the letters of the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, and even Sir James Graham, almost any time during the thirties, to see that they thought neither the House of Lords nor the Church had long to live. When the odium which the House of Lords had incurred by opposition to the Reform Bill had passed away, it was succeeded by a feeling very like contempt; and if we consult again those storehouses of political information—Lord Beaconsfield's novels—we shall find abundant evidence of the position which the

House of Lords occupied in public estimation down, at all events, to the middle of the century. The tide began to turn with the renewed interest in Foreign Affairs aroused in 1848, with the Crimean War, the Indian Mutiny, and the predominance of foreign politics during the whole of Lord Palmerston's Administration. The superiority of the debates in the House of Lords on subjects of this nature began then to be observed. It became very conspicuous during the twenty years that followed the resignation of Mr. Gladstone in 1874, while the attitude which it has recently taken up in defence of the Empire, the constitution, and the highest interests of labour, not only proves that it is still animated by a high sense of duty, and a spirit worthy of its ancestral history, but also that in political sagacity and insight into national opinion it is superior to the elective assembly. No one can compare the tone in which the House of Lords was habitually spoken of in 1837, with the tone in which it is habitually spoken of at the present day without being sensible that the upward progress of the one chamber has been quite as marked as the downward progress of the other.

As the will of the Sovereign has retired more and more into the background, the function described by Sir Robert Peel as "the proper function of a king, namely, to counteract the levity of popular Ministers, and of orators, forced by oratory, into public councils," has devolved almost exclusively on the House of Lords. And the point to be noticed is that the more conspicuous this function has become the more popular has the House of Lords grown. The nation now recognizes in this Assembly the guardian of its rights and liberties; whereas, sixty years ago, it was thought to be the enemy of both.

Whether the Church of England is really stronger or weaker, more popular or more unpopular than she was at Her Majesty's accession, is a very difficult question to answer. When the legal obligation of all alike to contribute to the Church Rate was abolished by the House of Lords, a blow was struck at her theory. Twenty years afterwards her friend, Mr. Gladstone, put an end to the surviving practice. Under one Liberal Prime Minister she lost her hold on the Universities; under another she lost her position in the parish; and she has gone near since then to losing it in the schools also. On the other hand, the great ecclesiastical event of Queen Victoria's reign, the Anglican revival, beginning in 1833, has gone on increasing in strength and popularity ever since. It is this alone, in my opinion, which has drawn into the Church of England a sufficient number of devoted men to enable her to gain that hold upon the labouring population which is now extending every day, and to which alone we have to look

for her security in the future. Faith in their Anglo-Catholic Church inspires these men with something of the same kind of zeal which inspired the Romish missionaries in the sixteenth century, and, like these, they have retrieved a fallen cause, and have won, as I believe, a great battle against heavy odds. Neither the Evangelical Party, nor the Broad Church Party, nor the old high and dry party could have produced the desired type. And this success has been achieved not only without any help from the Queen's Prime Ministers, but in spite of the open opposition of some of them, and the cold indifference of the rest.

In the department of foreign affairs, I suppose it will be generally allowed that Lord Palmerston and Lord Salisbury have been the two greatest among the Queen's Prime Ministers. I need not name the smallest. But if Lord Palmerston and Lord Salisbury were the two greatest, they were great in two different ways. Lord Palmerston did not win his crown by a policy that was always to be approved of. His eminence was sometimes a bad eminence. It will hardly be said in the present day that when Lord Palmerston was earning for himself the title of the Captain Rock of Europe he was doing his country good service. Our connections with the great continental monarchies which it was the aim of the Duke of Wellington and Lord Aberdeen to preserve, were loosened by the action of Lord Palmerston, a result which, whatever satisfaction it might give to the shallow Liberalism of the day, was far from conductive to the highest interests of this country, to the maintenance of either peace abroad or security and economy at home. Whether the position of England in Europe is at this moment higher or lower than it was in 1837, is a question which is often answered without sufficient consideration. In 1837 only twenty-two years had elapsed since the Battle of Waterloo. All our loyalty, all our sacrifices, and our long career of victory by land and sea, were still fresh in the minds of the European sovereigns. The Crimean War showed indeed that English soldiers were the same men who climbed the ramparts at Badajos, and held the orchard at Hougomont. The Indian Mutiny proved that the ancient spirit and vast resources of this country were still unbroken. But there is this great difference between the two periods, that in 1837 the long continuity of English foreign policy had only just been severed, whereas in 1897 the old concert has only just been revived after an interval of thirty years. In the debate on the Address in 1835 Sir Robert Peel said, "I offer you the renewed confidence of powerful states." There would have been no difficulty then in restoring it; and even after five years more of Lord Palmerston's foreign policy Sir Robert Peel did to a great extent revive it. But after his downfall our foreign policy for another generation was under the

control of Ministers whose attitude, as a general rule, was not favourable to the maintenance of a good understanding with our old allies. But in Lord Salisbury we have a Minister of another mould; and if it were not that there is no longer any guarantee for the continuity of our policy, there is no reason why we should not now stand quite as well with Europe as we did sixty years ago. Our *power* certainly is as much respected as it ever was.

But, if possible, even more satisfactory than the improvement in our foreign policy under the direction of Lord Salisbury is that gradual development of closer and more cordial relations with our colonial empire which the last thirty years have witnessed. Great Britain and her Colonies now feel themselves to be one. The latter are no longer appendages, but integral parts of one great Imperial unit. The loss of any one of them would be the same thing to us as the loss of the Orkneys or the Hebrides. It is difficult to realize the state of public feeling on this subject when it was possible for an English Colonial Secretary to say to a Colonial deputation that England did not care whether she kept her Colonies or not, that they were free to go or to stay as they pleased; and that we should be at no trouble or expense to retain their allegiance. As for our own emigrants, England would not hold up her little finger to induce them to remain under the British flag rather than under any other. For this is what our Colonists were told nearly in so many words in the year 1869. And perhaps on the whole we may regard the repudiation of this sordid and shameful policy as the most reassuring testimony to the still unbroken soundness of the national character which Her Majesty's long reign has witnessed.

I am not writing a history of England, and may draw rein at the point which we have now reached. The Victorian era has carried England gently, if not almost imperceptibly, from an aristocratic to a democratic form of Government, and that so vast a change has been effected with so little friction is a fact of which Englishmen may well be proud, though the goal at which we have arrived may not be such as all of us approve. If—after all—if we are obliged to say of the Queen's reign,

"πολλὰ μὲν ἐσθλὰ μεμιγμένα, πολλὰ δὲ λυγρά,"

it is only what we have to say of all human things; and in this instance we may gladly admit that the good preponderates over the evil.

T. E. Kebbel.

NEWMAN AND RENAN.*

PLUTARCH has written *Parallel Lives;* and history, no less than drama, delights in contrast and coincidence. But seldom, perhaps, did it execute in this line a stroke so remarkable as when, in the month of October, 1845, and almost on the same day of the month, it led John Henry Newman to the door of the Catholic Church while Ernest Renan was issuing thence, and bidding his early faith an everlasting farewell. We may figure to ourselves the 9th of October as a famous and a fatal day in that year, shining for Catholicism with brilliant light and setting in deep shadow. Who can draw up the balance of such loss and such gain? No one, so far as I am aware, has attempted it hitherto; yet if we knew how the account stood, we might see our way to resolve many of the questions which divide and torment us. For these two men, although never meeting in the body, nor acquainted with each other's writings, were in fact rivals and antagonists—parallel and opposed; each had fought the battle of belief and unbelief in his own bosom; together they summed up the tendencies of an age. And in variety of gifts, in personal romance, in the influence which went forth from them and subdued more than one generation, who shall say that they were greatly unequal?

The most striking resemblance between them is their mastery of style. Newman has long been recognized as one of the crowned and sceptred kings of English prose literature, without a competitor save Ruskin; but as a spiritual teacher, a light in the world of religious development, he is by far the greatest that has risen up during our century. On the other hand, which among illustrious French writers has excelled Renan? I speak of the supreme French achievement, again of prose not of poetry; and I call to mind Chateaubriand, George Sand, Victor Hugo—these are the highest modern names—but can we praise them beyond the choice, and music-breathing, and exquisite, and endlessly cunning artist

* *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman,* edited by Anne Mozley. London, 1891.

Lettres Intimes: 1842-1845, précédées par "Ma Sœur Henriette," par E. Renan. Paris, 1896.

who, by a secret known to himself and none other, has combined the Celtic and the classic eloquence, stolen the hearts of friends and enemies, hidden the charm of his persuasiveness in words as simple as they are touching, and given to a phrase or an epithet power so strange, that once heard, it never will be forgotten? What a specious miracle is here, and how slight a value do we set on Hugo's chaotic splendours when this enchantment has taken hold of us! But such was Renan. He has wrapped himself in the cloak of the wizard Prospero, borrowing for the nonce his staff and magic volume, not unsuccessfully. Now, if we should think of Newman as Ariel, a spirit most delicate, detached, and filled with heavenly light, the terms of our comparison would not be wanting.

I propose to draw out briefly some of the resemblances and the contrasts which have been brought home to me in reading the remains, and especially what is now published from their correspondence, of these memorable persons. But I shall not pretend to do more than illustrate a large subject. Shall I accomplish even so little as that? I cannot tell; but if the keen personal feeling which comes over me when I turn to either Newman or Renan be any proof that one has entered into their thought, their way of looking at the nature of things, their peculiar and individual spirit; if to be charmed is the secret of interpretation, and yet to be critical under so mighty a spell is some token of clear-sightedness, then I would take courage from the omens vouchsafed me. Perhaps it is impossible for those who never knew the Catholic Church by experience to understand how Newman came at last to join it, almost in his own despite; and still less, I am confident, will they, without some rare dramatic power, comprehend the attraction which it ceased not to exercise upon Renan, although he had run to the opposite pole. I shall endeavour to keep clear of controversy; the situation, delineated as it was by the men themselves, out of which their final resolve issued, will point the moral of many arguments.

And now to begin. We must say, with Hamlet, though not disparagingly, "Look here upon this picture, and on this." See, amid the jostling crowd of mediocrities, in an age given over to commerce, politics, money-making, journalism, and vulgar enjoyment, these two men of genius—one French, one English—who pass by the whole scene of Vanity Fair as an empty stage-delusion. They are nothing if not idealists—dreaming their dream, perchance, while the many feast on good things; but a dream—in Newman contemplative, supernatural, in Renan Hegelian, concerned only with the process of the world, and a Divinity still latent—which neither would exchange for all beside it. This unconquerable passion was breathed into them from the beginning

by Religion. They come down to literature as out of a higher sphere. The intense purity and clearness of style, the eloquence flowing in a stream so limpid, whereby each is marked off from his fellows and is classic, they have arrived at by no inducement from without, but in the effort to understand themselves. Each is alone, or regardless of his chance audience. Most instructive it is when Renan describes himself as the least literary of men, and marvels in his roguish innocence at the French Academics, who can write though they have nothing to say. From the first he was disdainful of the loud-tongued rhetoric which M. Dupanloup had set up as the very finest of the arts at St. Nicholas du Chardonnet. But Renan, who has written such inimitable prose, would have no mention made of style in training French scholars; let them study things and the words will come, he declares again and again. Newman wore himself out over his compositions; yet, at the age of sixty-nine, he could say with delightful simplicity, "I never have been in the practice since I was a boy of attempting to write well, or to form an elegant style. I think I never have written for writing sake, but my one and single desire and aim has been to do what is so difficult, viz., to express clearly and exactly my meaning." Yes, he had a meaning, a conviction, which would not let him rest until it was embodied in language; and literature as a display of talent, or a thing which could be sold in the market, he no more dreamt of dealing in than he would have dealt in any other commodity and article of commerce. Yet—or shall we not rather say, hence?—there is a beauty and freedom of touch in all that either of these men published, the like of which no popular pen has to show. It is art, indeed, but disinterested, patient, and unconventional, addressing itself to those who can grasp its significance, not to the multitude. "I cannot make myself heard when I speak to the many, nor do the many care to hear me. *Paucorum hominum sum*," wrote the great Oratorian. And Renan, in the preface to his *Drames Philosophiques*, has these proud words: "Besides the volume which is destined for the circulating library, there is the book of which the triumph consists in its being held of price by some few hundred connoisseurs." His own most cried-up volume had been read by tens of thousands, but still it was to the few and not the many that he appealed.

So frank a dismissal of the crowd argues in the speaker that he does not need them, nor has thought of them in the first place. He will teach, but only those that care to listen; his message has certain undercurrents; it is esoteric, ironical, a winged word that flies over common heads and pierces the heart at a distance. We can never be quite sure that we have caught the prophet's deepest meaning; and he smiles outright when we undertake to decide

what he has been aiming at, or to refute a suggestion which has glided across the flow of his metaphors. Such a peculiar and indefinable spirit will be at once supremely truthful and as candid as snow in sunshine. But who will dare to criticize, or pretend to exhaust, a philosophy which never can be resolved into another man's formulas?

The candour, the irony, the rare distinction, the transcendent egotism—I quote Newman's own word—and all this lighted up by an impersonal motive (by religion on the one hand, by science, or erudition, or philosophy, on the other), which are thus held forth as independent of the arts of rhetoric, and hostile, in a sense, to literature, cannot be denied to either of my heroes. Their writing is one long soliloquy; I doubt if a second person is ever much more to them than the mask of the Athenian actor, the speaking trumpet through which they hear their own voice. I am struck with the portentous solitude that each makes round about himself. Like the father of Idealism, Berkeley, each must build the universe anew, and out of his own feelings; he cannot take it for granted or receive it upon hearsay, or by tradition; it is a problem to be resolved, not an axiom beyond discussion. This everlasting note of interrogation, I think it must be, which has led various well-intentioned writers to charge Cardinal Newman with scepticism; while in Renan we find an unqualified eulogy of Descartes and his methodic doubt as the beginning of wisdom. But let us never be hasty in our judgments concerning these subtle minds. For it is the privilege of genius to name all things afresh and, like Adam, to interpret creation with eyes enlightened but still untaught —the glances of a child-man in Paradise.

What an orthodox scepticism, for example, is that which impels Newman to say, "While a man holds the moral governance of God as existing in and through his conscience, it matters not whether he believes his senses or not. For at least he will hold the external world as a divine intimation." To such a one the vital distinction between Hume and Berkeley turns upon this, which of them denied, and which acknowledged, the fact of conscience as aboriginal and self-demonstrative. Renan would certainly have held with Hume. Of the truths belonging to that moral order he says, "they cannot be directly affirmed or denied"; they fall into a sort of never-ending dialogue where every shade of opinion, surmise, and dubitation has its own place. All things here below —in the world of phenomena, which includes conscience,—are, according to the dreamer of Pantheistic dreams, but symbols and imagery. Yet, ere the pen drops from his hand, when he is finishing the last page of *Ma Sœur Henriette*, he too makes a confession such as we could hardly have expected from him. "I

never have had any doubt," he tells us, "of the moral order; but I see now with evidence that the whole logical system of the world would be undone, were such lives," as that of his noble-hearted sister, "delusion and deceit."

The consent of these witnesses, Newman and Renan, in a point of capital importance, is very astonishing, and by no means to be overlooked. They may differ as regards the method of proof; they are at one as to the fact. Nor need we suppose that there is less conviction than there is irony—a growing disease with Renan as old age crept upon him—in those words of power which serve as an introduction to the *Prêtre de Némi;* "I believe with the Sibyl," he cries out while reflecting on the melancholy fate of the priest Antistius, "that justice will reign, if not on this planet, still in the universe at large; and that the virtuous man will at length be found to have been the well-inspired." Abate, I say, the half-mocking smile; remember that there is a Gascon of the joyous type in Renan, who will have his joke at all costs; and interpret his true thoughts by the language he has dedicated as an epitaph upon his sister's tomb; shall we not recognise here a great affirmation? But the lightness offends. It does, and with reason. There is a mortal difference between the teachers which tells utterly, at last, to Newman's advantage. We shall find ourselves returning to it ere we have done with them; and then, indeed, if we absolve Renan from the charge of scepticism, we cannot but condemn in his declining years the Aristippus, or sensual pleasure-monger, which he seems to have become. Meanwhile, let us ask, after the fashion of modern psychology, how much was given to either by inheritance or descent, and how much by education. It is an enquiry of singular interest.

We have not been told as yet nearly so many particulars touching the historical and family antecedents of Newman, as the Breton peasant-genius relates about himself. But we know that, though London born, he came of Huguenot blood; he was Calvinist on both sides; intensely religious, or "very superstitious," as he says, by temperament; and he had "a sense of the presence of the Supreme Being which never had been dimmed by even a passing shadow," which had dwelt in him ever since he recollected anything, and which he could not imagine his losing. This direct apprehension, or "image of an invisible Being,"—the root of what some call mysticism,—it was which gave "a deep meaning to the lessons of his first teachers about the Will and Providence of God"; they were but drawing out, as in the Socratic experiment with Meno's young slave, truths implicit but really existing within his childish consciousness. Nor did he ever cease to believe in them when once they were apprehended. His Calvinism fell away;

that first vital intuition not only survived all changes, but was their motive-power and their justification. He never lost his faith in "the reality of conversion, as cutting at the root of doubt," and "providing a chain between God and the soul with every link complete." From his earliest years "God's presence went up with him, and gave him rest."

Renan has left us his own Darwinian formula, mockingly but as if he laid stress upon it,—"Breton by the father's side, Gascon by the mother, in the remote distance, Lapp or Finnish." One constituent was not to be found in him—the Roman, Latin, South-Eastern French; we have no proper name for it in English, and our criticism, as well as our history, loses thereby; but M. Taine has called it, *par excellence*, the classic, and we may follow his example. Now of this ancient but surviving, and among the modern French omnipotent, type Renan was the exact opposite. He did not believe in authority; law, routine, precedent — the stately and too often chilling architecture, so to term it, of a life which was governed from without, not spontaneous or self-inspired —spoke to him faintly and were shadows, mere phantoms rising up out of the past; they left him cold when they did not stir him to rebel against them. The Celt is shy and restive; he loves passionately and will follow to the death; but he cannot obey the impersonal; he is too much of a poet to dwell at ease among the abstractions and devices of the Civil or the Canon Law. When the fisherman's son is still wandering about the old streets of Tréguier, or prays and meditates in that high mediæval shrine of St. Tudwal—itself a piece of fantasy, soaring rather than solid—or when he goes with his pious mother on pilgrimage to chapels hidden among the aged trees, and framed about by the clouds and storms of Brittany, who could be more edifying, more Catholic? But his religion has in it something antique—I had almost said, elemental; it goes beyond history and dogma; it is Paganism, too, but exceedingly primitive; and its wonder-working saints have little in common with a purple-clad hierarchy, seated on thrones, judging the world by law, and practised in the conquering Roman state-craft. He is of the year 600, and that in wild Wales; for these ages upon ages have passed like a winter's day, not changing the Cymric folk, but throwing them back into their own thoughts, where, in a waking dream, they can picture to themselves the world as they would have it to be. Scatter them among strangers, send them into the regiments on the frontier, to the seminary in Paris, and they fall homesick and die. At least, they will be utterly reserved, silent, and meditative; no common life has the power to absorb them; and like Merlin who beholds the transparent walls of his prison on every side, in an enchanted loneliness, they put between

themselves and the world a barrier which no force can penetrate, no spell save the traditional words of might can dissolve.

That is the impression left on me by Renan's account of his childhood and youth; by the pathetic story of his sister's life in those lonesome years of Paris; by the description of Issy and its studious painful solitude which friendship seems never to have sweetened; by his desperate and yet speechless wrestlings with the respectable, narrow, conservative, Gallican orthodoxy of St. Sulpice; and by the letters which passed between himself and Henriette, who was in heroic exile, fifteen hundred miles away, earning her bread as a teacher in the palace of Prince Zamoyski at Clemensow or Warsaw. It is the record of a tragedy that went on to its inevitable yet unforeseen conclusion, step by step, during eight years and a-half, from the day when Ernest, a lad of fifteen, was admitted by M. Dupanloup into his fashionable seminary of St. Nicholas, until he found himself, a rebel rather than an outcast, lodging at M. Crouzet's, alone and without resources except in Henriette's devotion.

Sincere, and infecting us with his own trouble, as genius always will, Renan little imagined that his passionate epistles would be thrown upon the highway half a century later. But we can read them now side by side with those which the perplexed Oxford teacher was writing at that very time, as in the darkness of eclipse, to a sister equally cherished. Newman's letters, between 1839 and 1845, show him moving on and on, but as one feeling his way, amid contending voices, and through the Valley of the Shadow, until he has reached the heights from which Renan was descending. As we might anticipate, their paths did not cross. And this difference must be added. Henriette Renan, who in earlier days had declined to enter a convent—her predestined home, as it might appear—only from a sense of devotion to her father's memory and because she alone could support their falling house, Henriette, I say, had come into an austere but heterodox Deism, and rejoiced when her brother seemed to be taking the same path. She behaved with admirable forbearance, not pressing him by so much as a hint of her own opinions; he must obey his conscience, and at all costs be true to himself; she is but the physician noting his case, and telling him what it requires, that is all. But in character she is more decided, as Frenchwomen often are; she welcomes every token of independence in him, nor will suffer the young untried soul to go back and rest upon authority; no, "the veil once rent," she says, "cannot be restored"; his eyes are open, how can he shut them again? It is manifest what a momentum her words must have given at such a critical time to the arguments which drove her brother onward. She was the impersonation of private judg-

ment, obliging him to trust in himself. And all this with a delicacy of speech, a consideration, a self-sacrifice, that lend to her writing the infinite tenderness of a mother dipping the pen, as it were, in her own heart's blood. Chateaubriand would have called her Velléda, the Druidess, not unworthily; for in all she did or said there was a glow of feminine enthusiasm, and an utter disregard of self, as if in obedience to the ideals of a religion which, in its historical shape no longer appealing to her reason, still nevertheless governed her conduct. We may, perhaps, believe that Ernest Renan would not have left the Roman Church had Henriette thrown her influence into the orthodox scale. At all events, she decided him when he was yet wavering, and secured him a year of independence at the period which proved to be a turning-point in his life as in his convictions.

The English lady to whom she stands in so remarkable a contrast—I mean Jemima Newman—could not for many reasons exercise a similar influence. Ernest Renan's trial came when he was not more than twenty; the Vicar of St. Mary's was thirty-nine when the possible truth of a system which he had long fought against flashed upon him suddenly like an apparition, and filled him with strange forebodings. Moreover, he had passed through one great spiritual revolution already. From an Evangelical he had become an Anglican of the school of Laud; Jacobite Oxford had shown him that Calvinism might be plausible as a theory, but did not possess the key to human phenomena; and he had deliberately broken with these inherited beliefs. He could not break with them a second time; that experience, that change was unique. Nor did he feel as the lonely student at St. Sulpice must have felt, that he was going out into chaos. Rome was a visible reality; the power that claimed his allegiance might almost be touched with the hand; he had seen it during his voyages up and down the Mediterranean, and was well aware of its character and history. What could a sister who had simply followed him in his Anglican ascent oppose to all this? Only her love for him and for the Church of England that he had so gloriously magnified. But here is one of the most admirable points in the comparison; that the English sister found within this narrow space room to display qualities no less rare and gracious than the French—as fine a self-control under circumstances which were equally trying, a most sensitive conscience, a tender uprightness, and through all the dark moments which preceded Newman's secession a faith in him not to be shaken by rumours, misunderstandings, or the ambiguity of change. In the great collection of his early correspondence, no letters seem to me so faultlessly beautiful as those which he wrote to this lady during the forlorn period when, having ceased to be an Anglican,

he was moving over deep and stormy waters into the wished-for haven. And her replies, unpretending, extempore, written to him alone, with no eye upon a public that she cannot have detected in the uncertain haze of the future, deserve the place which has been allotted to them. Fittingly do we read them in one volume with her brother's tremulous and eager words, which passing through argument, expostulation, and the bitterness of death itself, invoked as a seal upon the testimony which he is bearing for conscience' sake, rise at last into a realm of light where all that is earthly dwindles and is seen no more. I cannot quote from them; but surely they are, and will long remain, among the masterpieces of religious literature.

We may most easily follow the changes through which Renan arrived at his philosophy, by looking upon him as an innocent country lad who believed all that he was told, and then tried it according to the method of an inductive, or, as he says, of an "achromatic" reason. He had not in himself the witness of a spiritual experience such as Newman had, which would resist as life always does resist, the assaults of scepticism. At Issy the mystic and the average man shouldered one another; but Renan had already eaten of the tree of knowledge, and chose it before the tree of the supernatural life. Religion was to be tested by science, without prejudice or prepossessions. Would it endure a touchstone that took from it all its enchantment, reducing its high and heavenly facts to a mere set of phenomena like any other? He began to question it as impartially as he would have cross-examined the Newtonian system, not like a man who feels the burden of sin and ignorance, and sighs to be delivered from them. When, at St. Sulpice, the evidences of Christianity were laid before him, still he employed the same process; antecedent probabilities did not exist, or must not be regarded; and if the Bible on being submitted to inspection failed to supply a consistent human narrative, how could we accept it as a teaching from on high? These difficulties of the letter, which have always been known to Christians, but never have turned aside any who were seeking for redemption, proved too much for the student of Hebrew and evidences. He would not argue against the mysteries of the Creed; they were confessedly beyond reason, and must be taken on authority; but he required—and, as it seemed to him, he did not find—the same sort of proof, or the unblemished accuracy of statement, in the four Gospels which he had found in Tacitus or Thucydides. With the truth of Scripture vanished the infallibility of the Church,—but first the Bible was wrecked upon this induction. If the Bible could have survived, Catholicism might have held him; now, all was of human growth; no divine inter-

position had ever taken place; development under fixed laws must explain the world historically; Jesus of Nazareth was but the noblest of men; the Gospels were a poem; religion had sunk down to myths and fables; and Renan might have summed up his belief as well as his criticism in those amazing words of Shakespeare, applying them to Oxford, St. Sulpice, and Tübingen in their several points,—"They say, miracles are past; and [yet] we have our philosophical persons to make modern and familiar things supernatural and causeless. Hence it is that we make trifles of terrors; ensconcing ourselves into seeming knowledge, when we should submit ourselves to an unknown fear."

An unknown fear! *Abyssus abyssum invocat;* take away Revelation, and what serious mind will deem this word too much? But the young critic, confident in his methods and his demonstrations, was of a sanguine temper,—as we now talk, an optimist. Life—and the Christian life, that world of deep experience!—he grasped with one hand, laying it on the marble slab of an empirical laboratory, and dissecting it, if not into materialism, yet into a psychology beneath or behind which there was no God. For had the living Infinite been present there, how could any process, logical or biological, pretend to be exhaustive? The result, not at once discernible, yet assured from the beginning,—since his method was false,—we have witnessed in our philosopher's latest writings. "What do you make of sin?" he is asked; nay, he asks himself. And he answers with a laugh, "Sin? *Ma foi*, I suppress it, gentlemen!" In language more suitable to the argument, he has discovered that man cannot fall; there is no height in creation and no depth; it is a plane surface, or a painted sheet, and never had a spiritual meaning. Here is an experiment on this man's part, which for eyes with any power of vision is evidence indeed; a proof by actual touch and trial that the wrong method must needs issue in passing by, as though it never had existed, the heart and essence of the problem. For how shall we fear if guilt is an idle name? yet *Primos in orbe deos fecit timor;* we cannot deny it; and that fear was a moral fear, a shrinking from judgment, or it speedily became so. Get rid of our belief in Revelation, founded upon man's need of forgiveness, and history too will change into an enigma, of which delusion is the necessary key. Thus, at length, the method of the philosopher and the facts of the past have fallen into hopeless contradiction.

Newman, undoubtedly, would have said that nothing better was to be anticipated; and the spectacle of a professing Christian who had no prejudices in favour of God, conscience, or immortality, who was indifferent to Church and Bible, and assimilated an Evangelist to a Greek or Roman historian, would have filled him with horror.

There is, he would say, a divine method of recognizing divine things. On this vital subject he wrote, and preached, and argued incessantly, knowing that here was the *punctum saliens*, the very germ and substance of what Christians understand by faith. His whole doctrine is strikingly expressed in a letter which is dated March 8th, 1843. "Religious truth," he tells his correspondent, "is reached, not by reasoning, but by an inward perception. Anyone can reason; only disciplined, educated, formed minds can perceive. Nothing, then, is more important to you than habits of self-command. You are overflowing with feeling and impulse; all these must be restrained, ruled, brought under, converted into principles and habits, or elements of character. Consider that you have this great work to do, to change yourself."

Character is, then, what Newman requires in a seeker after God; and it must be religious character, not the sceptic's cold impartiality. But in Renan at twenty-three, character had ceased to be religious; or, his religion, at any rate, was little more than a sentiment. No experience led him to cultivate these higher qualities in himself as the years went by. Yet surely it is a law of the mind which he would have granted, that between the faculty apprehending and the object apprehended there must be a certain agreement. If so, religion cannot be learned simply as though it were a branch of impersonal science. Nor has it ever made converts by colourless, achromatic reasoning. It is worship and communion, the atmosphere of which is prayer, and its vital principle grace; a power, not an argument in mood and figure. We may go so far as to allege that reasoning is the pencil which draws this outline upon the mind; but the artist is none other than the living spirit, enamoured of that ideal which it has beheld in the man Christ Jesus. So that a mystical and divine operation will be the only adequate cause of belief, and all things else are but means and instruments. This alone is the true account of Christianity as a fact in the world's progress. The letter killeth; and a frozen glance at the story of the Gospel, or even a dilettante beautifying of its pages and turning them into soft, sentimental French, will take their meaning out of them as effectually as if they were translated into an unknown tongue.

Who can wonder that pilgrims starting from such opposed points as these should be carried on to different conclusions? One is intent upon the human element, busy about evidence which would tell in a court of law, lynx-eyed to seize upon discrepancies in detail, minute, punctilious, microscopic; and thus he is sure that the truth may be ascertained, or not at all. To Oriental narratives, written with child-like good faith and unsuspecting simplicity, our critic, just because not critic enough to

know the deepest principles of his art or science, applies a cast-iron rule which not even Western writers, though literal and exact, have always obeyed. If he takes into account the supernatural, it is only that by means of it he may dash the story in pieces; an inspired volume must be perfect as a dictionary of dates, or a biographical memoir, drawn up with a view to the requirements of Gibbon or Voltaire. The first and last question is not moral, religious, personal; nor has it any concern with conscience, except on the score of veracity. Criticism, though always complicated and often abstruse—nay, though little better in the end than a "petty conjectural science,"—need not bow to the jurisdiction of what Aristotle would have called an architectonic, and Newman an illative faculty, the judgment of which, founded upon the whole case for Revelation, and dealing with particulars by a cumulative process, should be final and supreme. No, it is by analysis destitute of superior principles, and quite indifferent as to the result, that Renan searches the Scriptures; and they fall into his hands like a heap of fragments, or the dust of a dead body suddenly exposed to light and air. Dry, dessicating science has ground them to powder.

How much more in accordance with the laws of life is Newman's proceeding? He does not look for this perfect and obvious agreement in writers so variously endowed, so little dependent upon one another, whose minds were dazzled with the great illumination, and possessed and overcome by the recent memory, of their unparalleled Master. The tone of prophecy is abrupt; its words are dark sayings; it is a collection of sibylline leaves, not rhetoric unfolding a theme to our leisurely comprehension. And the plainest-seeming tale or narrative in the Bible must, from the nature of the case, be prophetic; "Thoughts beyond their thoughts to those high bards were given." We are at Nazareth or Jerusalem, not on the Hill of Mars, or walking with Socrates on the road to the Piræus. If we allow, for argument's sake, that a more divine spirit than man's is breathing its accent into these stories, we cannot imagine their first aim or motive ever to have been a bare literal accuracy, though accurate they will surely turn out to be when we have understood them as they were meant. For instance, let us take Hume's celebrated piece of reasoning *a priori* against miracles, and complete or strengthen it by the contention of Littré, which Huxley and Renan have made their own, namely, that no evidence equal to the facts alleged ever has been forthcoming. What will Newman say in answer? He has written on the whole subject as follows:—

"I will accept the general proposition, but I resist its application. *A priori*, of course the acts of men are not so trustworthy as the order of Nature, and the pretence of miracles is in fact more common than the occurrence. But the

question is not about miracles in general, or men in general, but definitely, whether these particular miracles, ascribed to the particular Peter, James, and John, are more likely to have been or not; whether they are unlikely, supposing that there is a Power, external to the world, who can bring them about; supposing they are the only means by which He can reveal Himself to those who need a revelation; supposing He is likely to reveal Himself; that He has a great end in doing so; that the professed miracles in question are like His natural works, and such as he is likely to work, in case He wrought miracles; that great effects, otherwise unaccountable, in the event followed upon the acts said to be miraculous; that they were from the first accepted as true by large numbers of men against their natural interests; that the reception of them as true has left its mark upon the world, as no other event ever did; that viewed in their effects, they have—that is, the belief of them has—served to raise human nature to a high moral standard, otherwise unattainable: these and the like considerations are parts of a great complex argument, which so far can be put into propositions, but which, even between, and around, and behind these, still is implicit and secret, and cannot by any ingenuity be imprisoned in a formula, and packed into a nutshell."*

I can imagine M. Renan, had he fallen in with this characteristic passage, shaking his head doubtfully, but repeating to the light-minded French infidel what he had told him before, that very few men have a right to disbelieve in the Christian Religion. Did *he*, when he was on the point of leaving St. Sulpice, weigh and consider this "implicit, secret, complex argument," so wide in its outlook, reaching from end to end so mightily, climbing to such heights of Providence, and so unwilling to admit a world-encompassing delusion that should "raise human nature to a moral standard, otherwise unattainable?" I discover no traces of this mature wisdom in his correspondence. Writing to a fellow-student, M. Cognat, who was endeavouring to bring him back out of the wilderness, this is what he says: "I ask you for proof; there is my strong point. But you have not a single proof that will hold good against criticism, whether in psychology or history. Jesus alone abides. But he belongs to me as much as to you. If I wish to be a Platonist, must I adore Plato and put faith in his very words?"

The event, if we look forward to dramatic teachings such as *L'Eau de Jouvence* and *L'Abbesse de Jouarre*, will furnish a commentary of the most decisive kind on this pretension. Renan gave up the spirit as well as the letter of Christianity; gave it up in all that was held by it to be pure and sacred; nor shrank from the worship of physical and feminine beauty as a law unto itself, exalted above every motive but its own pleasure. Even the accommodating Parisian shrugged his shoulders at what he was tempted to call the "obsession," or monomania, of certain ideas which clouded this declining imagination. The ideal had been vanquished by Imperia and her sisters; Prospero himself, that loftiest of Shakespearian crea-

* *Essay on Assent*, vi. edit., p. 306.

tions, underwent a change too horrible and desecrating for me to enlarge upon it; the faith was no longer "wrapped in the purple shroud where the dead gods sleep"; it had become merely an artistic background, sombre and forbidding, to the festival of Antichrist, hailed by a new Renaissance as king, and priest, and prophet. The "water of youth" is science, which has found out fresh enjoyments and the secret of euthanasia, or of dying when we please. Such are, in Jules Lemaître's admirable account of them, "les fantaisies de négation voluptueuse, la philosophie du suicide délicieux," which have taken the place long ago held by an austere religion in this unhappy man's heart.

Unhappy, I call him, since he did, in his better moments, profess to live by the principles, though he had abandoned the dogmas of a creed acknowledged by him to be, in its ethical aspect, the highest accessible to man. As an ideal it was true and worthy of all acceptation, when he was putting off his soutane; but now the ideal is another, Greek of the Lydian mood, or Florentine from the days of Poliziano, or premature Rennaissance, as in the legendary and disedifying Papal Court of Avignon. In twenty years, what a length had he travelled from Galilee, as it is painted for us with its radiant skies, and flower-embroidered valleys, and its blue Mediterranean, murmuring under the wind, or whitening to summer tempest, in those pages of the *Vie de Jésus*, which charm while they sadden, so sweet is their music, so melancholy their disbelief in the Divine! But these Calibans, Clements, Prosperos, these French abbesses, and priests of Nemi, and courtesans of every decadent age, are corruption, sunlight lingering on the marsh where life has a certain stagnant beauty — the loveliness of decay, if you will, or of a suicide which degrades while it intoxicates with some deadly draught. I take refuge in figures from the necessity of plain dealing; but certainly none who have read these philosophic dramas with their eyes open, will give M. Renan credit when he professes to have kept, through all his wanderings, the spirit of the New Testament alive within him.

Thus we are brought round, by actual experience, to the position which he would not allow—in giving up the faith he has lost Jesus;—and we ask whether he was not preparing a rod for his own back when he told his friend Cognat, "Christianity has never hitherto been assailed except in the name of the immoral, and the abject teaching of materialism." A new era was to begin with himself; he would deny, yet remain a Christian under forms less concrete and definite. Pass thirty years, how much of that floating cloud is left? The burning sun has swallowed it up; the Platonism of the *Phædrus* and the *Banquet*, which was

so mingled of good and ill, must now apologise for a headlong descent into Proserpine's garden, where on every blossom his first teachers had seen written *Tetigisse, periisse.* Our learning, Eastern and Western, is now but the *édition de luxe,* in beautiful but perishable colours, of the wisdom which a Paris street boy may know and practise; *les frivoles* were ever in the right, and Gavroche is the only philosopher.

The argument is almost too severe. Yet I cannot see my way to making it less conclusive. One could have desired—how vainly!—that Renan, while he went into exile from the faith of Christendom, might have lighted upon the Happy Isles where legend has bestowed the wise men of old; might have stayed his steps with Marcus, and Epictetus, and Seneca—minds ascetic or self-controlled, and well read in the genuine Platonism which looks beyond visible forms to the god within, the spirit undying. These moods, now and again, he did experience, as when writing of his sister's last days near Byblos; and in a temper so refined and idyllic—but sentiment was always perilous to him—was that Galilean romance drawn out, shimmering with all the light and grace which he had stolen from the lines of snow upon Anti-Lebanon, and from the purity of those clear waters of Genesareth, sweet and inviting now, as in the days whereof he was recalling a faint but lovely image. Yet the power had long been working within him which, as it uncanonized the Gospel and made Jesus no more divine than Mohammed, was surely taking from his belief its spiritual strength, and melting it down with all manner of discordant aspirations into a dreamy, sensuous feeling, now high, now low, not subject to any fixed rule, clinging like a banner of mist to this Alpine summit or to that one, as the wind drove it; and altogether lawless and capricious. Renan, though striving to be himself alone, could not escape the fate which has ever attended on fugitives from the Christian temple into what they deem a more liberal air. Pagans they have not become, nor men of antique virtue; literally they find themselves "unsphered," at war with old and new. They are lapsed believers, runaways with a cord round their necks, Ishmaelites, whose highest ambition it may well be to live upon the principles of a creed which they no longer hold. "I have known what heroic goodness means," said Renan; he had grown up with it in Brittany and at St. Sulpice. Afterwards, among his brilliant friends, for all their wit and eloquence, he could not say that it was to be found. The world, then, had lost its jewel in rejecting Christianity; and what was he, at his best, except *un prêtre manqué,* a spoilt priest, the wreck of a shrine once dedicated to the Supreme, but now the home of unclean revellings?

These are his own confessions, not my indictment of the man.

Proposing to follow whither reason led, he ends by writing an apology for Brunissende, the courtesan, "magnificent in sin"; yet as a laggard idealist he will still admire the Sermon on the Mount. What a fabulous, self-devouring creature is this! and how shall we derive from his endless changes of opinion, and ironical agreement with all the world, anything more than pleasure in seeing him turn so nimbly, and delight in a language that has become the vehicle of sensations, not of ideas? But his whole experience is our lesson. He, if any man of his time, could have "distinguished between the letter and the spirit, separated the institution from its ideal aim, and forsaken the conventional without denying that which justified it." The problem was to teach and to live by a purified, undogmatic Christianity which, borne out by the evolution of the moral sense, in harmony with all knowledge, and free from superstition as from priestcraft, should be manifestly superior to the religion taught in the Churches. Does he succeed? His Prospero, the mighty master of ages yet to come, dies in the embrace of the sisters of Free Love.

If this, then, be the science of criticism, untrammelled and constructive, it has failed, since on the one hand it neither clears up history nor makes a step in advance beyond the Gospel; yet on the other it opens a downward path, and plucks away the safeguards which a long Christian tradition had established against our relapsing into Pagan vices. However, by the simple force of logic, it has also brought out the unseen but living bond which unites the Church with the Bible and dogma with ethics, as a visible system, at once historical and Divine. "The world moves forward," says Newman, "in bold and intelligible parties"; it does not rest satisfied with fragmentary conclusions, or theories that are woven from the student's brain; if we talk of a system, we mean nothing so abstract and bookish as the written metaphysics of Descartes, or Kant, or Schopenhauer. Nothing less concrete than a Church, a government, a polity will be equal to the demands of life, and strong enough to withstand the corroding scepticism, which, as we have beheld in a consummate intellect like that of Renan, is the too frequent outcome when individuals are left to themselves. There must be, somewhere, an imperial authority which may expound and protect the Christian tradition.

Where is it, then? That was the question arising naturally upon view of the great assault preparing against dogma which echoed in the ears of Newman, as he looked out on the world in 1841. It must not be imagined that he was turning aside from the vital problems of religion to subordinate and formal discussions. He understood—no mortal better—how man-

kind was to be guided, if at all, along the ancient ways. Natural and supernatural religion might be distinguished in idea; but in fact they were one and the same; or, speaking closer to the purpose, that state of mind which issued in belief of God was the very state which led to acceptance of Church and Bible. Had Renan believed in the living God of Nature, and not in a mere ideal process or formula, he would have discounted the objections in detail which he could not answer, and have followed up his vocation to the priesthood. It was his temper of mind, not the strength of those objections, which decided him. And again, though a born Catholic, he had put aside the Church's testimony as though it never had existed. He was, in short, a Protestant relying upon his unaided judgment, and therefore he fell in the day of battle.

But were not Anglicans Protestants also? "Our Church is not at one with itself," Newman wrote despondingly as the prospect darkened. There was a "confederacy of evil marshalling its hosts from all parts of the world, organizing itself, taking its measures, enclosing the Church of Christ as in a net, and preparing the way for a general apostasy." Puritans, Liberals, political economists, unbelieving men of science, all in their several ways were denying or tending to pull down the faith once delivered to the saints; and what could stand against them? He had begun to apprehend that no religious body had strength and consistency enough to do so, except the Roman Church. Principles long dormant were springing up and bearing fruit; as it ripened, friends and foes alike cried out "Popery," and their spontaneous agreement was a token that the seeds thus victoriously bursting into life had been brought from the Seven Hills. It was a "most revolutionary, and therefore a most exciting, tumultuous conviction," which came to displace and utterly banish the calm Anglicanism under the shadow of which Newman had dwelt for so many years. "You cannot estimate," he tells his sister, "the strange effect produced on the mind, when the conviction flashes or rather pours in upon it that Rome is the true Church." By and by, in his *Apologia*, he described the change as if from a mere subjective religion, painfully kept alive by incessant reasoning, to an objective and real world, which was always there, and went on of itself, whether the individual mind regarded it or not. His deep inward feelings, his spiritual instincts, hitherto groping about blindly for something outside which might respond to them, were now at length satisfied. The Via Media was a theory lying hid in old volumes; it never had moulded to its own principles a nation or a kingdom, let alone the tribes, and tongues, and peoples of a continent; but Rome was the Mother and Mistress of all Churches; she was Christianity as a world-wide

undeniable fact; unless Revelation were a myth, she had ever been its guardian. But Revelation was no myth, and Providence did not fulfil its great design by taking mankind in a snare. Assuredly, they were true historians, accurate critics, and men of sound judgment, who maintained that no line could be drawn which would separate the latter from the middle or the early Christian centuries; and as we could not accept the New Testament without defending the Old, in like manner he that believed in Church or Sacraments must take them from the hands of St. Peter's successor. Thus, beginning with conscience and the life of the spirit, which to him was the supreme reality, Newman wove the web all through to its last filaments, which Renan, by an inverse method, was undoing in those same momentous years until not a thread of it was left.

What shall we conclude from so extraordinary a spectacle as this of two men, equally gifted and, so far as we can judge, equally sincere, arriving at such opposite goals? Newman has asked the question in a former and justly-celebrated instance, that of Montaigne and Pascal. And he answers thus:—

"Shall we say that there is no such thing as truth and error, but that anything is true to a man which he troweth? And not rather, as the solution of a great mystery, that truth there is, and attainable it is, but that its rays stream in upon us through the medium of our moral as well as our intellectual being; and that, in consequence, that perception of its first principles which is natural to us is enfeebled, obstructed, perverted, by allurements of sense and the supremacy of self, and, on the other hand, quickened by aspirations after the supernatural; so that, at length, two characters of mind are brought out into shape, and two standards and systems of thought—each logical, when analyzed, yet contradictory of each other, and only not antagonistic because they have no common ground on which they can conflict?" *

But, though no common ground, there may be a definite issue; and unless I have read my authors to little purpose, it emerges from all they have written touching the nature and course of things, their origin, and the term to which they are moving forward. Newman believes in a present Deity, Renan in a future; to the English saint God is the Eternal Self-Consciousness, who was before all worlds, and guides them according to the word of His wisdom, by a plan fore-ordained, every part of which He holds in perspective and contemplates ere it is realized. That which comes out of the seed is only the full development of what was stored up within it; and so in the ripe age of Christianity we have a clue to its Founder's intention. For an intention He must have had, as well as foresight of the consequences inevitably following in a world like ours upon beginnings so disposed and ordered. He is hidden in Himself; clouds and darkness are round

* *Essay on Assent*, p. 312.

about Him; none ever felt more piercingly how thick are the curtains of His pavilion than did this mystic and philosopher; but a deliberate plan is something which can be understood even though its author be invisible; it has a language, a grammar, of its own which saves it from the charge of being mere haphazard or a succession of strokes at random. And though we cannot decipher all its syllables, or write them out fair and without broken lines, still, if as a whole our reading corresponds with the highest and deepest wants of human nature, if it satisfies conscience, and lays down our duty, and makes communion with the Unseen possible, and opens to us a boundless prospect, yet does not flatter our passions or our pride, Newman would argue that we have all the proof we can reasonably demand, of its being the very interpretation which we were meant to achieve.

With Renan all these things must be read backward, as in some unhallowed juggling spell. There is no key to existence but the ancient Eastern one of universal delusion, if that can be termed delusion which has come about by accident; for design, consciousness, foresight, are words without sense when we would talk of the Eternal Process. God is in the making. Our infinite Cosmos puts forth innumerable feelers into the void; and, by experiments repeated through millenniums, it has come at last to be the unfinished yet promising enterprise which we behold. Some day, if luck attends it, the world will develop a triumphant ethical law; instead of brute matter blindly striving, and often annihilating what is most precious, it will have eyes and conscience; it will be just as well as almighty. But now "the real is a vast outrage on the ideal," and the noblest of all religions was itself due to prophecies misinterpreted, legends framed by dreaming enthusiasts, miracles expanded from simple occurrences seen through a mist of emotion, and hallucinations possessing the one human spirit which, without sacrilege or more than a pious metaphor, was worthy to be called Divine. All the gods are mortal, indeed; and the fairest of them will pass away; "*tout ici-bas n'est que rêve et symbole.*"

As they began, so did these two men finish their thought—one with his *L'Eau de Jouvence*, and science turned to Pagan mythology, the other with his *Dream of Gerontius*, the vision of judgment. Prospero has no one to judge him; he is lawless and free, subject only to the formulas of the chemist, which he can elude if they press upon him too heavily. Gerontius belongs to a different race; he is of the sky and not mere sensuous flesh; he is Ariel in his lightness and purity, free, not from law, but from earthly passion—a winged nature, soaring upward like the fire to its eternal sphere. With Renan we feel ourselves falling into a darkness which thickens

as we descend. With Newman our spirit springs aloft, we breathe an air tense and invigorating; we cannot think but that this should be the clime and atmosphere of highest human progress. Why go back to Athens or the Renaissance, famous above all else for their worship of a beauty which had in it too little of the moral element? If our instincts can be ranged upon any scale of objective worth—and we all believe that there is such a scale—then the instinct which has stirred Gerontius, "the old man eloquent," to dream of a Divine Presence and of judgment to come, is infinitely higher than that which sees the conclusion of our days as an euthanasia, a tranquil suicide, and nothing beyond. Comparison itself is, in such disputes, the keenest criticism; and who, when his mind is clear and self-possessed, would not rather be this Ariel than that Prospero?

Thinking over these things, I have sometimes likened Cardinal Newman, in his "gracious senescence"—if I may borrow an exquisite word from Mr. Lowell,—to that Cephalus who is introduced at the beginning of Plato's *Republic*, and who, "looking very much advanced in years, is seated on a cushioned chair, with a garland on his head, for he has been offering sacrifice in the court" to the immortals. Nor can I suggest the conclusion which, from his many teachings, is to be gathered more appositely than by quoting that other *Dream of Gerontius* which I find attributed to Cephalus in the dialogue. It is Greek prose, lightsome and simple as Newman's own; and the moral which it holds out to us is not yet laid to heart; but far more likely to be a true one I consider it than all Ernest Renan's "conjectural science" and serious frivolity. Cephalus, then, speaks to the logician, Socrates, in this wise:*—

"Let me tell you, Socrates, that when a man thinks himself to be near death, fears and cares enter into his mind which he never had before; the tales of a world below, and of the punishment which is exacted *there* of deeds done *here*, were once a laughing matter to him; but now he is tormented with the thought that they may be true; either from the weakness of age, or because he is now drawing nearer to that other place, he has a clearer view of these things; suspicions and alarms crowd thickly upon him, and he begins to reflect and consider what wrong he has done to others. And when he finds that the sum of his transgressions is great, he will many a time, like a child, start up in his sleep for fear, and he is filled with dark forebodings. But to him who is conscious of no sin, sweet hope, as Pindar charmingly says, is the kind nurse of his age. 'Hope,' he says, 'cherishes the soul of him who lives in justice and holiness, and is the nurse of his age, and the companion of his journey—hope, which is mightiest to sway the restless soul of man.'"

But hope in the life to come is the Christian Religion.

William Barry.

* *Republic*, Bk. I., Jowett's translation.

IRELAND AND BIMETALLISM.*

IRELAND is as deeply interested as any European country in the attempt which the American Administration is making to bring about a settlement of the currency question on a bimetallic basis, but unfortunately Irishmen have always been prone to overlook economic advantage in the absorbing excitement of the party struggle. O'Connell's gratitude to the Whigs made him an ardent advocate of the repeal of the Corn Laws, and (partly under the pressure of the famine) Ireland gave the weight of her support to the policy of Free Trade, which did not, to put it mildly, benefit her to the same extent as England and Scotland. The overtaxation of Ireland revealed by the recent report of the Royal Commission on Financial Relations was never effectively realized by the mass of the Irish people. A few Irish members who had mastered the financial details complained from time to time in the House of Commons. But the advocacy of financial justice never weighed with the Irish elector, as against the advocacy of Church Disestablishment, Land Reform, or Home Rule. Irishmen knew that their country was going to rack and ruin, but they put the ruin down in one item to the account of England and the "English garrison" without making out the details of the bill. So is it also with the evils of gold monometallism. Some years ago Archbishop Walsh, who is a master of clear thought and lucid exposition, showed how the appreciation of gold had injuriously affected the Irish farmer. The pamphlet was so plain and conclusive that, translated into German, it has had a powerful effect in South Germany. But the Irish people scarcely listened to the Archbishop; the *Freeman's Journal* brushed him aside with some of the least subtle fallacies of the "gold bugs," and, when the question came up in the Session of 1893, the majority of the Irish Party used the pressure of the Party pledge to make their members

* The interest recently excited in Ireland by discussions on the currency question is one of the most significant signs of the times, which should greatly stimulate Lord Salisbury's Cabinet in its negotiations with Senator Wolcott. This able argument by Mr. Knox—a leading Nationalist M.P.—should be taken to heart by every landlord, tenant, manufacturer, and merchant in Ireland, as well as by the same classes in Great Britain.—[EDITOR, *N.R.*]

vote in a body against the bimetallists. Some attention has more recently been paid to the matter in Dublin, owing largely to the influence of Mr. Field, M.P., but the farmers, who are the most interested, remain apathetic. I cannot help wishing that Mr. Bryan or some other of the American silver-men would attempt to show Ireland how blind she is to her own welfare. That she should support Senator Wolcott and his colleagues on the Commission now visiting France, in every possible way is clear, from a study of her present economic conditions.

The primary industry of Ireland is agriculture. The farmer is more affected by the fall in prices than any other producer. His fixed capital bears a larger proportion to his turnover than does that of the manufacturer, and an enormously larger proportion than does that of the retail trader. Thus, if the Irish farmer had been free from debt, and owner of his own land, he would still inevitably have suffered by the steady depreciation in the gold value of commodities. Like other producers, he was not free from debt. The Ulster farmer has been accustomed to borrow part of what was required to buy the tenant-right (*i.e.*, the saleable fixed capital) of the farm. In the most prosperous counties of the North this tenant-right is, so far as farms of fifty acres and upwards are concerned, of steadily decreasing value. In all parts of Ireland the tenant has had to make the improvements as well as stock the farm. Sometimes he has borrowed from the Government, sometimes from the banks, sometimes from the shopkeeper who "does a little banking business." He is a very lucky man if the present value of his improvements is equal to the amount which he has expended.

This was very well illustrated in the enquiry which the Morley Committee made into the administration of the Land Acts. It has been the custom of the Commissioners (a custom stereotyped by Mr. Gerald Balfour's Act) to estimate the present fair rent of the farm on the supposition that the landlord had made all the improvements, and then to deduct 5 per cent. on the cost of those improvements made by the tenant which increased the letting value. But suppose, said the advocates of the tenant, the improvement is worth more than 5 per cent. on its cost! Then, said the advocates of the landlord, the increase is due to the inherent capacity of the land. A fierce and almost metaphysical fight raged round this point of inherent capacity. But it turned out when the Sub-Commissioners were examined that none of them recalled cases where the increased letting value of an improvement exceeded 5 per cent. on the cost. In most cases the increase was far less. What did this mean? Irish land is not without "inherent capacity." Irish farmers, though not, perhaps, scientific agriculturists, did not carry out their improvements in extravagant

fashion. Agricultural improvements are seldom very permanent. In order to make a fair allowance for depreciation, a prudent business man applying himself to the work of improving land would like to see a gross annual increase in letting value of 6 or 7 per cent. on the cost. This was a return which the Irish farmer had never been able to get, and which he would scarcely ever have been able to get even if the law had been as favourable to him as the most extreme among his advocates demanded. The reason was very simple, but neither landlord nor tenant thought of it. Permanent improvements on the land have decreased in value, measured in gold, just as commodities have decreased in value, mainly because gold has increased in value.

The Irish tenant is further burdened with rent. These rents are fixed for a term of fifteen years. It is not denied by anyone that the rents fixed ten or more years ago are now too high. But much controversy rages as to the rents which are now being fixed. The landlords complain that the rents are being reduced ridiculously. The tenants say they are not being reduced enough. As a matter of fact, one might say they are not being reduced at all. This is one of the many apparent paradoxes due to our habit of thinking in gold. But it is nevertheless true. The rents now being fixed are in gold figures about 40 per cent. lower than that which prevailed in the seventies, before there were any Land Courts. One has only to turn to the index numbers to discover that £60 will buy as much now as £100 would then. Thus the value of the new rent in commodities is as great as the old. But the method of reduction is not satisfactory to either party. The new rent is fixed for fifteen years. Within that period gold will probably have further appreciated by at least 10 per cent., notwithstanding the increased output of the mines. Thus every year the rent, remaining nominally the same, will become really heavier. Nor is the landlord really in the same position as he was before 1880. If he spent his whole rent in buying commodities he would not be affected. But he is almost always burdened with fixed charges payable in gold, and these absorb an increasing proportion of the rent. The balance over and above fixed charges, which is the income he has to live on, is daily getting nearer to vanishing point. If the landlord asks for a reduction of the fixed charges, he is told that most of them are payable to English mortgagees and insurance companies, who must receive the gold of ever increasing value for which they bargained. If he asks for bimetallism (as some few do) he is told that England cannot consent because she is a creditor nation. So the poor landlord follows the line of least resistance, and takes to abusing the Sub-Commissioners.

An attempt has been made to get rid of what are called the

difficulties of dual ownership, by turning the tenant into a free-holder paying to the State an annual instalment of purchase money. The use of State credit in this way gives to the tenant a valuable immediate relief. The purchasing tenants bought, on the average, at less than seventeen years' purchase, or on a 6 per cent. basis. The annuity payable for forty-nine years in repayment of the advance of the purchase money was calculated on a 3 per cent. basis and therefore amounted to 32 per cent. less than the rent. But the constant fall in the price of commodities has made the annuities already rather difficult of collection, and it has been found necessary to invent a scheme by which the annuity will be so reduced at the end of each of the first three decades of the term of repayment that at the end of thirty years it will be less than 50 per cent., on the average, of the old rent. But this device has two disadvantages. The term of repayment becomes necessarily longer. None of the purchasers under the Ashbourne Acts will have paid off their debts to the State before 1965 at the earliest, and this to the ordinary man would seem an endless period of indebtedness. And if nothing is done to arrest the appreciation of gold, the Irish tenant-purchaser will find it yearly more difficult to pay even the reduced instalments.

Thus it is, I venture to think, tolerably plain that the system of gold monometallism has had much to do with the sufferings of those who depend on Irish land, whether as landlords or tenants, and with the social disorganization which those sufferings have brought about. Nor is it easy to see how, with a steadily appreciating currency, more than temporary relief can be secured.

A not dissimilar process has helped to increase the burden of our taxation. Mere gold figures are very delusive as a gauge of that burden. It is sometimes said that Irish taxation has increased but little since the budgets of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli, in the fifties. This is not true even as a matter of figures. But it is much more absurd when we look through the figures at the facts. Measured by commodities, which are the only real test, £600,000 of taxation now is as heavy a burden as £1,000,000 was in 1873. Our Imperial taxation now amounts to £8,000,000 a year. This burden is equivalent to a burden of over £13,000,000 measured by the prices of 1873. It takes as much oats and cattle to pay the £8,000,000 now as it would have taken to pay £13,000,000 then. But though our tribute is thus annually increasing, most Irishmen are blind to the chief cause of its increase.

It may be said that this increase has affected all parts of the United Kingdom equally. But this is scarcely so. In England the greater

part of the taxation is raised by direct taxes, which are, in almost every case, fixed in relation to gold figures. Thus the income tax is not fixed in proportion to commodities, but in proportion to gold income. So with the death duties, and with most of the other stamp duties. In Ireland over 75 per cent. of the revenue is raised by indirect taxation. The indirect taxes of the United Kingdom are not *ad valorem* duties, but specific duties. In other words, the exchequer receives a fixed sum in gold as duty irrespective of the gold value of the commodity. Thus the indirect taxes, though nominally the same, are becoming heavier every year if we measure them by the gold value of the commodities taxed. Tobacco, tea, and spirits are all much cheaper than they were twenty-five years ago. If the duty had been (say) 20 per cent. on the value of the tea, 300 per cent. on the value of the tobacco, and 250 per cent. on the value of the spirits, the yield would have steadily decreased. But *ad valorem* duties have always been supposed in England to be contrary to the principles of Free Trade. I have never quite understood why, and it may be noted that the American Tariff-reform parties—the Democrats in the United States and the Liberals in Canada—prefer *ad valorem* to specific duties. It is a little inconsistent of English Radicals, while advocating graduation upwards in direct taxation, to advocate graduation downwards in indirect taxation, making the working-man pay a heavier duty in proportion to value on his rougher tobacco than the middle classes do on their birdseye and flakes. But this is a big subject. It is enough for the present purpose to note that, owing to the appreciation of gold, the duties on commodities are becoming yearly larger in proportion to the value of the commodities.

Thus the currency has much to do both with the land difficulty and the financial difficulty. It also affects the Irish manufacturing industries. After agriculture, the linen manufacture is the most important Irish industry. It is not, I think, generally known to how large an extent the linen trade is carried on with the United States of America. The total value of the export of plain linen piece goods was in 1895 £3,488,000. Of this the United States took £1,956,000 worth. No other country, except the West Indies, took one-tenth as much. The total export of printed linen piece goods and damasks was £399,000. Of this the United States took £236,000. The United States also took £591,000 worth of "linen manufactures, unenumerated," which include handkerchiefs, collars, &c., out of a total export of £1,006,000. Thus the export of linen goods to the United States largely exceeds that to all the rest of the world put together. This proportion compares strikingly with that of the other textile exports. Java, for instance, takes more cotton piece goods than the United States; and even in woollens

America, though an important, is not an all-important customer. The linens exported to the States account for nearly one-ninth of the total export of produce and manufactures of the United Kingdom which they receive. The linen trade is more dependent on the United States than any other trade carried on in the United Kingdom. Any increase in the tariff therefore affects Belfast more than it affects Manchester or even Bradford. The largeness of the trade with America is principally due to the fact that America, for climatic reasons, cannot compete with Belfast in the finer linen goods, and requires those goods, owing to the high standard of comfort prevailing there; but no climatic advantages can secure the trade against prohibitive tariffs. Under the McKinley Bill the linen exports declined enormously.

It must now be clear to everybody that without bimetallism any considerable reduction in the tariff is impossible. The American people desire that prices should be maintained lest their industrial system should be disorganized. The gold-men can only offer increased duties as their device for keeping up prices to compete with the democratic plan of free coinage. What is more, the bitterness which the silver-men feel against England as the centre of gold monometallism makes many who would otherwise be in favour of lower duties vote for increased duties on the produce of the United Kingdom as a punishment for England. As it happens this punishment falls more heavily, proportionately, on Ireland than on England; but the Americans are not likely to make any distinction between the Irish and the English, so long as Ireland seems, without the excuse of apparent self-interest, to follow in the wake of England on questions of currency.

I need hardly point out how the shipbuilding industry, which is the other support of Belfast, must gain from anything which increased the trade between America and England. The White Star line and Harland and Wolff have grown hand in hand. If the tariff in America is lowered, the Atlantic shipping trade must proportionately gain, and the Belfast yards must be the better off for orders. Thus no part of the United Kingdom is more interested than Belfast in securing an agreement with the United States and the Continental countries for the establishment of a stable par of exchange between gold and silver.

The interests of agricultural Ireland are almost identical with those which made the Western States support Mr. Bryan. The interests of manufacturing Ireland are more in the power of the American bimetallists than those of manufacturing England. Will the two Irelands, which have so much to say on other subjects, agree in remaining dumb on this?

E. F. V. Knox.

THE MONTH IN AMERICA.

Washington, May 15th, 1897.

The rejection by the Senate, by a vote of 43 to 26, of the Olney-Pauncefote treaty of arbitration was not unexpected to persons who had closely followed the progress of events, and had been anticipated in my previous letters. It is simply the concrete expression of what very many intelligent observers know to be the truth, and because it is an unpleasant truth, a great many of us who are interested in maintaining the most friendly relations between the United States and Great Britain gloss over and minimise. It is the expression of the animosity which the majority of Americans feel against England and everything English. I am perfectly aware that this sounds like a harsh criticism, and it may even be questioned by those persons who, during the last few years, have done their best to promote closer and more friendly and sympathetic relations between the two great English-speaking peoples of the world. But nevertheless the fact remains. The average American, the average American public man, and the average American public newspaper, are in all honesty anti-English. They are at all times only too willing to extend the right-hand of fellowship to Russia or Germany or France and to meet half-way any overtures which may be made by those countries, but the moment England suggests something America looks upon it askance and with the eye of suspicion, and continually thinks of the *arrière pensée*. This sentiment was most strikingly and forcibly shown the moment the arbitration treaty had been signed by Secretary of State Olney and Sir Julian Pauncefote. It was at once regarded as the case of the Greeks bearing gifts. The perfectly simple and straightforward language of the treaty was supposed to conceal hidden pitfalls and snares which would work to the undoing of the United States. It was not enough that exception should be taken by the Senate to some of the administrative details of the convention, but the very spirit of it was opposed on the ground that it was giving England some undue advantage which she would ultimately take, and it would only be discovered by the United States to her sorrow when she was led captive at the triumphal car of British diplomacy. To

have heard the comments expressed at various times one would imagine that the ratification of this treaty in some mysterious way cast a magic spell over the Republic which devitalized it and deprived it not only of its power, but of its intelligence. The treaty was a magician's wand by means of which Great Britain was to gain the most wonderful results and America was to be deprived of all future ability to resist.

It might be said that the vote on the treaty does not justify the above deductions, for the reason that a majority of the votes cast were in favour of ratification, and that only owing to the provision of the federal constitution requiring two-thirds necessary to ratify, a minority was enabled to thwart the will of the majority. While seemingly this is so, I feel justified in asserting that there was not a sincere majority in favour of the ratification of the treaty, and that several senators who voted in its favour voted, not because they indorsed the terms of the document or were anxious to cultivate closer and more amiable relations with the United Kingdom, but because they were forced into giving it their support by the action of some of their constituents. It would be invidious and hardly necessary at this time to name some of those senators who were found voting in the affirmative, and yet who at heart were not honestly in favour of the treaty being ratified. Had these men voted as their inclinations led them, and had they felt themselves strong enough to ignore the demands of some of their constituents, the vote against ratification would have been larger than it was. As it is, these men who were counted as supporters of the treaty and who voted in favour of its ratification, are just as well satisfied with the outcome as are Morgan and Mills and the other fire-eaters who, if they were permitted to have their way, would withdraw the United States ambassador from the Court of St. James's and furnish Sir Julian Pauncefote his passports with scant ceremony.

One may naturally ask why there should be this tremendous antagonism to England. I am frank enough to say that I do not know. It has long been an interesting study to me, and I have endeavoured in a variety of ways to understand why the average American has such an intense and deep-seated prejudice against the British nation and Great Britain's policy. But the rational explanation is not easily forthcoming. You talk to an American who, because of your long residence in this country, may not know of your nationality, as you have lost a good deal of the distinguishing accent, and he will declaim in the freest and even most violent terms against England. Suggest to him that you are English, and that his remarks are somewhat out of taste, and he will apologize for hurting your feelings, but at the same time continue that he

has nothing to retract or no qualification to make, but he will add that, while personally liking Englishmen, he is prejudiced against the nation. Press him for a bill of particulars and he will tell you that England's foreign policy has always been extremely brutal, and that she has extended her empire at the expense of weaker nations. You may admit this to be a fact; you may acknowledge that the march of civilization has made it necessary that unclothed savages should be taught the only stern lesson which they understand, and that in the process of exchanging the trackless jungle for the bed of a railroad and all that follows in its march, the thatched huts of natives have been destroyed, and sometimes their lives sacrificed. But you point out to him that wherever the British flag has been planted, civilization has advanced, and the mental and moral and physical condition of the lower race has been advanced precisely as in spreading the boundaries of the Republic westward the Indians had to be met and conquered, and practically exterminated by the American. The average American is not pleased to be reminded of the fate of the American Indian. It is well that he should feel some shame in that chapter of his history. I have no sentimental sympathy for the noble red-skin, who was frequently dirty, always treacherous, and who readily acquired the vices of modern civilization by getting drunk at the slightest provocation and gambling at every opportunity, but who never showed the slightest aptitude for being raised in the scale of civilization. It was necessary that the Indian should go, just as in the same way the Huns had to bow before the tide of the advancing western civilization of Europe; but the treachery, the cruelty, and the savagery of the aborigines of the plains was more than met by the treachery, and brutality, and broken promises of the white man. It is, perhaps, safe to say that no Indian outbreak ever occurred except it was provoked by the settlers, and when in later years the Government looked upon the Indians as wards to be taken care of, and made lavish appropriations for their maintenance, it was the Indian agents—the paid and sworn officers of the Government—who were, nine times out of ten, responsible for the outbreaks and massacres, because money which had been appropriated for the support of the Indians had been diverted into the pockets of the agents, and the Government wards were starving and practically destitute.

It might be assumed that this objection to England's foreign policy savours strongly of hypocrisy. There was a time when I used to so imagine, but I do not believe it now. I think the average American, knowing very little about the genius which has made the British Empire and the motives which have often compelled England to make war on weaker races, honestly believes

that for a century or more England has simply played the *rôle* of a bully. That is the attitude in which she is continuously being placed by American newspapers. If it is necessary to send a punitive expedition into the heart of Africa, or if it is necessary to march against the Mahdi, almost every editor feels himself entitled to represent England playing her accustomed *rôle* of hurling her mailed legions against a handful of naked savages. On the one hand we see pictured all the might and wealth of the British Empire decimating natives simply so as to obtain possession of a few square miles of land or a strategical point, the sole motive being greed and love of conquest. On the other we have painted the picture of these simple natives, armed with their rudimentary implements of war, fighting in support of their homes and loved ones, fighting not because they want to, but because they are animated by the highest and noblest motives which can govern man. It is in truth a touching picture, and as the average American very naturally derives most of his knowledge of affairs from his daily newspaper, it is not to be wondered at that this carefully fostered sentiment should prevail. Again, to some extent, jealousy of England is one of the great factors in keeping this prejudice alive. Descended from the same common stock and speaking the same common tongue, America can feel jealous of England where there would be no necessity for displaying that feeling against any other people. But it is England that governs the world, not the United States; it is England that makes the prices of certain commodities, not the United States, in which those commodities are produced; it is England whose flag sweeps every sea, not the United States, who has to pay tribute to British ships and British seamen. One may marvel that a people as resourceful, as proud, as determined as the Americans, a people whose development and growth have been the admiration of the world, should be influenced by such petty motives; and yet I am firmly convinced that I am not misrepresenting their character when I say that jealousy of England has a good deal to do with the prejudice so constantly manifested.

Still another influence was powerful. An analysis of the vote will show that while all the silver men voted against the ratification of the treaty, with the exception of three Republicans every man who cast his vote against the treaty was a strong advocate of bimetallism. Bimetallism, of course, had nothing directly to do with the treaty, but it had this much to do indirectly, that a great many senators were firmly convinced that the ratification of the treaty meant a further continuance of England's policy of adhering to the single gold standard, and that in some way, some mysterious way which no one ever explained or felt necessary to explain, the

ratification of the treaty meant the continued adherence of the United States to its present monetary system and the postponement to a still more distant date of international bimetallism. The views of these men were logically presented in *The Washington Times*, a pronounced silver organ, the day after the rejection of the treaty, in these words :—

"The concealed purpose referred to was nothing else than that of binding the United States to the single gold standard, and establishing our liability to pay the entire national debt in gold coin by international agreement. . . . But the danger to the country involved in the conspiracy has occasioned anxious days and nights to many who have feared all the time that the power of gold and influence might possibly triumph, and that this curse might ultimately be placed upon the people. The rejection of British arbitration is the first real victory won by the masses over the syndicated money power."

In this connection I cannot do better than quote from a remarkable interview which Chauncey M. Depew, the well-known president of the New York Central Railroad, recently gave to a reporter. The fact that Mr. Depew should utter these sentiments is all the more remarkable, because at the present time important financial negotiations are pending in London by which Mr. Depew's company hopes to borrow several millions to refund the bonds of the New York Central at a lower rate of interest, and also because Mr. Depew has always been well received in England. This is what Mr. Depew said :—

"There is a strong feeling of antagonism to the English among the people of America. It is the opposite of the feeling of the Englishman for the people of the United States. There is a sentimental feeling among Englishmen which few Americans appreciate."

"Isn't it commercial ?"

"No, it is purely sentimental. It is the feeling that blood is thicker than water—that, speaking the same language, coming from the same stock, we are the brothers of the English people and their natural allies."

"There is no doubt," Mr. Depew said, "our people have a feeling of antagonism toward the Englishmen. It comes mainly from our never having had a war with any other country and the teaching of the school books about the wars we have had with England. Now, the Englishman does not understand that at all; he has no such sentiment towards us. He thinks that we feel towards him as he feels towards us. He doesn't understand us. I had occasion to open his eyes at a banquet in London, which, by the way, was

never reported fully in this country. Our Ambassador, Mr. Bayard, had always cultivated the false idea of the Englishman that our feeling for him was as brotherly as his feeling for us. He made a speech at this dinner in which he followed that line of thought. But when I spoke I told them the facts. They cried: "Oh, no!" but I told them it was true. I told them the people of the United States were proud of their English lineage, but that they had no sympathy with Great Britain; that certain incidents of history which were to be found in the school books had provoked a hostile feeling, and it was developed in the youth of the United States at school. They would not believe it, and very few of them, if any, understand it now. They think that not only the kinship of the two peoples, but the similarity of the governments should bring us in sympathy. You know that with the exception of the monarch, the government of Great Britain is very like our own; in fact, the House of Commons is a far more democratic body than our House of Representatives. The Commons can declare war and can take away titles and property without asking the consent or approval of anyone."

It comes as a fitting complement that at the time when the Senate rejects the treaty of arbitration that body should commence to discuss a Tariff Bill, with its rates made so high that every British manufacturer must feel the effect of the increased duties. The Tariff Bill, as it passed the House, and as it now stands amended before the Senate, amended by a committee of that body, is a measure none the less injurious and detrimental to British interests than was the Bill which has passed the House. While striking a blow at the foreign manufacturer, it is doubtful if it will produce the permanent prosperity which the friends of the President and the Republican Party were so lavish in promising during the last campaign. Men thought that the rates imposed in the McKinley Bill were so outrageously high that it would be impossible for any Party to ever offer the country again a Bill cast on the same lines, but the pending measure is almost an exact duplicate of the Bill which made McKinley famous, and for a time, at least, drove his political star below the horizon. With a pretence to reduce duties, the rates have been in most cases increased, and the excessive protection given to the home manufacturer will have to be paid for out of the pockets of the people. The Republicans, of course, claim and believe that the higher the rate of protection, and the more the country is taxed to support manufacturers, the greater will be the degree of prosperity, although they appear to have forgotten that the enactment of the McKinley tariff law was injurious, not only to manufacturers, but to the entire country, and

that even now the effects of that experiment have not been entirely effaced. Pending the passage of the new law, all business is embarrassed and unsettled, and the "good times," so freely promised, have not manifested themselves. The Republicans are banking heavily on the passage of the Bill to stimulate domestic production, and increase the prices of all home-made goods, because foreign competition will be cut off. Doubtless this will be the effect for a while, and prices of everything will advance six months hence as they advanced at the time of the passage of the McKinley law. If the natural sequence follows there will be over-production and artificial stimulation for a while, with a corresponding increase in the prices of all commodities, but not a relative increase of wages. The effect will be a short-lived boom, until the market becomes over-stocked, when, to dispose of goods, manufacturers will have to commence cutting prices, and with prices falling they will reduce wages. Then will follow strikes and lock-outs, enforced shut-downs, and a general depression. The Republican Party, however, cannot be taught by the lesson of experience, and, in fact, as their party rests on Protection, and without Protection it would cease to exist, they are forced sometimes even against their will to hang to the old fetich of Protection, and elevate it in the sanctuary to be worshipped.

The new Tariff Bill, however, is significant in two things. The Republicans of the Senate have found themselves forced to increase the internal revenue tax on beer and to place an import duty on tea. This, I believe, marks a new era in the fiscal policy of the United States. It means that the Republicans have at last come to the conclusion that sufficient revenue cannot be raised solely from imports, and that the old Republican theory of increasing duties so as to increase income has at last been discovered to be a mistake, and that there is a limit beyond which the tariff cannot be raised. McKinley, seven years ago, was forced against his own conviction and some of his preconceived prejudices to arrive at that conclusion. It was his belief that a deficit could always be met by making the consumer pay a higher tax, but it did not take him very long to discover that when rates were raised beyond a certain figure they made imports prohibitive, and therefore operated as a check. At the present time the Republicans have raised duties as high as they considered advisable, and yet they feel uncertain as to whether the Bill will produce sufficient revenue to meet the growing expenditures of the country. To put themselves on the safe side, they have placed an extra 44 cents a barrel on beer, and 10 cents a pound on tea. It is believed among public men that in future more money will be raised from internal revenue taxation and less from imports, and that the next time the Democrats are placed in power

they will reduce rates even lower than those prevailing in the Wilson Bill, and trust to internal revenue taxation to meet the deficit.

As might very naturally be expected, the Republicans in framing their Tariff Bill have taken good care of the trusts. While the Republicans in the last campaign devoted the best part of their time to denouncing the Democrats as Socialists, in their tariff policy the Republicans have shown themselves to be the leading promoters of Socialism in its worst form. The Republican policy of Protection is an encouragement to trusts of every form and kind, and if the trust magnates continue in the next few years to exercise the tremendous influence which they have during the past and control legislation as fully as they always have, the time cannot be long distant when the Government, for the protection of the great masses of the people and the country itself, will have to step in and regulate the trusts in such a way that they shall no longer prove the menace which they now are.

Possibly the greatest of all trusts in this country is the sugar trust. That great corporation has the entire sugar business in its grasp, and can regulate the price of that commodity in any way it may see fit. It has always been most tenderly dealt with by Congress whenever a Tariff Bill was made up, and this year it finds itself in as good a position as ever. The sugar schedule of the House Bill gave the trust all that it could possibly want, but the Bill as amended by the Senate increases its protection so enormously that even Republicans who believe in Protection have been forced to make an outcry, and to demand that the excessive rate shall be cut down. In this connection the stories afloat concerning the influences at work which tended to give the sugar trust exactly what it demanded are scandalous in the extreme. The sugar trust has its shares listed on the Stock Exchange, and is one of the favourite vehicles for Wall Street speculation. Controlled by a few men, the general public never knows whether the price of the stock is to be put up or down; but, like all gamblers, they are willing to take their chances and wager their money on the speculation of doubling their capital. When the public expects sugar to go up and is beguiled into going "long" of the stock on the strength of rose-coloured reports and other alluring rumours, the men in control suddenly drive it down a few points, and while they make a profit of millions, the general public, their guileless dupes, pay the piper. A knowledge in advance of the action of the Senate Finance Committee, or rather of the few men who were remodelling the House Bill, would have been worth millions to anyone in possession of that information and

who could have acted on it. That a few men had this information before the Bill was made public is absolutely certain, and that in that small coterie were a few senators cannot be open to doubt. These favoured individuals knew that the schedule would be in favour of the trust, and that immediately on its publication sugar stock would jump several points. Exactly what was predicted happened, and the men who were fortunate enough to "be long" at the bottom figure were able to add substantial fortunes to their bank accounts. In the newspapers, certain senators have been openly charged with trading on their knowledge derived in an official capacity, and have been sternly criticized for it, but such things affect them lightly. It is, of course, almost impossible to legally prove that these men speculated, but the moral certainty exists and tends to discredit the Party which, in its hypocritical pretentions of purity, was so free in denouncing its opponents as Socialists and Anarchists, and could not find words bad enough to talk of their dishonesty in wanting to pay their debts in silver dollars. It is such things as this which give strength to the Bryan movement, and which continue to keep alive the feeling of resentment against the Republican Party, the Party which has always favoured trusts and monopolies, and carefully guarded their interests in all legislation.

A trust which has the dubious honour of ranking on an equality with the sugar trust is the Standard Oil, perhaps, in some respects, even a greater and more remorseless monopoly than the controller of saccharine matter. The Standard Oil is controlled by half-a-dozen men, who manage the enormous business to suit themselves, and never make any report to the public. As these few men own nine-tenths of the stock of the corporation, there is no need of letting the public into their secrets. All that the world knows is that every three months the Standard Oil has declared its regular dividend of 3 per cent., with an extra dividend running all the way from 7 to 50 per cent., and every poor man who buys oil for the lamp by which he reads and eats has the proud satisfaction of knowing that he has contributed to those enormous dividends. A recent newspaper article in discussing the trust said :

"The fact that the trust has divided among its few owners nearly $40,000,000 within fifteen months, accounts for the extraordinary rise in price. These profits would seem incredible if they were not a matter of actual record. The wealth of Monte Cristo was a trifle compared with the riches derived from this gigantic and mysterious trust, virtually controlled by a quintet of men who meet daily in the grey granite building in lower Broadway, in whose offices the voices even of the employés are as hushed as if they were speaking in the vestry of a church."

The Standard Oil now controls nearly every oil well in the

country. By the means of agreements with railroads, by which the oil of the trust was transported to the commercial centres at a lower rate of freight than that paid by its competitors, it was enabled to crush out nearly all competition, and as it grew more powerful it became more unscrupulous in its war against its rivals. Cases which have come before the courts have frequently revealed to the public some of the remarkable methods employed by this gigantic octopus to crush within its all-reaching grasp the men who might prove dangerous in the oil business. Rival refineries have been blown up, employees have been corrupted and turned into spies on their employers, and no means too unscrupulous have been neglected to place in the hands of the great trust weapons which could be turned against the men on whom they were waging war. In States in which its wells were located, and through which railroads ran from which favours were to be obtained, the trust took a very active interest in political matters. It is said that in one of the secret rooms of the great building in the lower part of Broadway, in the City of New York, there are complete records of the political standing and complexion, with the name of every leader of a party or a faction, his private reputation, his business standing, and his ambition. When it becomes necessary for the trust to seek legislation or to influence it, it knows exactly how to go about the work, the men to approach, and the methods to be employed. One of the remarkable things about the trust is the philanthropy and munificence of its owners. John D. Rockefeller, its real head, has given millions to churches and educational institutions, and the liberality shown by the great trust led a man once to get off the clever aphorism that "the Standard Oil Company is explosive at one end and evangelical at the other."

By the time this article appears in print Senator Wolcott, of Colorado, ex-Vice-President Stevenson, and General Paine, of Boston, will have arrived in Paris, and doubtless commenced their work as special envoys accredited by the United States to Europe to pave the way for an International Bimetallic Conference. The three envoys who sailed from New York a week ago were greatly encouraged at the outlook, and led to believe that their mission would not be a failure. Senator Wolcott, who has absolutely refused to say anything for publication since his return from Europe a couple of months ago, fully expects that something very tangible will be the result of the appointment of his fellow Commissioners and himself. He has given most earnest thought and consideration to the entire subject since his return, and has seen nothing in the future to disappoint him, but, on the contrary, believes that the representations which will be made to Europe will be such as will convince both financiers and

statesmen that the part of wisdom should determine them to listen to the propositions which the United States is ready to make. What greatly encourages Mr. Wolcott is the fact that whereas a few years ago it would have been impossible to have found any men of standing or reputation in England who were willing to announce themselves as bimetallists, or any influential journal giving the movement its support, now there are hundreds of leading business men and statesmen who are as much interested in the cause of Bimetallism as he is himself; and the European Press, which formerly sneered at bimetallism, is now willing to admit that there may be at least something in it. The influence wielded by *The National Review*, and the help it has been to the cause is most fully appreciated by the Colorado senator. He believes that the intelligent discussion of bimetallism which has been going on through the pages of *The National Review* has done much to influence public opinion, and to make European financiers willing to discuss it in a broader and more tolerant spirit than would have been the case even five years ago. For this reason Mr. Wolcott sails from here full of hope, and believing that propositions which he may have to advance will not be regarded as purely academic or even chimerical. He will be able to assure the European Governments that the Administration is perfectly sincere in its efforts to promote international bimetallism, and that in the person of President McKinley they will find a loyal and sincere sympathizer and supporter.

LONDON AS A JUBILEE CITY.

WERE the Sovereign of this country, whose exceptional reign we are celebrating this month, possessed by any of that spirit of undue pride which had such unpleasant consequences for Nebuchadnezzar, she could hardly at least indulge it on the same pretext. Nebuchadnezzar "walked in the palace of the kingdom of Babylon, and the king spake and said, 'Is not this great Babylon, that I have built for the house of the kingdom by the might of my power, and for the glory of my majesty?'" Putting aside the question of the personal influence of the Sovereign on public improvements, which is not quite the same as it was when the Book of Daniel was written, the results of what has been done, under whatever influence, may be compared, and the comparison is not to the advantage of the largest, in area, of modern cities. Nebuchadnezzar obviously had something in his surroundings to tempt him to pride; "it appears so by the story," at all events; but one can hardly fancy the most orgulous of monarchs becoming puffed up by the contemplation of Buckingham Palace, nor yet of the huge alley of Victoria Street, nor the desert spaces of the Mall, or even of the *coup d'œil* of Trafalgar Square. Arnold, it is true, thought London "sublime with a sublimity beyond that of the sea or the mountains," but Arnold was a Hebraist to the backbone; he saw not with the æsthetic vision; the sublime of London to him was the sublime of an immense aggregation of human beings, with their enormous combined or conflicting power for good or for evil. He was right so far; with cities as with men, "there is a natural body and there is a spiritual body"; the spiritual body of London has progressed during this long reign; there has been much social and moral improvement; but the outward and visible London has fallen under neglect; we have been in earnest, too, no doubt, as to sanitary legislation, but State and Municipal authorities have not the same ardour in regard to improvements in the stateliness and beauty of the city:

"Ma io farò dell' altro altro governo."

London is not without its elements of picturesqueness and beauty. We possess what is internally, at least, one of the finest mediæval

cathedrals in England—for Westminster Abbey is architecturally, if not officially, a cathedral; and one portion of it, Henry VII.'s chapel, is architecturally unique in its own style. We have what is, though not the largest, the most beautiful of cathedrals of the Renaissance epoch; and we have the finest Government Palace in the world. This is something, at all events, to go upon. Moreover, London possesses many corners, as we may call them, of very picturesque character, where we find grouped together, here and there, some of the quiet old brick buildings of the eighteenth century, with a few trees to give a touch of contrast and colour. The irregularity also, both in line and in architectural treatment, of some of our principal streets, has its own effectiveness, as Mr. Herbert Marshall has shown us in many of his water-colour drawings of what may be called London scenery; though it may be observed that he rather relies on special atmospheric effects, even on those arising out of fog or smoke, to aid the pictorial charm of his drawings. The shortcoming of London, as a capital city, is that it is almost entirely devoid of the qualities of spaciousness and stateliness. It is not so much like a capital city as like a very large and overgrown provincial town. The few hours' run to Paris forces upon our attention the contrast between a mere town and a capital city in the true sense of the word. For in Paris we find, in the first place, a far greater number of buildings on a large scale and with an expression of palatial dignity. The National Gallery and Somerset House are the best things we have to oppose to the rich stateliness of the Louvre. The Paris Opera House has its faults; but compare it with the cold commonplace of Covent Garden Theatre. The Marble Arch, a pretty design of its class, is all we have to set in opposition to the stately pile of the Arc de l'Etoile, with its grandiose, if not altogether refined, sculptural decoration. But the contrast is even more remarkable when we compare the general aspect and laying out of the two cities. In Paris we have, in all the best streets of the city, broad roads, ample footways, tall and stately stone houses (an element of effect chiefly rendered possible by the prevalence of the system of building houses in flats), and rows of trees everywhere, forming a delightful combination with the buildings. Moreover, the city is laid out with a view to stateliness of effect in the alignment of the streets and the placing of the buildings in relation to them and to each other. Great part of the effect of the l'Etoile arch arises from its position at the meeting-point of a number of streets specially set out in relation to it, and from each of which it forms an effective termination of the vista. This question of alignment is never overlooked in Paris in considering the setting out of new streets and the placing of new buildings, or the planning of the streets in relation to old

buildings. In London, one may say, it is never even thought of. Two typical examples may be mentioned. The Albert Hall and the Albert Memorial are buildings which distinctly appear to be in architectural relation with each other in regard to position, or to have been intended to be so. Yet they were so clumsily set out that the Memorial is a few feet out of axis with the Hall; quite out enough for the mistake to be seen, yet near enough to look as if they had been meant to be on the same axis, and were only out of line by a piece of unpardonable bungling. Within the last two or three years we formed a new street nearly opposite the Horse Guards and labelled it "Horse Guards Avenue," but no attempt was made to lay it out on the axis of the building to which it leads up and after which it is called, a piece of carelessness and indifference which would be out of the question in Paris. The reason why such points are of importance is that stateliness is the proper element of a capital city; that is what makes the difference between a capital and a mere ordinary town. And in London we are almost absolutely without the quality of stateliness.

The worst of the matter is, that we have distinctly gone backward in this respect since the earlier part of the century. Old Buckingham Palace, for instance, though a smaller and less pretentious house than the present one, was designed and placed with much more attempt at architectural effect. It consisted of a central portion with wings of lower elevation, connected with the centre by a colonnade forming a quadrant of a circle on each side. Its centre was axial with the centre line of the Mall as then existing. The present building is central with nothing. The old palace was altered by Nash some time before 1827 (as there is a view of it with his alterations in the Crace collection, under that date), and a dome placed over the central portion, and opposite its centre was the Marble Arch, which many people are not aware was thus originally designed as a state entrance to the courtyard of the Royal Palace, and a very suitable and effective one. In 1837 Blore removed the dome, for what reason is not apparent, and at the same time made an elaborate design for laying out the courtyard in front of the palace with ornamental ponds, parterres, and fountains, which, however, was never carried out. Twelve or thirteen years later it seems to have been decided that the palace must be enlarged and a new façade made to it, and the present characterless building was produced by Blore, and Nash's Marble Arch, which had a meaning and a function where it was first erected, was taken down and rebuilt in a situation where it has no meaning whatever; it closes and opens no vista; it is central with nothing; it is not even a corner entrance to Hyde Park, for it is not used as such; it merely stands there aimlessly.

In the second decade of the century we made one great effort at a new line of road on a grand scale, and laid out with a view to effect, viz., Regent Street. This was also the work of Nash, who, whatever we may think of the details and general style of his architecture, must claim the credit of having some adequate ideas as to the laying out of cities, and who at that time found opportunity, too, for carrying them out with the approval of the Government. His idea of a great street, of ample width in relation to the traffic of those days, uniting the northern and southern portions of West London, was a really fine one, more especially the interposition of the Quadrant (which occupies the site of a former *congeries* of narrow streets at all angles) as a connection between the north and south portions of Regent Street; even with Nash's *fade* classic details in cement, the Quadrant still has a fine effect, and must have had a still better one when it possessed the roofed colonnades to the footway.* The lower end of Regent Street, it may be observed, started on a line axial with Carlton House, the colonnade screen of which, on the present site of Carlton House Terrace, closed the vista down the street. Altogether this was a most creditable attempt for the period, but we have done what we could to spoil it. Besides the Quadrant, the line of street was interrupted at two points by what are still called Piccadilly Circus and Oxford Circus; but they have ceased architecturally to be "circuses." Piccadilly Circus is cut up into no shape at all, and in Oxford Circus the effect of the regular circular line has been entirely lost by the alterations made in the buildings without any reference to the main design. Regent Street, too, contained till a few months ago one really fine building (Hanover Chapel) by a very eminent English architect, with a stately colonnaded front and an interior of very original and effective design. So, by way of improving Regent Street, we have pulled down the only piece of architecture in it.

At the time the old Houses of Parliament were burned down we were very nearly missing a great opportunity, for the fiat had actually gone forth that they were to be rebuilt in a mere business and official manner by the then Office of Works. Fortunately, more ambitious councils prevailed; it was recognized that this was a great opportunity, and we have the present Houses of Parliament, a building of which any nation might be proud, and which in its general conception of plan and design is unquestionably the finest building for a legislative palace in the world.

* The removal of the colonnades was thought necessary, partly, perhaps, because they interfered with the light to the shops, but ostensibly because they were said to have become a haunt of immoral personages. Unfortunately their removal does not seem to have had the moralizing effect anticipated.

And its finest feature, the Victoria Tower, an immense erection built wholly for stateliness and to give dignity to the royal entrance, is an object which in Jubilee year we may appropriately contemplate with satisfaction. For once in our modern history we did a grand thing in the way of a public building. Let us make the most of it, for we have never done anything to compare with it since. But the ambition to do something great with our public buildings, something beyond the merely utilitarian, did keep on simmering for a little while after. In 1857 we at all events invited the whole world to compete in producing the best design for War Offices and Foreign Offices. The result was little better than a *fiasco*; the War Offices were abandoned and the Foreign Offices given to a leading Gothic architect, with the injunction to abandon his design and carry out one in a classic style, *invitâ Minervâ*. As might be expected under the circumstances, the building is not a great one, but it is a record of the fact that we once tried to do something great with a Government office. We have never tried since. What we have come to may be seen in the mean building now in course of erection for the Admiralty Offices of the first naval power in the world—a melancholy and humiliating spectacle.

In its street lines London is one of the rambling order of cities. There are two or three main routes running east and west which give a kind of backbone to the plan; and there is, as already observed, Regent Street, the one attempt at something like an impressive city thoroughfare; but, in general, the streets take the lines into which circumstances have bent them. We have had one or two opportunities to do something better than this, at important points in the plan of London, but they have been shilly-shallied with till the opportunity is either spoiled or destroyed. Many years ago the Government might, at a very reasonable cost, have purchased the whole block of property north of Great George Street, as a site for a grand block of public offices in convenient contiguity to the Houses of Parliament. They could similarly have acquired the south side of Great George Street, widened the street, erected fine buildings on each side of it, and thus have effected something like a State approach from the Palace of the Sovereign to the Palace of Legislature. It might still be done, but it would now cost twice as much.* Then there is the northern portion of Whitehall, which has long been an absurdity—a mere bottle-neck top to a wide and important street forming the chief approach to the Houses of Parliament, and which, moreover, is out of centre with Trafalgar

* This was part of Sir Charles Barry's great scheme for the improvement of the Westminster district and the concentration of the Government offices, to which I only allude here in passing, because I have recently referred to it at some length elsewhere.

Square, into which it debouches. Years ago the Government had the option of acquiring, on easy terms, the greater portion of the property westward of this part of the street, the line of which could then have been set back so as not only to give the street the necessary width, but to make its axial line central with Trafalgar Square, with only a very slight and hardly perceptible divergence of line. This was a public improvement which, one may say, was crying out to be done, but the opportunity was let slip; and though it now seems rather likely that it will be forced upon the Government by a more active and enlightened public opinion, it will be again at a greatly enhanced cost. Years ago, too, it was urged in several quarters, by those who took an interest in public improvements, that the Mall should be carried through and opened into Charing Cross, bringing the vista of the long avenue of trees into connection with one of the most crowded corners of London; but it is still being talked about and nothing done.

This same procrastination and delay meets us on all sides. For years we have been promised a new street by way of St. Martin's Lane and the Seven Dials neighbourhood, not only to furnish an adequate thoroughfare for one of our main lines of north and south traffic, but to afford the opportunity of cutting through and rebuilding in a decent manner a neighbourhood which is a disgrace to London. This improvement has been so long deferred that people have at last got tired even of talking about it, and it seems to be practically shelved. For years we have heard of the projected new street from Holborn to the Strand, and plan after plan has been brought forward for it, but we seem no nearer getting it. For years we have been told that the block of mean property between Holywell Street and the Strand was to be removed; that it throttled the Strand traffic, and that its removal would be an immense public improvement, as it undoubtedly would; but it has never been done. On the other hand, many persons seem ready and eager enough to "improve" the Strand by pulling down St. Mary's Church, the one object of beauty in the street—the one thing which gives the Strand some picturesque character. And while we have carried out an important new bridge east of London Bridge (of which a word more presently), we have forgotten the slight matter of making a proper approach to it. All these things show with what entire want of system and decision London improvements are planned, one can hardly say carried out, for at present we seem to have got to the point that nothing is carried out at all, with the exception of purely engineering works. These, such as the Blackwall Tunnel, are prosecuted with considerable energy; but anything which concerns the beauty and amenity of London may wait till the Greek Kalends.

Here, again, we cannot but remark how badly our indecision and inaction contrasts with what was done a generation ago. About thirty years ago London did manage to carry out, almost simultaneously, two great public improvements—Holborn Viaduct and the Thames Embankment; the latter unquestionably the greatest public improvement of the century. Why are we not strong enough to carry out such works now, instead of merely discussing them and then adjourning them *sine die*? A proposal, it is true, has been brought forward by the London County Council to continue the embankment past Chelsea, but it is quashed for the present at the instance of some sentimental people who are anxious to smell the Thames mud at low tide a little longer, and who, if they had been alive or at years of discretion at the time the existing Embankment was proposed, would doubtless have attempted to stop its execution, as an interference with the picturesqueness of London.

The Embankment and the Holborn Viaduct are improvements which we can regard without any *arrière pensée*, except as to the dreadful statues and griffins on the bridge over Farringdon Street in the one case, and the poor architectural details of the Embankment in the other case. They are in the main not only practical improvements, but additions to the dignity of London as a city. In some other instances we have not been so fortunate. Victoria Street was a great improvement as a route, and as involving the clearing away of a labyrinth of mean streets, but it is utterly spoiled in appearance by the street being too narrow, and the buildings being allowed to be carried too high in proportion to its width. The dignity of city streets depends to a great extent on the proportion of the height of the buildings to the width of the street. As a general rule they should never be higher than the width of the street, and for a first-class street even this restriction is inadequate. When they are higher than the width of the street it becomes only an alley on a great scale, which is all that Victoria Street is; the dullest and most sombre modern street in London, when it might have been quite otherwise. Equally, in another way, we blundered about the Constitution Hill arch, and the site adjoining it. It is a question whether the removal of the arch from its old position was an improvement at all; there was, however, something to be said for it; but when it was moved, and the open space formed, something definite should have been done with the site, and with the arch in relation to it. As it is, it is an irregular open space, with no design and no treatment at all, and the arch butting on to one corner of it, in a merely accidental manner. That certainly was not the way to do it, and the whole plan and laying out of that corner of London

is a mere estate agent's plan, with no trace of architectural feeling about it. Then go down Constitution Hill to the Mall, and what do we see?—long arid spaces between the drives, looking like a dreary desert, which ought to be planted and laid out with turf and flowers and made beautiful, as they easily might be. Go round into Trafalgar Square, and we see the proverbially "finest site in Europe" occupied by a dull building with a wretched cupola, the architectural mask to the galleries which contain our national pictures. Go inside the building, and we find the entrance and staircase the most extraordinary jumble, carried out under our official Department of Works, with an upper vestibule so planned that we cannot cross from one side of the building to the other without going down one flight of steps and up another.* Or, while we are speaking of national collections, let us turn our eyes to South Kensington, and contemplate the still more discreditable sight which awaits us there; a world-renowned Museum, rich with the spoils of ancient and Renaissance art, collected together at great though not disproportionate expense, housed behind a temporary front of mean brick walls, waiting for a worthy architectural treatment which has been promised for years, for which there was a great competition, when an admirable design was selected, which cannot be carried out because the Government, we are told, cannot spare the money. It might surely be worth consideration whether it really pays a country to allow, for mere motives of financial economy, the continuance of what is almost a national disgrace, or must appear so to those foreign visitors who may come from a country in which there is any regard for art.†

Among other matters in which we have gone back rather than forward is that of our bridges, an important class of work in the case of a city which lies on each side of a river. Bridges are not merely utilitarian structures, or ought not to be; indeed, they cannot be, for if a bridge is not an ornament to a city it will certainly be a blemish to it, however adequate it may be as a mere engineering structure for traffic. Now, in the early part of this century we could build grand and dignified bridges. London Bridge and Waterloo Bridge would be difficult to surpass for monumental grandeur; indeed, Waterloo Bridge is a little too monumental in a

* All this could be altered, a fine internal effect made, and a fine and dignified façade produced, without interfering with the main structure of the present front, or with the portico (the best point in it). A suggested sketch for it by the author was exhibited at the Royal Academy two or three years ago.

† This parsimony in regard to the South Kensington Museum appears all the more irrational when we contrast it with the expenditure on the Imperial Institute, an institution which the promoters of it are now at their wits' end to find a use for. The money expended on that building would have more than sufficed to complete South Kensington Museum in a manner worthy of its importance.

sense, for it was carried across the river in an unbroken horizontal line, in order to have a more stately effect, regardless of the low level of the shore on the Surrey side, and the steep gradient up from Waterloo Station is an artificial ascent formed to get up to the level of Rennie's uncompromising bridge; but perhaps the effect is worth the gradient. But how is it that we can produce no such simple and grand monumental bridges now? Blackfriars Bridge is a sham in constructional design and coarse and gimcrack in decoration. The engineer of the County Council wants to put one as like it as possible in place of Vauxhall Bridge, a structure with some very good elements of design; and the Tower Bridge, in an æsthetic sense, is the worst of all, worse than many people are aware of; for even those who can see that its towers are a pretentious piece of bad mediævalism are not probably alive to the fact that they are a gigantic sham, not carrying anything, but carried by a steel construction to which they are merely a screen.* A more wretched piece of architectural falsehood and vulgarity was never perpetrated, and the comparison with London Bridge is not consoling in regard to the progress of our taste and perception in building during the present reign. It is worthy, however, of a generation which could allow a plot of land immediately facing the Abbey, the greatest historic building of the country, to be occupied by such a tawdry booth as the Westminster Aquarium.

On one improvement in the general aspect of parts of London we may fairly congratulate ourselves, viz., the better class of architecture of our street houses. When we consider that a generation ago we were content, or even gratified, with the prim cement commonplaces of Cromwell Road and its neighbourhood, the style of brick houses which are being built in various new quarters of London indicates a notable advance in our street architecture. Not that one need be enamoured of brick; it is better than cement, but on the other hand stone is better than brick; the improvement, nevertheless, is a real and marked one. There seems, moreover, to be a kind of awakening, even in the old streets, both in residential and business neighbourhoods, to the desirability of giving picturesqueness and character to a street front; the attempts are not all equally successful, it is true, but still they are made, and that is something.

Among minor points in which London as a Jubilee city is very

* The reader will perhaps realize better the state of the case when he learns that the walls of these pretended masonry towers have no solid foundation at all; they are carried on cross braces of the steel construction; and a few weeks before the bridge was opened, when the roadway was not put down, I looked *under* the side walls of the towers, which were, so to speak, hanging in empty air.

deficient is that of street scavenging. The amount of refuse in the shape of papers, &c., that is allowed to lie about in the streets is a public nuisance and a great defacement of the city, and a more systematic cleansing ought to be taken in hand.

Two other remarks on the broader aspect of the subject may be added. One is that, slowly as our schemes of street improvement proceed, those which do get carried out would be of more ultimate value if they formed part of a large scheme laid out in advance, and towards which each improvement would form a permanent contribution. For want of this, points are often thrown away, things done which either require to be undone or must be regarded as mistakes which it is too late to remedy. If some comprehensive scheme for the general improvement of London were drawn out and adopted, there would then be a greater interest felt in separate improvements, and a greater value attached to them, as it would be felt that each one of them would be an assured step towards a definite end, and not a mere isolated bit of tinkering.

Lastly, one cannot help being struck, amid all the schemes which have been suggested in the newspapers for celebrating the Queen's Diamond Jubilee, with the entire absence of any suggestion for an artistic monument of the Queen's Reign. The sole approach to it has been the suggestion that South Kensington Museum might be completed as a memorial of the reign, a suggestion which met with little support. We hear nothing but proposals for open spaces, for founding hospitals, and other such useful schemes, but the idea of making any attempt to commemorate the reign by a noble monument of art never seems to enter anyone's mind. If the French had the good fortune to have had a sovereign (supposing they had still a monarchy) who had reigned so long and was regarded with such general loyalty, long before this they would have had all the leading artists in the kingdom at work on a great competition for the finest monument that could be produced to commemorate the occasion in a worthy and a glorious manner. But our dull heads rise to nothing more exhilarating than founding hospital wards. We are, alas ! a practical people.

H. Heathcote Statham.
(*Editor of "The Builder."*)

ARCHBISHOP BENSON.

My first acquaintance with the late Archbishop was in the autumn of 1867, when I spent a Sunday at Wellington College as the guest of one of his younger colleagues. At that time he was in the heyday of his own school work. Early difficulties had been to a great extent overcome, and the school was taking generally the shape which he had imagined for it. The heath-clad wilderness had been replenished and subdued. He had himself moved out of his somewhat narrow quarters in the college building into the new and charming "Master's Lodge." He had attained to a VI.th Form after his own heart. Its scholar of the greatest promise at the moment was one known since to letters as the brilliant, if sometimes paradoxical, writer of *Euripides, the Rationalist*, and there were other members of it destined to win distinction in arms, in the Indian Civil Service, and in education. I had known him before through correspondence, and at second-hand in the way that an Oxford tutor knows many headmasters, from pupils of his own who take work at a school, or boys from the school who come to the University; but the first personal contact was an event. His appearance was striking—"beautiful" Charles Kingsley called it in those days—"What is Benson's character?" "Beautiful, like his face." It was a face of command, with great play of feature, eager, but quiet, and giving the sense of a fund both of humour and of determination. In receiving a visitor he was quite at his best, gracious, cordial, even affectionate. Then, and in all changes of position, he had the characteristics which make anyone interesting who is engaged in important work, keen and fresh interest of his own in it, and an eye for its picturesque and ideal aspects.

The story of the selection of the first Master of Wellington, as it is told in official documents, is that the Governors, after an advertisement, set some selected candidates to write their views on the proper constitution of a school, and that "after attentively considering the papers sent in," they decided that "although they displayed considerable knowledge of the subject, they did not lead to the belief that any of the candidates possessed pre-eminent qualifications for the post." A more judicious and more private

method was therefore adopted, and after consultation with Dr. Temple the post was offered to Mr. Benson, at that time tutor in the School House at Rugby. The school was to open in 1859. It is so much a matter of habit to use the machinery of civilization without thinking of the amount of human energy and intelligence which it has cost to adapt it to its ends, that those whose experience has lain wholly in schools that seem to go of themselves may easily fail to realize the heavy calls upon one who undertakes to build a new school from its foundations. He starts with a chaos —a crowd of boys from home or other schools, a mass of units with no cohesion, with no traditions, nothing to one another, like the fish in the net of the Parable, "of every kind," with no natural leaders, no *esprit de corps*, nothing as yet to lift any above the level of their individual temperaments. Out of these he is to create a living, conscious, self-respecting, and in a large measure self-governing community, one of the sisterhood of English Public Schools, like the others, and yet, as it must be if it is to be really like them,* different from all, reproducing the old type, but with a spirit and character of its own, one suited to its circumstances and one that will endure. It is a task which has been performed several times in the last generation, but in every case it is a proof of high gifts. It means the power to rule, to win, to inspire, to imagine an ideal, and one which will fire the imagination of others; the patience to work it out in wearisome detail and in spite of difficulties and disappointments; the skill to choose, as well as the name to attract, capable and like-minded associates, and the even rarer art to work through and in them; the force to make even rough lads feel the constraining influence of justice, wisdom, and enthusiasm.

There were, perhaps, though it is easy to exaggerate, some special difficulties in the peculiar conditions of Wellington College, which was meant not merely to be another Public School, but an Eleemosynary Foundation, the part of a Wykeham or a Henry VI. being divided between the subscribers to a national memorial of the Great Duke and a Board of Governors consisting of the leading public men of the time.† It was on the one hand to be an orphanage for the sons of officers,‡ on the other hand to be an orphanage on a monumental scale, and with the dignified and large asso-

* "Facies non omnibus una,
Nec diversa tamen, qualem decet esse sororum."
—Ovid.

† The only survivors at the present time of the first Board are the Duke of Cambridge and its Hon. Secretary, now the Vice-President, the most constant friend that a school ever had, the Hon. Sir W. P. Talbot, K.C.B.

‡ Eighty such orphans were from the first boarded and educated at a nominal charge, and the number was subsequently raised to ninety. These answer to the King's Scholars at Eton.

ciations of one of our historic Foundation Schools. The twofold purpose required adjustments which were not all clearly foreseen. Financial questions, which would have been quickly solved beforehand in the heart of a mediæval Founder, were less tractable when the public had been taken into the confidence of the Founders with respect to their hopes and purposes before the means of realizing them were completely measured. Some misunderstandings which arose thus were so persistent, that at a later period it required a Royal Commission to clear them up. The buildings, stately and characteristic, were designed with inadequate knowledge of the requirements of a school, and needed completion in several important points. In the matter of administration, also, there were questions which were only solved by time. It was not clearly understood, for instance, at first, that a resident Bursar was nearly as necessary as a resident Master. Such difficulties, of course, added to the first Master's labour, but they were not such as to lessen his brightness and buoyancy, or to touch in any serious point the vital part of his work. On the other hand, it must have been very interesting and stimulating to a young master to work in close co-operation with such men as the Prince Consort (too soon lost!) and Lord Derby; and the shadow of a great name and the consciousness of a national purpose must have done something to give a young school the sense of a future if it had not got that of a past. It has been said in one or two of the notices which appeared after the Archbishop's death, that his rule of the school was by fear. Discipline is the first necessity of a young society, but if the words be taken as describing his temperament or the general character of his government, they are entirely misleading. He had a quick eye for individual character, an understanding of boys' difficulties, a strong sense of the humorous side of much of their troublesomeness, a ready sympathy with aspiration and effort, however unsuccessful. He certainly commanded loyalty and affection from many. But he ruled on the Public School system—as much as possible through his VI.th Form. On training and impressing them he spared no pains. He taught them almost entirely himself, and he did not, as is too often done, leave them without guidance in their ruling. The terminal admission of Prefects was a formal business with a short religious service (borrowed from Rugby), and those who heard his little addresses on these occasions, speak of them with enthusiasm as more effective even than his sermons in Chapel, sermons themselves (if we may judge from the volume published under the title of *Boy Life*) among the best of school-sermons. His knowledge of boys was very great, and so was his power of putting high principles of action into pithy phrases which they would understand, and feel, and remember.

He ruled through his "Prefects" and he ruled through his "Tutors." The relation of a tutor in charge of a "dormitory" (a gallery of living as well as sleeping rooms) to his boys was, in his arrangement, as nearly as it could be made, that of a house-master in another school to his boarding-house, but in no school, perhaps, was the theory that the tutor stood *in loco parentis* so fully carried out as at Wellington. He was the parents' representative not only to the boy, but to the authorities in the school. No boy was to be punished seriously without the tutor knowing the charge and having the opportunity of saying anything that could be said for him. He was counsel for the accused in the question both of his guilt and of his sentence. This threw more strongly on the Master the responsibility of the necessary but less amiable function; but it made for justice as well as mercy, and it made the bond of feeling between pupil and tutor a singularly happy and wholesome one.

With his young assistant masters also Benson was a disciplinarian. Amusing stories were told of his attempts to check the (in those days more governable) foible of smoking. But he attached them generally to himself, and they believed in him. He had a tolerance for natural infirmity. "—— is rather conceited," someone complained to him. "You do not know," was the answer, "how a little self-conceit helps you through dull and irksome duties." He left behind him, as his successor knows best, a staff of able men, united (not by any means because they were all of one colour), and with an unusually high and human ideal of their work.

We were taught as boys to laugh at the fool of Greek fable who brought a brick as a specimen of the house which was for sale. But perhaps he was not such a fool as he was painted. In any case a spiritual building can only be judged by the character of the living stones of which it is put together. Tried by this test, Benson's Wellington work has approved itself to the world in modest, gallant, duty-loving officers in every regiment in the Service; * in able and faithful Civil servants; in schoolmasters and tutors at the Universities full of noble enthusiasms, intellectual and social; in clergymen, few in number, but of the right sort,† with something of the militant spirit that befits the "sons of heroes."

* Where the general spirit is in question to particularize would give a false impression; but Wellingtonians would like me, at this moment, to indicate, on the "*Ex uno disce omnes*" principle, the colonel in command of the brave fellows who stood steady between decks on the shipwrecked *Warren Hastings*.

† It is worth recording that, out of a number of clergymen smaller from natural causes than from almost any public school of the size, the Wellington of Dr. Benson gave the first "missioner," not only to the Wellington College Mission in South London, but also to the School Missions of Winchester and Charterhouse.

No one could see Benson at Wellington without feeling that he loved his position. He loved, as he loved all through his life, the work of organizing even to minute detail. He loved and idealized the place, the country freedom, the lustrous air, the scent of heather and firwoods, the scraps of historic association, the Roman camp and the neighbouring Swinley and Windsor Forest. He passionately loved teaching—his Greek Testament lessons, the careful reading of Thucydides, Latin verses, "the prettiest and sweetest things in the world," as, once in after days, he called them. He loved the school chapel, every brick and stone and timber of which he had seen laid and carved; the painted windows of which he had planned in subject and design so that they should be filled in on one harmonious scheme as years went on, and gifts and memorials made it possible. He loved its services, its short, bright daily services, with the hymns of his own appointment (used in after years in the private chapel at Addington and Lambeth); the ritual, so carefully thought out and so quiet, a prevision of the Lambeth judgment; the looking over of the boys, and their orderly filing out past his stall, what an officer once called "the best bit of drill he ever saw."

There is no reason to think that he had grown weary of these things, or to imagine unavowed causes for his breaking off his work as a schoolmaster. In 1873 he was still only forty-three, and he was in the fifteenth year of his mastership, the traditional date, which, if it does not tell every headmaster that it is time to go, makes him begin to ask himself how much longer it will be good for himself and the school that he should stay. He was in full vigour, and thirsting still for active and satisfying work. Perhaps his occupation with the Life of St. Cyprian, which we know to have been undertaken while he was at Wellington, had revealed to him his own taste for Church organization. He had already begun to write on the revival of cathedrals. In any case he had been brought (through the present Bishop John Wordsworth of Salisbury, who was his colleague for a short time) into contact with a personality which very strongly attracted and influenced him in the great and scholarly Bishop Christopher Wordsworth of Lincoln. The Bishop, full himself of schemes of development in cathedral and diocese, invited Dr. Benson, at the end of 1872, to accept the vacant Chancellorship of the Cathedral, which, it was understood, would, in his hands, be an office of residence, and would involve the resuscitation, under his charge, of the "Scholæ Cancellarii," or Theological College for the diocese.

The life at Lincoln was in years a very short one, from the summer of 1873 to the end of 1876; but like his life as a whole it was a very full one. It left its mark upon himself and upon the

cathedral, diocese, and city of Lincoln. It may be doubted whether any scene of his working life dwelt afterwards in his mind as the object of warmer personal affection than "dearest, dearest Lincoln," as he called it, half-playfully, but in earnest, "its angels and its men!"

This was partly a natural response to the warm affection which he must have been conscious of having evoked in a place not usually too quick to show its emotions. "He took Lincoln by storm," wrote one who witnessed his life there. His genial vigour and enthusiasm were like a breath of fresh air, and the enthusiasm was so manifestly inspired by a love of and belief in things old that it raised no alarm in the most timid. In the quiet of the minster yard and in the foundries, among Churchmen and Nonconformists, there was equally the sense that an inspiring presence was among them. The life itself had many incidents which were delightful to him. He was able to carry on the beloved work of teaching, though under new conditions. He found, especially in Bishop Wordsworth, close and continuous companionship which satisfied all the sides of his nature. He loved architecture, and he was in one of the noblest of cathedrals; historic associations, and he was in a place full of them. The minster services gave him the atmosphere of stately devotion which was most congenial to him. But the pre-eminent characteristic of his post at Lincoln, and that which most endeared it to him, was that in it he was conscious of having found for the first time his true *métier*, the work that stimulated and satisfied not some, but all of his special gifts and interests. He was meant by nature to be, to use a phrase of which he was fond in relation to others—a few of his own time but most of them of the past—a "great Churchman." A dignitary who watches with a love at once filial and parental over "every stone" of one of our great Minsters is in the habit of distinguishing his own attitude towards a Cathedral from that of the society which protects our ancient buildings by the words "They look upon it as a monument; I look at it as a running concern." It was this sense that the Church in all the fulness of her historic machinery, in polity, doctrine, ritual, was a "running concern," which attracted the future Archbishop to his work at Lincoln. He had a strong historic sense, but it was not the antiquarian, or the picturesque, or the personal, or the philosophical aspect of Church history that had supreme interest to him. He was persuaded that the old machinery had a vital relation to the needs of the day. That, we know, was what had struck him most forcibly in his studies in Cyprian. "He appeared *to be among us.* I have tried to sketch what I saw. It is only thus that the past can be read into the present."* The first point in

* *Cyprian: His Life, his Times, his Work*, Preface.

the ecclesiastical system to which his practical interest was turned was the cathedral, and in a cathedral of the old foundation he seemed to find scope for all his energies and means of realizing his dreams. He had great power of work, and he taxed it here as elsewhere to the utmost. The Chancellor was by the old constitution, at once the Theologian and the Education-minister of the cathedral and diocese; and here was his first field. With the help of Bishop Wordsworth's boundless munificence he revived and organized the "Chancellor's School" for theological students. He gathered large audiences to his lectures in the Chapter House. He took an active part in all educational schemes in the city. He went down the hill and opened a night school. Stories are told of the experiences of his first night, when he found the street blocked by a crowd of 500 would-be scholars of all ages, whom with his Wellington experience and such assistance as he could get he sorted and drafted into class-rooms and set to work. Efforts, less common then than now, to bring the Church closer to the people and to popularize the cathedral owed much to his hand, initiating or moulding. Such was a diocesan society for organizing parochial missions, called characteristically, if a little pedantically, "Novate Novale."* Men still in Lincoln speak with affectionate gratitude of what they owe to addresses of his own during a mission in the city in which he took a prominent part. Such, again, were the early week-day services which he started in the minster in what from a similar use in ancient times was traditionally called the "Morning Chapel" and the Sunday afternoon sermons in the nave to which he attracted large congregations. And he threw himself into the whole life of the community. The social division of "above hill" and "below hill" which Bulwer describes so graphically in *A Strange Story*, was perhaps dying already, but it had no meaning at the Chancery. He especially delighted in movements which brought him into contact with the leaders of labour in the city, such as the establishment of some successful co-operative societies, and the provision on a considerable scale of garden allotments.

From Lincoln he was called to his second great creative work, the making of a new diocese. There again, although he loved to feel that it was in a sense the work of restoration (for the Bishopric of Cornwall had only been merged in that of Devon in Edward the Confessor's reign), yet, practically, he had to begin, as at Wellington, from the beginning. He found a church if not "scattered on the hills as sheep without a shepherd," yet at the extremity of an overgrown diocese, difficult of access, a people with a history and character and pride of their own, amongst whom spiritual religion,

* The Vulgate rendering in Jeremiah IV., 3, "Break up your fallow ground."

in default of sympathetic leading in times gone by, had to a great extent taken a line apart from, if not hostile to the Church. After less than six years he left a diocesan organization equal, though not in wealth, in completenes and in spirit and efficiency to any in England; a fine cathedral planned, and in part built; a church proud of its ancient history, and of its renewed life, full of evangelistic spirit, confident of its future. And he had found his way also to the hearts of very many of its estranged members, with whose piety and fervour he had such genuine sympathy. For his reconstructive work in Cornwall—besides that deep sense of personal religion which shone from him, and which commended him to earnest men—he had two gifts which had been of great value also in his work at Wellington. One was his infectious and inspiring buoyancy and hopefulness; his power of seeing everything near him at its best, as he meant it should be. The other, not unconnected with this, was an imaginative and poetical cast of mind, which gave a touch of romance to all his work, to the scenery and history of the country, and made links for him with the sensitive and imaginative temperament of his Cornish people.

It always strikes me that this vein of the poet was in part accountable for a characteristic of the Archbishop's literary style which was often criticized, and which, in an interesting Prefatory Note to his posthumous work on Cyprian, is described by his son, Mr. A. C. Benson, as "too great care to avoid the obvious." He had not the fluency and directness of an orator; his writing always gives the idea of effort. But it has two qualities that remind us of a poet, not only this "avoiding of the obvious," but something also of the choiceness and unexpectedness of phrase, the quaint and picturesque, often archaic, turns of thought and expression which are the special means by which a poet avoids it. He wrote some fine hymns. It is a pity he did not write more. Every collection now has his noble hymn for the Rogation Days, "O Throned! O Crowned!" a hymn full of the brightness and hope of the young life round him when he wrote it, of the richness and beauty of God's world. An even finer, if less known one, although, like many of our greatest English hymns, it is a translation or adaptation, is the hymn which was sung with such appropriateness in several places at memorial services on the day of his funeral, "The splendours of thy glory, Lord."

His life after he was removed from Truro to Lambeth is a chapter in the history of the Church of England beyond the scope of this paper. But one great act stands out in it which we can hardly speak of him and omit—the supreme using of an opportunity. Neither the opportunity nor the using of it can be severed from his personal character and position. He had inherited from Arch-

bishop Tait the desire, the duty, if it were in any way possible, to unravel what seemed the hopeless tangle into which questions of ritual had come. The judgments of the supreme tribunal had been gravely discredited by criticism on their historical side. They were not wholly consistent with one another. The courts themselves did not command the perfect respect either of the clergy or the lawyers. It had proved impossible to alter the rubrics; impossible to alter the court so as to give satisfaction to opposite claims. The measure passed for the purpose of making procedure easier had broken down in vital points, and had aggravated the difficulties which it was meant to remove. Excellent clergymen were being sent to prison for conscience' sake, and when they were there it was difficult to get them out again.

In the prosecution for the first time of a bishop, for which the statute law had made no provision, an opening was given for a fresh approach to the question. The Archbishop was advised that he had the right, and if the right the obligation, of jurisdiction.

It was a great opportunity if it could be taken, for here was a court of which no one could deny the spiritual character. But if the opportunity was to be effectually used it was essential that the judgment of this spiritual court, while it commended itself to the clergy by its temper and independence, should also be such that its grounds should be approved as solid by the secular court if that were appealed to, for if it failed in this last condition, the strain between Church and State would only be aggravated. Besides his courage, which struck Dean Church* so much, and his admirable confidence in reason and common-sense, the Archbishop had two special qualifications for rendering this service to peace in the Church. In the first place he was, by taste and habit of long-standing, a Ritualist, not in its modern and, so to say, slang sense, but in its proper English sense of a serious student of the history and meaning of ritual. None of the questions were new to him, none was trivial, and yet he could hold the proportions of things. He could defend a practice as ancient and seemly and yet clear it from doctrinal significance which had been wrongly imported into it. In the second place, he stood in fact and in public estimation unusually clear of party. It is interesting to note how the successive steps of his rapid promotion from office to office had been due to divines and statesmen the most widely different from one another in position and opinions. Temple sent him to Wellington, Wordsworth brought him to Lincoln. Lord Beaconsfield made him Bishop of Truro, Mr. Gladstone Archbishop of

* *Dean Church's Life and Letters*, p. 348.

Canterbury. *Omne tulit punctum.* It would be as difficult to assign him a place in the common division of Church parties as it would be to place his two friends, the fellow-disciples with him of a great master, Bishops Lightfoot and Westcott. He had in practical questions the same qualification for the work of reconstruction and reassurance which they have had in the sphere of religious learning and thought—the evident habit of treating every question on its merits.

No picture of Benson would be complete that did not show something—one who can do it best will do it in the forthcoming biography, it is too sacred ground for more than a word here—of the background of his working life, the home so happy in spite of two grievous inroads upon it (one of them touchingly alluded to in the dedication of his Cyprian), the treasure from his Rugby days in the wise and noble-hearted partner of all his cares and joys, the brilliance and happy vivacity and fine enthusiasms of the little circle of which they were the centre. One thinks of him there in his most human aspect—his fatherliness—his playfulness; his delightful hospitality; his pleasure in nature; his manner with children; his fondness for animals, from his horses and favourite dog to the squirrels and rabbits, welcome, in spite of their destructiveness, on the lawn at Wellington, and the swans that knew him so well on the lake at Addington.

Felix opportunitate mortis!—the words were used in several notices of the death in Hawarden Church last September. There are senses in which they were very inappropriate. In a Roman's mouth they belonged to the pessimism of a decadent society; death was timely because it took one away from evil to come. They have been used in later times with a suggestion of satire, as the correlative of Tacitus's epigram on Galba—"whom every voice would have pronounced fit for the purple if he had not worn it"—death was timely that took a man away before he had exposed himself. In a sense, no doubt, any man who knows himself may feel that to quit a high office without having hurt what he meant to help is a proof of high grace; but if anyone needs less than another such an epitaph on him from others it is one who held the highest office in the Church for fourteen anxious years and left it more at peace within itself and doing its work better than when he was called to preside over it. But yet the words are applicable to him in some noble and true senses. They may speak of the circumstances of the death itself, the place, and moment, and antecedents—"beautiful and sublime," the poet-Archbishop of Armagh called it; "a soldier's death," were the words of the aged statesman to whom at the time of his death he was paying a long-promised and expected visit. They may speak also of the completeness of the life, of its

wonderful fulness—not long according to our modern standards of longevity, but long enough for three great tasks at least. "Always tired now," was his description of himself the last time that the present writer saw him, and yet he worked on as if he could never tire, cheerful and buoyant to the end. What could his best friend wish more for him?

E. C. WICKHAM.

A COLONIAL CHRONICLE.

MR. LAURIER'S POSITION.

It is said to be a disadvantage to a Colonial Premier to pay a political visit to the Mother Country, as he is supposed to lose touch with his distant constituency, and instances are cited of men who have returned from their travels with diminished authority. If there is any Colonial statesman, however, who may come to London with a light heart we should imagine it to be Mr. Laurier, the Premier of Canada. Our readers, perhaps, hardly realize the very remarkable position our eminent French fellow-subject holds in the esteem and confidence of all sections of Canadians. The strength he and his Party have developed since the General Election of last year, when the Liberals obtained a majority and power after being in opposition for eighteen years, is enough to make a British Premier's mouth water. We should, indeed, imagine it to be unprecedented. In the first place, instead of the usual run of bye-elections against the existing Dominion Government such as were to be expected, there has been a flowing tide of Ministerial successes. According to *The Globe* (Toronto) there have been twenty-four bye-elections since July, of which twenty-two have been won by Ministerialists (Liberals) and only two by the Opposition (Conservatives)—the Government having actually gained seven seats while the Opposition have gained none. So much for Mr. Laurier's *prestige* with the Dominion or Federal electorate which returns the Canadian Parliament. Some of the Provinces which constitute the Dominion have also been having their General Elections, and a similar Liberal wave has swept over them. Manitoba, Nova Scotia, and Quebec, have all spoken in the same sense. Manitoba was regarded as a certainty for the Liberals, but Nova Scotia—Sir Charles Tupper's Province—was considered dubious, owing to the withdrawal of the local Liberal leader, Mr. Fielding, from Provincial to Dominion politics. The result, however, was a tremendous Liberal victory, giving a majority of thirty in a Legislature of thirty-eight.

QUEBEC, ETC.

In Quebec, the great French and Roman Catholic Province, the Conservatives were confident of prolonging their reign, which had already lasted five years. The contest was a very bitter one, and all the scandals of the Mercier (Liberal) *régime* were raked up by one Party, while the Conservative "policy of easy prodigality" was trenchantly impeached by the other. But as we are told that the name of Laurier was used in doubtful districts in much the same way as that of Gladstone was employed in the British elections of 1880, and with much the same results—for a Conservative majority of twenty-five was converted into a Liberal majority of thirty-three—it is perhaps fair to assume that the verdict is rather one of general confidence in Mr. Laurier and his Federal Cabinet than a desire to initiate any fresh local departure. The great Protestant Province of Ontario continues to support its Liberal Administration, so the Liberal Party now predominates in the Provincial and Dominion Legislatures, and the Liberal Premier comes to England under the happiest political auspices, and fortified with peculiar authority. Mr. Laurier is one of the most striking and attractive figures in political life. He is an orator in two languages, and of his probity men cannot speak too highly. At the dinner held in London last Dominion day, Principal Grant quoted Sir John Macdonald's generous tribute to an opponent: "I can trust Laurier without the slightest fear. He is incapable of breaking his word, even if he wished to." We do not believe there has ever been a more picturesque incident in the history of the British Empire than the attainment of the premier Colonial Premiership by a Frenchman amid the enthusiastic approval of his English and French fellow-citizens. The largeness and sagacity of his statesmanship may be judged by his resolute resistance to clerical encroachment by priests of his own nationality, and his earnest desire to improve the commercial relations within the Empire. He will not find the "Liberal" Party in England in a very flourishing condition, but unless we are much mistaken he will find himself in surprising accord on most public questions with Lord Salisbury's followers. The meeting between the leaders of two such firmly planted parties as the Canadian Liberals and the British Conservatives cannot but be advantageous to both countries.

THE TARIFF BILL.

The great event in Canada during the past month was, of course, the introduction of the Tariff Bill, which has appealed vividly to the whole Empire on account of the preference it gives to British goods in Canadian markets. It was introduced on April 22nd (St. George's Day) by

Mr. Fielding, who retired from the Premiership of Nova Scotia after the General Election to join Mr. Laurier's Cabinet as Finance Minister. His speech was a masterly and lucid performance, reviewing the whole history of the National Policy of high protection, which was initiated by Sir John Macdonald in 1878, and is pronounced by the present Government to be a failure. Mr. Fielding estimates that in the ten years from 1881–1891 Canada lost a population of immigrants and native-born of over a million. During this period flourishing towns decreased while the Maritime Provinces have stagnated, and the Dominion could not stand such another census as the last. The consumption of spirits in 1895–6 was the lowest *per capita* since confederation, and the deficit for the current year may reach £200,000. The Liberal policy has always been to impose duties for revenue only, to allow free play to individual competition, to abstain from artificially fostering trusts and combines which become great engines of corruption, and to extend trade relations with other countries, particularly Great Britain and the United States. At the same time they are obliged, as practical politicians, to recognize such facts as that a revolutionary change in the tariff would cause a dangerous disturbance in Canada just now, and likewise that all efforts to make reciprocal arrangements with the United States are impossible while Dingleyism is in the ascendant. So Canada is compelled to look elsewhere. Hence the new tariff consists of two tariffs—(1) A general tariff not differing very materially from that now in force; (2) A special tariff applicable to the goods of countries favouring Canadian goods, "and as a matter of course, not by the express words of the resolution, but by the condition of affairs which exist, that preferential tariff gives preference above all others to the products of Great Britain."

A Famous Peroration.

We feel sure that the extremely eloquent peroration with which Mr. Fielding concluded his historic speech, will be read with warm appreciation throughout the Empire. The report is taken from *The Toronto Globe* of April 24th.

"And last, but not least, we give to the people the benefits of preferential trade with the mother country. This question of preferential trade has been mentioned in the House. In times past leading public men have advocated preferential trade, but always annexing to their suggestions a demand for England's action, with which it was well known England would not comply. All the advocates of preferential trade, at all events, all who have taken an active part in that movement, have assumed that as the first step England must consent to put a duty on corn. We know that England does not view that project with favour. We know that no more unpopular project can be offered the English people than to ask them to put a duty on breadstuffs. It may be that as time rolls on, and at an early day, they may change their views. It may be that they may see it to be in their

interests to make this distinction, and they may offer some preferential rate to the grain of Canada. They can be induced to do that by fair argument. I have no doubt it will be a good thing for Canada. But why should we wait for England to take action? England has dealt generously with us in the past. England has given us a larger degree of liberty perhaps than is possessed by any other country on the face of the earth. She has given us liberty to tax her wares even when she admits our goods free, and we have taxed them to an enormous degree. Why should we wait for England to do more? Somebody must make a move in this matter, and we propose that Canada shall lead the way. My hon. friend, the leader of the Opposition, says that our project of freer trade with England is a delusive one. It is so delusive that when I place these resolutions on the table of this House to-night, they go into effect; and I speak with pride, in the name of the Liberal Party, and the hon. gentlemen around me will share that pride, when I say that to-morrow morning in every custom house from ocean to ocean the doors will open on terms of preferential trade with the mother country. I cannot doubt that this tariff will commend itself to this House and country, and when this policy shall have passed its various stages, when it shall have passed into law, the members of the Parliament of Canada may feel that in this glorious year of Jubilee they have made a noble contribution to that splendid Parliamentary record which Tennyson had in his mind when he pictured the reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria as a time,

> "When statesmen at her Council met
> Who knew to take occasion by the hand,
> And make the bounds of freedom wider yet."

THE TWO TARIFFS.

It is necessary to distinguish between the two tariffs. With a threatened deficit of from £100,000 to £200,000 the first or general tariff (which applies at present to all countries except Great Britain and New South Wales, which have enjoyed the benefits of the second or friendly tariff ever since Mr. Fielding made his speech and placed the necessary resolutions on the table of the Parliament at Ottawa on April 22nd) lowers duties on ironwork, woollens, cottons, and corn. These reductions are expected to augment the deficit. But the additional duties imposed on tobacco, spirits, and cigarettes are expected to provide the required surplus. Such and other purely revenue-producing articles are very naturally excepted from the operation of the reciprocal tariff, which is framed as follows: A schedule of goods is drawn up on which the duties are to be reduced by one-eighth, provided the country from which they are imported can show that it admits the products of Canada "on terms which, on the whole, are as favourable to Canada as the terms of the reciprocal tariff." Great Britain, as a reward for freely opening her ports to Canadian goods, has already been accorded the benefit of this reduction of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and as a further reduction of a like amount takes place after the 30th June next year, the preference to be ultimately given amounts to 25 per cent. It is apparently the Controller of the Canadian customs who is to decide in the first place as to what countries are entitled to the

abatement, and he has already declined applications preferred by Germany and Belgium, who claim to be put on the same footing as Great Britain in Canada by virtue of their most-favoured-nation clauses with Great Britain. The following passage between Mr. Laurier and Mr. Foster (the late Finance Minister) shows the respective positions taken up by the Government and Opposition, and it is evident that the former have not chosen their ground without deliberation:—"Mr. Foster asked the Premier if he considered that if the resolutions were passed the same treatment as was given to Great Britain would have to be accorded to Belgium, Germany, and the other countries that had the most-favoured-nation clauses with Great Britain.—Mr. Laurier: If you want my answer now, I say decidedly that it does not apply either to Belgium or Germany.—Mr. Foster then contended that this position was entirely wrong, and that because of Great Britain's treaties the same treatment would have to be accorded to these nations, or Canada would signalize the Jubilee year by repudiating these Imperial treaties."

THE BRITISH VIEW.

"For the first time in our Colonial history a British Colony has of its own free gift conferred a substantial advantage upon British industry, and we cannot fail to recognize the special significance and grace which the act acquires from the circumstance that it has been accomplished under the inspiration and guidance of the first French Canadian Premier of the Dominion. Apart from the material value of the concession that has been made, we gain an example to be remembered with cordial gratitude and pride of the confidence with which our Imperial fellow-subjects of foreign blood enter into the liberal spirit of British institutions." This passage, from the foremost living writer on Colonial subjects,* expresses in felicitous terms the sentiment with which the Canadian proposals have been received in Great Britain. Whatever may be the ultimate outcome of Mr. Fielding's Budget the action of the Liberal Party in Canada in taking a step which has, at any rate for a time, given British produce an advantage over all other produce in a great Colonial market, is one of the most significant and satisfactory events of our time. It finally shatters the utterly absurd delusion that Canadian Liberalism is lukewarm towards the mother country, and it calls emphatic attention to the possibilities of inter-Imperial trade. The practical benefit of a rebate of 12½ per cent. for the year beginning July 1st, 1897, which becomes a rebate of 25 per cent. on July 1st, 1898, will in any case be enjoyed by British goods, whether other countries eventually

* The writer of the weekly article on "The Colonies" in *The Times*.

make good their claims to it or not. Last year the value of dutiable goods imported from Great Britain into Canada amounted to £4,500,000 (largely textiles), upon which an average of 35 per cent. was levied, and the rebate now in operation may be expected to result in a considerable shifting of Canadian custom to the markets of the mother country. The Canadian Conservatives attack the Liberal proposals on the ground that the *general tariff* in keeping the duties very much as they were under Conservative Administration is a violation of the "free trade" election pledges of the Laurier Party. They also affirm that the *special tariff* must necessarily be extended under Imperial treaties to countries in favoured-nation relations with the British Empire, and that all chance of obtaining better terms for Colonial goods in the home market is being gratuitously thrown away—as something is being given for nothing. Mr. Laurier, in effect, replies: "We will favour those who favour us; show us our friends, and we will deal with them. Great Britain is, at any rate, one of them, so we begin with her—it is open to other nations to follow her generous example, and we are prepared to meet them in a like spirit, but our policy is not hostile to any Power."

THOSE "UNLUCKY" TREATIES.

The most important aspect of the new Canadian movement is its relation towards the Belgian and German Treaties of 1862 and 1865—those "unlucky" treaties as Lord Salisbury has termed them—which have hitherto been held to restrict all Colonial efforts to favour the produce of the Mother Country. Article XV. of the Belgian Treaty (1862) runs as follows:—"Articles the produce or manufacture of Belgium shall not be subject in the British colonies to other or higher duties than those which are or may be imposed upon similar articles of British origin." The first six articles of the German Treaty (1865) confer mutual privileges upon the high-contracting parties. Article V. contains the following clause:—"Any favour, privilege, or reduction in the tariff of duties of importation or exportation which either of the contracting parties may concede to any third Power shall be extended immediately and unconditionally to the other." This would hardly seem to touch the Canadian plan, but Article VII. of the same unfortunate Treaty runs as follows:—"The stipulations of the preceding Articles I. to VI. shall also be applied to the colonies and foreign possessions of Her Britannic Majesty. In those colonies and possessions the produce of the States of the Zollverein shall not be subject to any higher or other import duties than the produce of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland or of any country of the like kind; nor shall the

exportation from those colonies or possessions to the Zollverein be subject to any higher or other duties than the exportation to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland." This wretched and incongruous Treaty, in the negotiation of which Canada had no voice (for it was drawn up before she was confederated, and in those halcyon Gladstonian and Manchester days when colonies were regarded by British statesmen as "incumbrances"), professes in the earlier clauses to treat the British Empire as a unit, and subsequently to distinguish between Great Britain and our Colonies, and, as "The Colonies" very forcibly points out, "places the British Colonies and possessions under the necessity of regarding their own supreme head as a third Power. Thus while the colonies and possessions have no treaty-making powers of their own they are, in the same international instrument, placed in the anomalous position of forming at once a part and not a part of the British entity." The Canadian Government maintain that their policy constitutes no violation of these treaties, but we gather that should the Imperial authorities hold otherwise, they will be asked to repeal the obnoxious clauses, and so an international issue of much moment will be raised. Unless all the ordinary signs of the times are misleading, there is a widespread desire in Great Britain to take every practical step to place inter-Imperial trade on a more favoured basis than foreign trade, and the general benefits derivable from the obstructive treaties must be made more patent than they have hitherto been if they are to be preserved. The onus is entirely upon those who uphold them and not upon those who attack them. They were framed without consulting the Colonies, they have lasted for more than a generation, they are repealable at twelve months' notice, and they are a perpetual source of friction between Great Britain and the Colonies. Canada's policy is to *favour* her friends. If we cannot rise to this height let us at any rate remove a galling restraint upon the action of our friends.

MR. LAURIER'S OPPORTUNITY.

If the Imperial Government does not see its way to denounce the German and Belgium Treaties, several nations having most-favoured-nation clauses with us will at once enjoy the benefits of the *special tariff*, and the Liberal Party will have accomplished a further redemption of its election pledges. There will be no prejudice on the part of Great Britain at this extension of favours, seeing that the bulk of us are "sea-green and incorruptible" free traders, but considerable force will then accrue to the contention of the Canadian Opposition that the prospects of preferential trading with the mother country have not been advanced. Moreover, as the United States declined

to make its most-favoured-nation clause applicable to British Colonies, Mr. Laurier would find himself committed to a movement of discrimination against the United States, which would be neither in accordance with the traditions of his Party nor in accordance with the speeches its leaders have lately delivered in the Canadian Parliament. We hope he will go "bald headed" for the German and Belgium Treaties and make himself as unpleasant as he knows how to the Imperial Government, unless some serious defence of these disastrous documents can be adduced. Several cogent arguments will suggest themselves to a statesman whose action has already resulted in an advantageous abatement on British trade; but it would be premature to assume that the Foreign Office will be unsympathetic.

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES.

As there is some misconception both in Great Britain and the United States as to Canada's attitude towards the latter country as expressed in the new tariff, we quote the following opinion of *The Toronto Globe*, which may be taken as representing the best Liberal sentiment in the Dominion:—"The fact is that the Liberal policy was then, and is now, to do the best possible for Canada and Canadians. They believed, and still believe, that a mutual exchange of goods between these contiguous American countries would be advantageous, but it should be mutual. Our neighbours at present seem to have no desire for such an arrangement, and it has accordingly been determined to leave matters *in statu quo* so far as they are concerned. There is no hostility implied thereby. Their products will be admitted at the former duties, pending the time when in their own interest they see fit to abandon their Protectionist gods. There is at least a large minority of the people of the United States opposed to the ultra-Protectionist policy of the Republican administration. It may be an assistance to this section of opinion among our neighbours to have an object-lesson to point to in illustration of the fact that high tariffs are prejudicial to the trade of a country rather than helpful to it." There is, unquestionably, a very strong sentiment against the Dingley Bill in the United States, which will undoubtedly be stimulated by Canada's present policy.

THE FEDERAL MOVEMENT.

There has been very little stirring from Australia during the past month, beyond the expression of renewed confidence in Sir John Forrest's Premiership by the electors of Western Australia, in the recent General Election. The Federal Convention has adjourned to meet in the autumn—the Australian spring—and the Premiers are well on

their journey towards the Jubilee celebrations—Sir Hugh Nelson of Queensland and Mr. Seddon of New Zealand have already reached England. Although the superficial indications suggest the realization of an Australian federation before the close of the year, the average Australian appears to be somewhat sceptical both as to the probability and desirability of such an issue. These communities cover such an immense area and are consequently so out of touch with one another that the mutual confidence necessary to construct and endow a central Government with authority is largely lacking. The difficulties of reconciling conflicting claims, of soothing local jealousies, of making satisfactory financial arrangements, and of distributing political power in an equitable and acceptable manner, make the work of federating Australia one of the utmost delicacy. The ordinary citizen of whatever colony feels no urgent need to merge the existence of his community with that of others, and while positive that, *e.g.*, Queensland will be less important after federation than she is now, is not clear that her diminished prestige will be compensated by practical advantages. It requires a peculiar temperament to be enthusiastic for the particular form of compromise called federation, and though some of the best men in Australia are enthusiastic in the cause, and its prospects are said to have greatly improved since the Adelaide Convention, it is still doubtful whether enough steam can be got up throughout the continent to override the vested political interests which tend to block the way. Canada, it should be remembered, was only confederated as a last resort and under the extreme pressure of a great and at that time not over friendly neighbour, while if any one feels impatient at the procrastination of the Australian colonies to do what to an outsider appears the obvious thing, he should read an account of the trials and anxieties of the fathers of the American Constitution as recorded in that remarkable book *The Federalist*. The fact is that a federation is the antithesis of a poet—it is not born but is very laboriously made under some overwhelming influence. There is no such influence to direct Australia, and unless the majority of her people are statesmen we should be prepared for further delay. There can be very little doubt but that she will ultimately federate.

MR. WAY. One of the most interesting episodes of the past month was the arrival in England of the Right Honourable Samuel J. Way, the Chief Justice of South Australia, who comes to take his place as a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, on which the Colonies have long desired representation, for it is the final Court of Appeal of the Empire. Mr. Way—he has several times declined knighthood—has been

Chief Justice of South Australia for twenty-one years, and has acted as administrator about a dozen times during the absence of different governors. His appointment is an event of high importance, for he is the first Australian judge to sit on the Judicial Committee. He is apparently to travel backwards and forwards to and from his duties. It is stated in his colony that he is to be called upon to pay his own travelling expenses, and that though he joins an Imperial body the Imperial authorities have stipulated that they shall incur no expense, also that the Chief Justice loses half his salary, which goes to his *locum tenens* in South Australia. There are few depths of meanness that have not been sounded by the British Treasury, a body with which Mr. Chamberlain is in perpetual warfare, and we should not be the least surprised to hear this gossip confirmed. The Treasury consists of a nest of Mr. Gladstone's ex-Private Secretaries trained in the straitest sect of Little Englandism, and nothing is more congenial to them than pinching an Imperial undertaking.

Sir Henry Wrixon's Book.

One of the very best books lately produced in Greater Britain is Sir Henry Wrixon's account of a political tour, which he undertook on behalf of the Victorian Government.* It is a really admirable piece of work which will interest all political students who have access to it. The author being appointed to represent his colony at the Colonial Conference held in Canada in 1894, was likewise given a roving commission to report upon political conditions prevailing in Canada, England, and the United States. He made the Socialist movement his primary concern, and sought to learn "from the workers themselves what they thought of it, and how it is presented by the literature of the bookstall to the man in the street." He discharged his task with remarkable fidelity, fairness, and shrewdness, and makes a most instructive political cicerone. He says one very striking thing about Canada which should effectually destroy any lingering influence Mr. Goldwin Smith may have with British opinion:—"Except the voice of one powerful writer—Mr. Goldwin Smith, and there are angry critics of his views—I could discover no organ of public thought that favoured union with the Republic as their destiny, while demonstrations of loyalty to the Queen, and pride in belonging to the Empire beset us everywhere. 'God Save the Queen' was sung with enthusiasm at all sorts of gatherings—social, official, business—and more freely and persistently than is the habit in the mother-land." All he says about the United States is deeply interesting, and though he did not stay long

* *Socialism: Being Notes on a Political Tour.* By Sir Henry Wrixon, Late Attorney-General of Victoria, and Commissioner of Enquiry from that Province. Macmillan & Co. Price 10s. 6d.

enough to master the Silver Question he realized the strength of the sentiment it inspires. Among the many good things in the book is the well-known story told of Lord Coleridge at Washington. "Walking along the banks of the Potomac with a distinguished American friend, he (Lord Coleridge) alluded to the tradition that Washington . . . could throw a dollar from bank to bank over the broad waters of the river, and asked his companion if this was true." The latter replied, "Well, my lord, it is not for me to belittle the father of my country. Whether the hero shot a dollar across the Potomac I could not say, but I do know that he tossed a sovereign across the Atlantic."

South Africa.

If the month has been sterile in Australia it has been a pregnant period for South Africa. The relations between the Imperial Government and the Transvaal are believed to be distinctly easier, and at the time of writing some auspicious announcement is expected. President Kruger has made it plain by his repeated declarations, and still more by persuading the Volksraad to withdraw the Aliens' Immigration Bill, that he has no desire to whittle away the London Convention, and the Imperial Government has relieved the President's mind from any dread of aggressive action on our part. The wild rhetoric of the Rhodesian faction seems to have impregnated a number of people who ought to have known better, that Great Britain meditated the fatuous and wicked policy of picking a quarrel with the Transvaal in order to capture the Rand. That idea is now seen to be as groundless as it is childish. The strengthening of our garrisons in South Africa is a purely defensive measure of which we strongly approve, and which we are sure the moderate men of both races in South Africa approve. The Transvaal has greatly increased her fighting resources during the last year and a half. We don't in the least complain of this precaution, which is directly due to the Raid, and while President Kruger is able to keep his Jingoes in order this armament may be regarded without anxiety; but should the extremists get the upper hand in the Transvaal even for a month they would undoubtedly take aggressive action. The Paramount Power in South Africa is consequently bound to take notice of the greatly increased strength of the Boers, and the Transvaal has no more right to resent the very modest reinforcements being despatched to Cape Colony, which is one of the most important strategic points in the Empire, than the French are entitled to resent an addition to our Mediterranean fleet. Our strength is still very greatly below the proper standard, and as power is one of the best guarantees of peace when in trustworthy hands, we are by no means

satisfied with the relative strength of Great Britain and the Transvaal, though we are convinced that the President's intentions are honourable.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S STATEMENT.

The only evidence tendered before the South African Committee, of which it is convenient to take note at present, is the frank and most satisfactory declaration of Mr. Chamberlain, who at an early stage of the evidence of Dr. Rutherfoord Harris—a satellite of Mr. Rhodes—desired to go into the witness-chair in order to relate all his "foreknowledge" of the Raid. Dr. Rutherfoord Harris had recalled a conversation he had with Mr. Chamberlain in the autumn before the Raid, in regard to the handing over of a strip of territory to the Chartered Company, which has since been christened the "jumping-off place for Dr. Jameson." Dr. Harris—what an excellent thing it would be if these South African doctors would abandon intrigue for medicine—declared in evidence that in the course of this conversation he mentioned the unrest in Johannesburg, and then made "a guarded allusion" to the desirability of there being a police force near the border, but that Mr. Chamberlain had demurred to the turn of the conversation. On this Mr. Chamberlain at once took Dr. Harris's place as a witness, and gave his version of the conversation, showing how peremptorily he had declined to hear any confidential information from Dr. Harris, and had said to the latter, "I have Sir Hercules Robinson in South Africa. I have entire confidence in him, and I am quite convinced he will keep me informed of everything I ought to know." In other words, this highly characteristic Rhodesian effort to make the Colonial Secretary an accessory before the fact was a fiasco. Mr. Chamberlain gave a candid and convincing history of the transfer of the territory to the Chartered Company, which he thought was required for railway purposes, but which they intended to use for a raid. Mr. Chamberlain's concluding words completely dissipate the grotesque gossip that he was privy to the Raid: "I do not think that I have anything to add except that I desire to say, in the most explicit manner, that I did not then have, and that I never had, any knowledge or—until, I think it was, a day before the Raid took place—the slightest suspicion of anything in the nature of a hostile or armed invasion of Johannesburg." Mr. Chamberlain's words are irrefutably confirmed by his action, for he did his utmost to ruin the Raid directly he heard of its start.

THE CAPE PARLIAMENT.

There have been some valuable and enlightening debates in the Cape House of Assembly, of which, at a distance of 6,000 miles and several weeks, it ought to be possible to take a fairly dispassionate view, though they

deal with questions on which we all feel very keenly. They have, however, materially helped to clear the air; and any attentive reader of the various speeches delivered, which seem to be fairly reported in *The Cape Times* and *The Cape Argus*, should be able to gather the general drift of sentiment among our Dutch and British fellow-subjects in the premier colony of South Africa. The ball was opened by a peace-at-any-price motion, introduced by the President of the Afrikander Bond (Mr. du Toit), which, so long as it slavishly followed Mr. Rhodes, used to be depicted as a body of unimpeachable loyalty; but since Mr. Rhodes has been disclosed as the promoter of plots against a neighbouring Dutch Republic, the Bond has fallen away from him, which is very wicked and unreasonable on its part, and its "loyalty" is violently impugned by all good Rhodesians. Mr. Du Toit's original motion was to run as follows:—"That, considering the serious state of public affairs in South Africa, this House desires to express its opinion that the paramount interest of the peoples of South Africa consists in the maintenance of peace among the European races within its borders, and trusts that every effort in furtherance of peace will be made by the different Governments concerned." To this Mr. Rose Innes, the leader of the Opposition, who is perhaps the most respected man in Cape politics on account of his high character and moderate views, moved the following amendment: "That this House is deeply impressed with the gravity of the present condition of affairs in South Africa, and, earnestly desiring to secure peace and to establish mutual confidence in and between the various states and colonies, is of opinion that that end can best be attained by a strict observance of the terms of the Convention of London by both parties thereto, by the consideration and redress of legitimate grievances on the part of the Government of the South African Republic, and by the continuance of a policy of moderation on the part of Her Majesty's Government." Thereupon the Bond amended its original motion, which was eventually introduced in this expanded and somewhat hazy form:—

"That this House, being of opinion that the occurrence of hostilities between the European communities of South Africa would, for many years to come, prove disastrous to the best interests of the country, and earnestly desiring to secure peace and establish mutual confidence in and between the various South African States and Colonies, wishes to express the conviction that these objects can be best attained by the faithful and reciprocal observance of all obligations under treaties, conventions, or agreements; that means could be devised to attain an amicable settlement of any differences which may arise in the interpretation of such obligations; and that by the adoption of a policy of moderation and of mutual conciliation and fairness in the discussion of and dealing with all differences, the tranquillity of South Africa would be further assured."

After a lengthy debate, Mr. Du Toit's motion, with the addition

of a rider, deprecating *the interference of any foreign Power* in disputes between the Imperial Government and the Transvaal, was carried by forty-one votes to thirty-two. The majority included the members of Sir Gordon Sprigg's Ministry and the minority included Mr. Rhodes, so the division cannot be said to have been taken on purely racial lines, and all the absurd rumours about a Dutch attack on British supremacy are killed by Sir Gordon Sprigg's support of the Bond motion. Perhaps Sir Gordon Sprigg felt that it did not much matter which of two almost similar motions was carried.

Mr. Rose Innes' Speech.

Mr. Rose Innes voted in the minority, but he contributed to the debate one of the very best speeches that has been delivered on South African affairs, and it is a great pity that it has not been reproduced in the British papers. We have followed his labours during the anxious months since the Raid with close attention, and believe there is no Englishman in South Africa to whom the community is more indebted, and that he should now hold the balance of power in the Cape Parliament—for there has been a rearrangement of parties since these debates—is the most satisfactory feature in the political situation at the Cape. In speaking to his amendment, Mr. Innes dwelt on the gravity of the situation in South Africa, which required moderate, statesmanlike, but clear and unambiguous handling. There was probably no member of the House who did not desire peace, but there were undoubtedly men in the country who did not wish for it—"the extreme Englishmen on the one hand who talked of war as a means of clearing the air, as if, forsooth, it were a sort of political thunderstorm; then on the other hand there was the member of the extreme Afrikander war party in the Transvaal, who was hostile to everything English, and whose desire was to sweep out everything English." But mere "pious aspirations" did not constitute a policy, and as citizens of the premier colony in South Africa they must express "their opinion firmly and temperately," and, if possible, unanimously, so that it might have the greatest weight with President Kruger and Her Majesty's Government. He regarded the London Convention as the most solid basis of peace, and therefore his amendment called for its strict observance by both parties thereto. "It was a document that gave the Transvaal certain privileges and great liberties, while it conferred rights and responsibilities upon Great Britain. The former obtained the right of regulating all internal affairs, and President Kruger showed that he attached the greatest importance to the convention and never attempted to question it. The amendment also laid down as a condition of peace the con-

sideration and redress of *bona fide* grievances by the Transvaal Government. This was an expression of their views, directed not to the British Government, but to Pretoria :—

"This colony said that there were certain grievances of a large section of the population of the Transvaal which they are labouring under, and have been labouring under for a long time, and it was desirable in the interests of peace in South Africa to inform the Transvaal Government that it would conduce to the interests of peace if those grievances were, as far as possible, redressed. Could this be said to be interference with the affairs of a neighbour? If a neighbour's house were on fire, or was in danger of catching alight, they would not knock at the door and send up their card ; they would do their best to awaken him in the best manner possible. The amendment did not show any spirit of hostility whatever ; it simply stated that so long as these grievances remain unconsidered and not redressed, they would be a most serious menace to peace in South Africa. Did any member of that House deny that these grievances existed? He was curious to hear what position would be taken up by the members who said there were no grievances. The House would remember that last year he moved in the same direction, and that he then produced two proclamations issued by the Government of the Transvaal in which they promised the Uitlanders that their grievances would be considered. And there was a minute on record of the Executive Council stating that, pending the arrival of Lord Rosmead, if those people obeyed the law and abstained from hostilities their grievances would be earnestly considered. These promises were made by the Executive Council and by the head of the Transvaal Government."

THE IMPERIAL POLICY.

Mr. Rose Innes does not think that President Kruger can be expected to deal with the Uitlander grievances at "one fell swoop." But as the larger population, owning more than half the land, paying almost all the taxes, without representation, or power of holding a public meeting, and liable to be sent across the border without an appeal to law,* the Uitlanders occupy a position incompatible with a permanent subsidence of the unrest in South Africa. The Afrikander Bond which had always had very great weight with President Kruger would assume a grave responsibility if it refrained from exercising its influence on behalf of the steady removal of legitimate grievances. Mr. Rose Innes devoted the last part of his speech to the policy to be pursued by her Majesty's Government, and we hope his wise and responsible words will sink into the minds of those who have been urging Her Majesty's Government to plunge into reckless and wicked folly :—

"They trusted that the Government would continue to pursue that policy of moderation, and by that he meant that they could not shut their eyes to the fact that a great deal of pressure, especially of late, had been brought to bear upon the Imperial Government, but they did not want to see the English Government influenced by such pressure ; they wanted to see in the future, as in the past, the

* Under the Aliens' Immigration Act which has since been repealed by the Transvaal Volksraad.

Imperial Government pursue a policy of moderation, while firm on the Convention. He thought everyone was jealous of the honour and the reputation of England, and England would not interfere unless she could morally and legally justify her conduct, not only in the eyes of the English people, but also of the people of South Africa and of the whole world. He would like the English Government to be imbued with that feeling, and determined to take no action unless morally and legally justified. He used the word continuance of the policy of moderation because he was convinced that the English Government had pursued a moderate policy in the past, and throughout the generality of their dealings in South Africa. It was a fashion now to go back into history and rip up the British policy, but he was not going into that now. He was not going to say that Great Britain had not made mistakes, but he did say that the great body of the English people would endeavour to do right. He must say that it had occurred to him, why should England's history be ripped up, and why should the mistakes of Great Britain be dragged forth, while no credit should be given to her virtues? After the lamentable events of the war England frankly and freely gave back the Transvaal, but nothing was put on the credit side of the ledger even for that. Again he said that the Government had pursued a policy of moderation, and they hoped it would continue that moderate policy in the future."

In this passage the Speaker expresses the views of the overwhelming majority of the British nation and accurately indicates the true and actual lines of the Imperial policy.

Arbitration. The suggestion has been made that some form of arbitration should be applied to breaches of the London Convention, about which *bona fide* doubts may arise and lawyers may differ. The Transvaal complains with much force that it is hardly fair that the British Government should invariably arrogate to itself the functions of a judge in a matter in which it is an interested party. Mr. Rose Innes had something sensible to say on this point. "So far as arbitration was concerned, he could quite imagine that a point might arise when both parties might very properly and very willingly submit to arbitration; in fact, they had arbitrated upon the Convention already, and there was nothing dreadful in the word. But supposing it was found that there was a treaty with Germany, could that be referred to arbitration? There were some things that could be referred to arbitration; there were other things which could not. He would say, leave it to the good sense of Great Britain." The truth is that "arbitration" is very much at a discount just now, seeing that even the United States has withdrawn her confidence from her own offspring. Moreover, the British Government will not under any circumstances consent to submit South African questions to the decision of any foreign power or influence, any more than the Americans will refer their Monroe Doctrine to a foreign jurist, but we have no desire to ride rough-shod over the Transvaal, or to be perpetually enforcing our view of some technical breach by ultimatums. If the Chief Justice of the Orange Free State had not disclosed himself as a rabid Anglophobist,

it might have been possible to form a local tribunal to which doubtful breaches of the Convention could be submitted, consisting, *e.g.*, of the Chief Justice of Natal, the Chief Justice of the Free State, and the Chief Justice of Cape Colony. Far the best tribunal would be the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which is absolutely independent of the Imperial Government. If the Transvaal Government sees its way to make any reasonable suggestions without importing foreign influences, we feel sure they will be carefully considered by the Imperial Government. There is admittedly a party in the Transvaal anxious to whittle away the London Convention, and to destroy British supremacy in South Africa, just as there is a small and noisy party in Great Britain which wants to grab the Transvaal. The British Jingoes have been completely repelled by the Imperial authorities, and we believe and trust that President Kruger has trampled on his extremists. We do not imagine that there will be any difficulty in devising machinery for the interpretation of doubtful points in the London Convention as soon as Great Britain and the Transvaal become convinced of their mutual loyalty to that treaty. It is an ill-drawn document, and it might ultimately be rewritten in less ambiguous terms, but for the present it is a convenient peg on which to hang the peace of South Africa.

AN "ANTI-BRITISH" SPEECH.

The general line taken in support of the Afrikander Bond motion as against Mr. Rose Innes' amendment was that the time is inopportune for raising the grievances, seeing how grievously the Transvaal has been wronged by the Raid, that the latter was the cause of the unrest in South Africa, and that the grievances have been unduly magnified. Several speakers feared that the adoption of the amendment might be construed in England as an invitation to pursue "a policy of vigour" against the Transvaal which the Dutch clearly deprecate. Mr. Merriman, who is always worth reading, made a very able speech in support of this view, and with a single extract from it we must reluctantly leave this remarkable debate. Mr. Merriman is notoriously anti-Rhodesian, and consequently is represented by the faithful as anti-British. This aspersion lends great interest to his peroration which we give in full:—

"England was a great and mighty power, so powerful that the mere contemplation of it made a man tremble. And yet a certain section of them wanted to make the power of England depend upon the coercion of a little petty State like the Transvaal. Loud cries of "No, no" greeted this assertion, but Mr. Merriman reiterated the statement and went on to quote Majuba and Doornkop, neither of which, he declared, were a disgrace to England. The disgrace to England in the one case was the taking away of freedom from these people; and in the other case of Doornkop, it was the treachery that surrounded that event. Until they in that

country saw things in this light they should never see things set right. The fact was this was the wrong way of dealing with these matters. The proper way was to create a body of public feeling of both parties in this colony. That body of public opinion existed before 1895, but it was destroyed after that. He said in 1894 what he said now, that these people should be left to themselves, and therefore he could not vote for the amendment. He thought in South Africa they were inclined to look at these things through a microscope to magnify them. They were more English than the English themselves. England was destined for many long years to be paramount in South Africa because it was the Power that protected their coasts. It was just one hundred years ago since England stood forward and secured the peace of Europe in the teeth of Napoleon with his windy speeches, about giving equal votes to every man in Europe. It would ill become England, who brought freedom to Europe, to take away the freedom of a State like the Transvaal. England may have seemed a strange protector of freedom—England, with her press gang, her restricted representation, her press laws, may have seemed a strange protector of freedom. But the fact remained, and history proved that it was owing to England that the freedom of Western Europe was secured. And although the Transvaal in certain aspects might seem a somewhat *grotesque* free State, the Transvaal and the other Republic were a barrier to what he might call the incursion of a spurious Imperialism—a capitalism which was destroying their liberty. This was the Cæsarism of capital which sought to sweep their country's liberties away. He looked forward to the day when England would be glad to have a loyal population here, Dutch and English, to fight the battle of freedom once more. They could not do that by setting one race above the other. That was a fatal proposition. It was because he believed that the motion of his honourable friend said to Mr. Chamberlain 'Hold back!' that he supported it."

SOME READABLE BOOKS.

Believing that a monthly table of selected books may be of aid to the readers of *The National Review*, we have drawn up the appended list which comprises a few recently published volumes of interest.

In Court and Kampong.—By Hugh Clifford (Grant Richards, London. Price 7s. 6d.). This is a curiously attractive and vivid picture of life in the Malay Peninsula. The author may fairly claim that he has striven to appreciate the native point of view, and to judge the natives by their own standard rather than by those of a white man in their midst, and as he is an artist he has produced a very picturesque book.

Revenge.—By Robert Barr (Chatto & Windus, London. Price 6s.). The title gives the keynote of this book which consists of a series of graphic and even blood-curdling stories that make first-rate railway reading.

The European Concert in the Eastern Question.—By T. E. Holland, Professor of International Law at Oxford (Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press, London. Price 7s. 6d.). This admirably edited collection of Treaties and other documents governing the Eastern Question is indispensable to everyone with a sincere desire to understand the peculiar relations of Turkey to the Powers. It should be impossible to write on the Eastern Question without acquaintance with this book, but several journalists succeed in dispensing with it.

Socialism: Notes on a Political Tour.—By Sir Henry Wrixon (Macmillan & Co. Price 7s. 6d.). This is one of the most interesting political books of the year, by the late Attorney-General of Victoria, who received a roving commission from his Government to "look up" Socialism in Canada, Great Britain, and the United States. Being an experienced, fair-minded, and well-read observer he has written a book of real value without a dull page.

Fads of an Old Physician.—By George S. Keith (A. & C. Black, London. Price 2s. 6d.). This is a sequel to that very successful book, *Plea for a Simpler Life*, and preaches the gospel of "Starvation" in genial and sympathetic terms. The author defends his various "fads" with considerable skill, and is always worth reading.

A Woman's Part in a Revolution.—By Mrs. John Hays Hammond (Longmans & Co. Price 2s. 6d.). Mrs. Hammond's diary of the disastrous days following Dr. Jameson's "rescue of women and children" in Johannesburg is the one genuinely entertaining book we have had from South Africa. The author is an American lady with a keen sense of the incongruous, and a most engaging frankness. Her picture of society in the "gold reef city" quite reconciles one to living elsewhere.

The First Battle.—By William Jennings Bryan (Sampson Low, Marston & Co., London. Price 10s. 6d.). This record of the great political campaign in the United States last year now appears under the auspices

of a London publisher. We much regret that it should not also have had an English editor, as it lacks an elementary sketch of the American political situation, and of the extraordinary growth of the silver movement, in the absence of which, Mr. Bryan's profoundly interesting and searching speeches are difficult for the ordinary English reader to follow. Mr. Bryan has a power of lucid and telling language which make him one of the greatest speakers in the world, and we cannot help feeling that part of the fury he excites in some quarters is due to his easy mastery of a subject so difficult as to baffle the ordinary brain.

Life of Sir Henry Parkes, G.C.M.G.—By Charles E. Lyne (T. Fisher Unwin, London. Price 16s.). This life of the Grand Old Man of Australia, written by an experienced and sympathetic hand, will be read with the greatest interest by the ever widening circle of Englishmen, who take as keen interest in Colonial as in Home affairs. We regard it as a compliment that the author presupposes considerable knowledge of Australian political life on the part of his readers. The memoir, however, derives much of its attractiveness from the fact that its subject was by no means a mere politician, though he was "ever a fighter." He was an orator of high order, a poet of no small merit, and a promiscuous lover of letters. He went from "pauper to Premier."

The Confessions of a Collector.—By William Carew Hazlitt (Ward & Downey, London. Price 6s.). This is just the book for a tired man to pick up and refresh himself with the author's pleasant and discursive gossip about things and people. At the same time he overwhelms the ordinary mortal with a sense of the vast importance of what one would be naturally inclined to regard as somewhat trivial, *e.g.*, the contents of a cabinet. Collecting is evidently a most exhausting career.

The English Constitution: A Commentary on its Nature and Growth.—By Jesse Macy, Professor of Political Science in Iowa College (Macmillan & Co., London. Price 10s. 6d.). We have read this book with the very deepest interest, and hope to be able to deal with it later on. The author's principal object is to do for American readers what Mr. Walter Bagehot did for English readers, *i.e.*, to present a picture of the British Constitution at work to-day. To accomplish this he paid two lengthy visits to England, of which the first part of the volume is the fruit. We have only room to say here that it is one of the best treatises on our Constitution that has ever come from the pen of a foreigner. With some of his criticisms we differ *in toto*, as, *e.g.*, when he calls the House of Lords "the Sick Man" of the British Constitution.

Bishop Thorold.—By C. H. Simpkinson (Isbister & Co., London. Price 6s.). This is a new and cheaper edition of one of the best church biographies we have had recently. Robust common-sense was the keynote of the Bishop of Winchester's character and dominated all he did in what he called "a great but humbling office."

The Law of War.—By J. S. Risley (A. D. Innes & Co. Price 12s. 6d.). In view of the constant alarums and excursions in the midst of which we live, Mr. Risley has compiled a most useful exposition of such rules as regulate the relations of States in war time, which he is entitled to call "simple and compendious."

MECHANICS INSTITUTION NEW SWINDON

THE NATIONAL REVIEW.

No. 173.—JULY, 1897.

EPISODES OF THE MONTH.

QUEEN AND PEOPLE.

The only Free Empire in human history has been endeavouring to do honour to the Sovereign under whose rule its institutions have acquired their unique character. The principal of a series of brilliant pageants in celebration of the longest and greatest reign in English annals was held on June 22nd, when the Queen made a superb progress through six miles of the most devoted subjects that a monarch ever beheld. What most struck the foreign observer was the variety and gorgeousness of the spectacle which it is declared that Rome could not have eclipsed, even in the meridian of her magnificence, when she could draw on the resources of the whole of the known world. What most appeals to the English onlooker is the absolute and unaffected simplicity of the meeting between Queen and people in the streets of their common capital. The stately and sonorous periods of a future Macaulay may have to be awaited before literary justice is done to the spectacular side of the Jubilee, but the human side is already receiving appreciative recognition from contemporary observers. It would be difficult to improve upon the justness and felicity of the following interpretation of the ovation accorded to the Queen. It is taken from a recent

article in the Conservative newspaper, *The St. James's Gazette*:—"The People's 'At Home' to Her Majesty yesterday will be remembered as *the* social function of the century. We do full justice elsewhere to the pageantry of the great day. The unique splendour of the procession, the lavish and yet tasteful magnificence of the decorations, the bounteous 'Queen's weather'—was there ever such a day for such a ceremony?—will never be forgotten. But, after all, the 'true inwardness' of yesterday's grand display consisted in its personal aspect, its intimate demonstration of mutual love, respect, and loyalty, between the British people and their venerated Sovereign. If ever the phrase, the 'great heart of the people,' meant anything, it abounded in genuine, sincere, honest, hearty meaning yesterday. And the Great Heart of the Queen—was not that fully revealed, with no shade of *arrière-pensée*, no desire for reticence, no checking of its warm impulse? The Monarch was 'at home' to her People. The People were 'at home' to their Queen." And if any foreigner wants to know why the English people have reached their present pitch of personal devotion to their Queen, the question is admirably answered in another newspaper of opposite politics, *The Daily News*:—"The feeling of the people for the Queen is due to the slow and steady effect of sheer character. Private as her daily life has for the most part been, and not the less respected on that account, her subjects know that for sixty years, in spite of many trials and sorrows, she has laboured conscientiously in their interest. A truer patriot than the Queen never lived. She has always identified herself with the country, which is a very different thing from identifying the country with herself. The Queen can hardly ever have a complete holiday. Public business is continuous, and she has always insisted upon being made acquainted with it. She is, so to speak, always in office, and never in opposition."

QUEEN AND PARLIAMENT.

The Address presented to Her Majesty by Parliament, though it elicited the one jarring note of the Jubilee celebrations, was accompanied by a debate in which more than one really remarkable tribute was paid to the Queen as a statesman by the statesmen who have served under her. We cannot help noticing that while all men instinctively shorten anything personal, they may be compelled by their position to say about the Queen that everything that is said is marked by sincerity. People evidently can't help being sincere in discussing so sincere a personality. The Address submitted to both Houses ran as follows:—"That a humble Address be presented to Her

Majesty to congratulate Her Majesty on the auspicious completion of the 60th year of her happy reign, and to assure Her Majesty that this House profoundly shares the great joy with which her people celebrate the longest, the most prosperous, and the most illustrious reign in their history, joining with them in praying earnestly for the continuance during many years of Her Majesty's life and health." Lord Salisbury dwelt on "the able government" of the reign, and contributed an interesting chapter to constitutional history by the remark:—"When I was young it was the fashion to treat the sovereignty of the Queen as nominal and the share which she took in public business as unreal. I hear less of that language now, and I speak in an assembly where many could join with me in saying that no one could so describe the working of our institutions without an entire ignorance of the real method of their operation. The powers of the Sovereign are great; the responsibilities are enormous. That we have passed through a period of so much trial, and arrived at the height of so much greatness, is largely due to the moderating, the self-controlling, influence of the Queen, from whom, legally, all power flows." Lord Kimberley does not belong to a Party which by tradition would incline to magnify the function of the Crown. His tribute to the influence of the Queen is highly significant; it will, we believe, be most gratifying to Her Majesty's subjects to learn on such unimpeachable authority, that behind the competing political parties there stands the greatest, because the most experienced and independent, of all our statesmen with a single eye to the welfare of the whole Empire, and in a position to make herself listened to. Lord Kimberley said:—"We have never before had a Sovereign who was respected equally by all parties, who was absolutely impartial to all. We have never had a Sovereign—at all events in times that any of us can well remember—so capable of aiding her Ministers with wise and prudent counsel. As the noble Marquis has justly said no mistake could be greater than to suppose that the Sovereign of this country does not exercise a constant, a wise, and a most important influence upon all the political events of the reign. If I simply make one remark, you will see at once how true that must be. Ministers go and change. They are not perpetual. The one person who remains at the head of affairs, cognizant of everything that takes place, is the Sovereign, and that Sovereign obtains an experience of the highest public affairs unequalled by any Minister, however powerful. You will see, then, how great is the influence and how great is the power, though it may be an unseen power, of our Sovereign."

Sir William Harcourt's Tribute.

In the House of Commons Mr. Balfour made a short speech containing a very happy reference to the Queen:—"In her public life she has been an example to every sovereign, and in her private life she has been an example to every citizen." Sir William Harcourt followed with a most impressive panegyric. After reviewing the growing prosperity of the nation during the reign in familiar fashion, and ignoring the ruin of the greatest of British industries —agriculture—he reminded his audience, as every good Radical should, of the growth of popular powers throughout the period, adding:—"I can recall the fears of the brave and follies of the wise, who feared that the extension of popular power might endanger the Constitution of the country. Yet it has been acknowledged that in these sixty years the Parliament of the Queen has sanctioned measure after measure of democratic reform, and each extension of popular right has only strengthened the Monarchy and increased the confidence of the people. Queen Victoria has never feared her people. Decade after decade has passed with these reforms, and the Sovereign has never been more trusted or more revered, and, as the right hon. gentleman well indicated, this enlarged democracy has been peacefully and insensibly incorporated into the framework of an ancient throne." Sir William Harcourt has endeavoured to destroy in turn all our most cherished institutions, but the wisdom, simplicity, and public spirit of the Queen wins the heart of the stern unbending Radical, at any rate, for the reign. We give the Leader of the Opposition's memorable words in full:—

"As the right hon. gentleman said, there have been glorious reigns in the great traditions of this land—reigns of strife and storm and of peril and of conquest, but if I might be permitted to affix an adjective to the characteristics of this reign, I should call it a sympathetic reign. It has appealed to the heart of the nation, and it is the heart of the nation still more than its pride that speaks to-day and addresses Queen Victoria in the sixtieth year of her reign. She has made her people feel that she was the companion of their joy and the partaker of their distress, and in all their fortunes—whether ill or good—her sympathies have never been wanting in that touch of nature which makes the whole world kin. That has always been present in the case of the Queen. In a sense unknown before, I think the present Sovereign can be justly called the mother of her people. In the fulness of her years and her grace those children gather around her to-day with the sentiment of filial devotion. The Queen has passed through bitter sorrows, and none so great as that which took from her the wise counsellor and consort who supported with her the burden of her Empire in former days. But in all her desolation she never forgot her care and her duty to the nation. It is not for me to attempt to portray a character known and admired and loved by all. Those who have served her themselves in any capacity will ever cherish the memory of her gracious kindness, of her upright justice, of her ripe experience, and her constitutional fidelity. Her public as her private life has been a lesson to all in every station. First in virtue as first in

place, she has added dignity to a mighty throne, and deserves the passionate loyalty of a free people. She will leave to those who come after her larger dominions and a happier people, but, what is more, she will bequeath to future times the imperishable inheritance of a sovereign example."

SOME NOTABLE FOREIGN TRIBUTES.

While the conspicuous characteristic of the Jubilee celebrations was the deep veneration expressed by a people scattered over the globe for their Sovereign, some exceedingly generous tributes came from abroad. We cannot record them all, but we do not think it would be invidious to mention the more salient greetings. President McKinley, as head of the United States, expressed his congratulations to the Queen in a letter of great simplicity and dignity, worthy of the nation from which it came and of that to which it went. The Emperor of Austria, the wisest and most respected statesman in Continental Europe, paid a special compliment to our Sovereign, which was quickly recognized, and profoundly appreciated in England. He took the unusual step of making a personal call at the British Embassy in Vienna, attired in the uniform of his English regiment, and wearing the Order of the Garter. The report adds: "His Majesty spoke in the most cordial way of Queen Victoria and the Royal Family, for whom he is known to entertain the highest personal regard. The whole character of the Emperor's visit proved that it was no matter of mere form, but a manifestation of profound and hearty sentiment. It is quite an unusual occurrence in Vienna for His Majesty to fulfil such missions in person, and it is equally seldom that he pays visits of such length. It is, however, no secret for well-informed people here that the Emperor of Austria is among the best and most trustworthy friends whom Queen Victoria and the British people have on the Continent." The illustrious Emperor's own Jubilee will be celebrated next year, and fervent as may be the demonstrations of gratitude of his own people for all he has done for them, and for all he has spared them, he will have no warmer or more sincere wellwishers than his English admirers. Nor has a Parliamentary tribute from abroad been wanting. England learnt the day after the Jubilee that her staunch friend and ally Italy had not been content with the cordial official and monarchical greetings that had already been offered. The Speaker informed the House of Commons that he had received a communication from the Italian Ambassador in London containing a translation of an extract from the proceedings of the Italian Parliament which had been telegraphed over. The telegram speaks for itself, and we subjoin it in the belief that our readers will regard it as one of the most precious memorials of the Jubilee:—

"Telegram, dated 22nd June, from the Marquis Visconti Venosta, Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Kingdom of Italy, to the Italian Ambassador in London.

"In accordance with the desire of the Chamber of Deputies, I beg your Excellency to be good enough to forward to the Speaker of the House of Commons without delay the following extract from the proceedings of their sitting of yesterday.

"THE PRESIDENT.—The Hon. Sonnino is authorized to speak.

"SIDNEY SONNINO.—Hon. Colleagues, to-day the British nation rejoices, celebrating in the Mother Country and in the Colonies scattered in all the corners of the earth the sixtieth anniversary of the accession to the throne of the Gracious Queen Victoria.

"I am certain that I express the feelings of the whole House, without distinction of party, when I ask our President, upon this solemn occasion, to make himself the interpreter to the Speaker of the House of Commons of the warm wishes of this Assembly for the long and prosperous continuance of that glorious reign, and to give assurance of the share which the Italian people take in the events which cause the rejoicings of the great English people, the teacher of liberty, of tolerance, and civil and ordered progress.

"Brin, the Minister of Marine, demanded and obtained leave to speak.

"BRIN.—I cannot do otherwise than express in the name of the Government the most lively approbation of the proposal of the Hon. Sonnino that our President should express to the President of the English House of Commons the warm wishes which we, in interpreting the desire of all Italians, express for the happiness and prosperity of the reign of Queen Victoria, who with so much success and glory has guided the destinies of that great and free England, which has ever been the friend of Italy, and for which our country entertains the like feelings of sympathy and friendship.

"IMBRIANI POVIRO.—In associating myself with this proposal I send my respectful greeting to her who finds herself placed at the head of a free people, which has always and in every direction sought to cultivate liberty according to justice.

"THE PRESIDENT.—I accept very heartily the directions of the House, and will make it my duty to carry them out."

PRESIDENT KRUGER'S TRIBUTE.

The spontaneous action of the Austrian Emperor and the Italian Parliament gather enhanced significance from the fact that the most strenuous and sinister efforts have been made to poison the mind of the people they represent against the British nation. German influences have been working hard to sow ill-will between ourselves and our long-standing Continental friends, and owing to Germany's ascendancy in the Councils of the Triple Alliance, she is in a position to exercise some authority over her partners. So the attachment they have expressed to the Queen and the Queen's people is all the more gratifying as marking the failure of German mischief-making. From one other quarter where our active antagonist has also been working against us came a tribute both thoughtful and unexpected. President Kruger, who, in common with all the Dutch community in South Africa, entertains a great respect for the Queen, celebrated the 22nd June—to be universally known, we hope, as Victoria Day—by releasing those two unbend-

ing Uitlanders, Messrs. Sampson and Davies, who, having been implicated in the Johannesburg Revolution, had flatly refused to sue for executive clemency on the ground that the British Government was pledged to procure their release. Therefore when the other political prisoners were set at large last year they remained behind in Pretoria Gaol. The President has signalized the Jubilee by releasing them unconditionally. It is an act of grace and wisdom which cannot but have the best effect upon the cordial understanding between the British Government and the Transvaal which the wise people of both countries desire to establish. The fools of both countries—stirred up by the knaves—want to fight, but they have been completely overruled. We do not believe the President's policy is "made in Germany," and he must not imagine that ours is made in Capel Court.

"THE EMPIRE IS FREE."

The reader is referred to the newspapers for a description of the celebrations themselves, which were the most brilliant and popular functions ever held in England. It may safely be said that no event in our time has given so much general enjoyment, or has done so much to knit all classes of the community together, or to emphasize the unity of the Queen's scattered subjects. Reports of rejoicings from every section of the British Empire have poured in in a continuous and copious stream. It was observed in London on Jubilee Day that as the Queen approached the more Democratic quarters of the Metropolis, the more demonstrative became the enthusiasm, and the cablegrams indicate, that the more remote the communities, the more determined have they been to show their attachment to the throne and person of the Sovereign. The people "at home" have been deeply moved by this, and fully appreciate the profound significance of sharing a common reverence with their kinsmen and fellow-citizens over the water. Nor do they misread it. As Mr. Reid, the Premier of New South Wales, an unimpeachable Democrat, reminded us all at the Imperial Institute, the keynote of the celebrations has been their spontaneity. No man has been under compulsion anywhere. Of old a Continental monarch could boast "the State is me"; now the ruler of the greatest Empire the world has ever seen is proud to declare "the Empire is free." That is surely the great lesson of the epoch-making days through which we have passed. All politicians and all parties have realized that the unfettered freedom of the various communities owning a common allegiance is the basis of the great "experiment"—to use Lord Salisbury's word—we are engaged upon. A "crimson thread," "a golden link," and we believe a great future unite us. Many will be inclined to say, "Why not let well alone? Why attempt

to revise the relations between the mother nation and the daughter nations which present to the world the splendid and unique outburst of common enthusiasm we have lately witnessed? Our Anglo-Dutch, Anglo-French, and Anglo-Saxon fellow-subjects, though sundered by the sea, are at one with us, and stand in with us for weal or woe. What more can mortal man desire?" Many will argue in this way, while all will agree that if this argument is to be answered, the reply should come from the daughter nations. If the relations require revision the impulse must come from them.

THE QUEEN'S TELEGRAM.

The Royal Procession went from Buckingham Palace up Piccadilly, down St. James's Street, through Pall Mall, Trafalgar Square, the Strand, Fleet Street, and Ludgate Hill to St. Paul's where a short open air service was held. Thence it moved down Cheapside, and crossed London Bridge to the south side of the Thames and recrossed the river at Westminster, returning to Buckingham Palace through the Horse Guards and along the Mall. It was a long and glittering dragon composed of the most brilliantly coloured elements, and nearly two miles in length. An imposing display of the mounted forces of the Crown led the way, followed by a brilliant cavalcade of foreign representatives, Indian princes, and special envoys from many countries. Great enthusiasm prevailed along all points of the route, which increased as the British Royal Family approached in a series of carriages. The day was delicious, but grey until the Queen left Buckingham Palace. At that moment by one of those fortuitous coincidences which have not been infrequent throughout the latter part of the reign, the sun burst forth in full splendour, with what effect on the highly-strung emotions of the people may be imagined. The other occupants of the Queen's carriage were the Princess of Wales and Princess Christian, while the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Connaught, and the Duke of Cambridge rode by its side. For the first time in their lives they were unnoticed. The intense emotion of the vast crowd was concentrated on their Queen, and a great wave of affectionate loyalty surged over the mighty city. The sentiments of Her Majesty were as ever expressed with perfect simplicity and sincerity in the telegram despatched at the moment of leaving the Palace and flashed throughout her dominions: "FROM MY HEART I THANK MY BELOVED PEOPLE. MAY GOD BLESS THEM."

THE COLONIAL PROCESSION.

The authorities were, in our humble judgment, well advised in making "The Colonial Procession" a separate entity from "The Royal Procession." After the Queen, the Premiers of Greater Britain and their striking

escorts were *the* feature of the Jubilee Festival, and signal honour was paid them by giving them distinctness and precedence. They led the way on Jubilee Day, and the thundering applause which accompanied their appearance throughout the route must have been heard in the various countries they came from. It was their presence after all that distinguished the great pageant from all other functions that have ever been held. This historic Procession was headed by a detachment of the Royal Horse Guards, with their band, while all the Colonial contingents were under the general command of Lord Roberts (Colonel-in-Chief of the Colonial troops), who led the way. Then followed the various Premiers—now become Privy Councillors—with their wives and escorts. Mr. Laurier, as representing Confederated Canada—"the Canadian nation," as he had termed his country three days before—naturally led the way, and it would have been difficult to select a more attractive figurehead, or a more splendid looking body of men than his escort, which consisted of French and British Canadians. We need not describe the procession in minute detail. The Premier of New South Wales (Mr. Reid) sat in the same carriage with his colleague of Victoria (Sir George Turner); mounted troops from the former Colony preceded them, mounted troops from the latter followed them. Then came the New Zealand contingent, partly composed of Maories, followed by the New Zealand Premier (Mr. Seddon) and Sir Hugh Nelson of Queensland—an escort from the latter Colony bringing up the rear. The next group to attract attention consisted of the Cape contingent, containing some Dutch Africanders—a fact the crowd was quick to recognize and appreciate—escorting Sir Gordon Sprigg, their Premier, and Mr. Kingston of South Australia (paying his first visit to England), followed by South Australian mounted troops. The next carriage contained the Premiers of two great islands, Newfoundland and Tasmania, Sir William Whiteway and Sir Edward Braddon. The Natal contingent—a particularly striking one—were next in view, escorting the Premier, and one may almost say discoverer, of Western Australia (Sir John Forrest), accompanied by Mr. Escombe, of Natal, the youngest of the self-governing Colonies. Throughout this procession the splendid physique and horsemanship of the mounted troops from Canada, Australia, and Africa, excited boundless enthusiasm, as did their perfect *sang froid* and business-like accoutrements. We all felt we were looking at men who—given the chance—would make history. The Colonial Procession wound up with representative detachments of every colour under the sun and from every quarter of the globe. They fairly took the Londoner's breath away, and conjured up visions of inexhaustible resources.

A Faithful Politician.

We should be very sorry to raise false hopes with regard to a settlement of the great monetary question, but we cannot resist the conviction that very important developments are at hand. As our readers know, the President of the United States, in pursuance of the pledge upon which he was elected last November, has sent three Special Envoys to Europe to negotiate with the leading commercial nations for an international agreement. This Commission, consisting of three distinguished and ardent bimetallists—Senator Wolcott, General Paine, and Mr. Adlai Stevenson—has spent some weeks in France. Their reception by the French Government has been most cordial, sympathetic, and propitious. M. Méline, the French Premier, is a keen and devoted bimetallist, who took the opportunity of delivering a speech at a banquet attended by the American Envoys, which, coming from the head of the Government, appears to us to admit of only one interpretation. It is the most remarkable pronouncement made in Europe this year, and it is gratifying to ascertain that it represents the real mind and purpose of the speaker. An equally important fact is that the Méline Cabinet are behind their chief on this question, and that his Parliamentary position is unusually strong. Moreover, although the sapient Mr. Smalley—who must be as ignorant of European conditions as he is of American sentiment—recently informed us from New York that Senator Wolcott was about to preach bimetallism "to the heathen" in France, all the possible Premiers in that country, save one, are bimetallists. Should, therefore, any unforeseen disaster overtake M. Méline's Cabinet there is every reason to suppose that his successor would on this all-important subject be of the same way of thinking. These circumstances combine to give to his declaration an importance that cannot be exaggerated. Its occasion was the annual banquet of the Bimetallic League of France, and among the audience, as we have said, were the American Envoys. We prefer to give a literal and even bald translation* rather than a polished rendering of some notable passages from his address :—

"I do not forget that I am here as one of the faithful, and as one of the faithful am always faithful to our flag; I may even say more faithful than ever, for observation and experience only fortify my convictions and persuade me more and more that the monetary question is to-day one of the most important in our economic *régime*, and that so long as it is unsettled the commercial disturbance, which punishes the world and above all Europe, will continue its ravages. The reasons which demonstrate this are so evident that alone they should be able

* From the verbatim report in *La Republique Française* (30th May), which is M. Meliné's own organ.

to open the eyes of the blindest. When you talk of money you mean stability, fixity in exchange between man and man ; money has no other *raison d'être*, and when it fails to satisfy that condition it fails in principle and object. But that it may discharge its duty it is not merely sufficient for it to have a fixed value in each separate State ; it must act as the tie between the principal commercial nations, and have for them the same fixity. It is, therefore, indispensable that the relative value of all money circulating in the world should rest on a certain fixed and unchanging ratio, on which international transactions may be based."

"Commercial Anarchy."

After this admirable exposition of the fundamental principles of money, the French Premier proceeded to illustrate his argument :—"That ratio existed during three-quarters of the century, and gave to trade a solidity universally advantageous to agriculture and industry. From the moment that the ratio was ruptured in 1873 trouble began everywhere, trade became more difficult, and it would not be too strong to say that the world fell into a state of commercial anarchy. The value of the great staples of international trade have fallen everywhere, and instead of being regulated, as before, by the amount of production and the cost to the producer, it is now at the mercy of those most uncertain and capricious elements—the oscillations and fluctuations of exchange. That is how money-changing has become, one may say, the king of the world, while the appreciation of gold, owing to its extravagant privileges as the only international money, causes a general depression in all the countries on a Gold Standard. Hence the complaints, groans, and lamentations which resound throughout the world of work. Our agriculturists, our manufacturers, all who toil and spin suffer cruelly, and demand that Governments shall put a term to their sufferings." M. Méline asked, Why have these grievances not been redressed, considering how powerful are the afflicted classes ? He pointed out, however, that the monetary problem is complex and difficult for the mass of mankind to grasp, though capable of expression in simple terms, and that general ignorance and prejudice, which acts as a distorting medium, have to be overcome. He paid a glowing and well-deserved tribute to the splendid work which M. Fougeirol and M. Edmond Théry have accomplished in France in popularizing the subject and in converting the masses. (Working through three powerful and sympathetic societies, *L'Association de l'Industrie et de l'Agriculture françaises*, *La Societé des Agriculteurs de France*, and *La Societé nationale d'Encouragement à l'Agriculture*, they have been able to reach the French cultivator, manufacturer, and wage-earner—the classes that govern France. By their labours M. Fougeirol and M. Théry have placed all white civilization under an irredeemable debt of gratitude.)

FRANCE IS READY.

The most important passage in M. Méline's declaration occurred towards its close, when he discussed the immediate outlook for monetary reform:—"The monetary problem is not a purely domestic problem. Its solution does not depend on us alone. That is easily understood, for you can only establish a fixed international ratio by international accord. The question can only be settled by common agreement among the great nations who control the commerce of the world; above all, it depends on the attitude of her who may be regarded as the money-market of the world. The Governments are not hostile to a *rapprochement*, nor do they decline discussion; public opinion among the peoples has won over the Governments, and their attitude is no longer what it was a few years ago. . . . To-day the situation is radically changed. The Government of a great nation takes the initiative by making a decisive overture towards the great Powers of Europe. It sends us as Ambassadors the statesmen most likely to assure the success of their cause; for they combine with incontestable competence and great authority a very precise idea of the difficulties to be encountered in such negotiations. They did everything to obviate these difficulties before coming here, and our special thanks are due to Senator Wolcott for the conciliatory disposition he showed on his former visit. I am convinced that our gratitude will be augmented during his stay among us. *Our concurrence will not be wanting for the triumph of the great cause which we are ready to join him in defending.*" This emphatic declaration may be taken to indicate that France and America are ready to unite to accomplish the remonetization of silver, the demonetization of which in 1873 both nations have learnt so bitterly to regret. It was indeed a triumph of human folly, an aberration of mankind, the terrible effects of which have been happily discovered before it is too late—before the chains have been finally rivetted. Great Britain had no part in that blunder, but she has suffered from it as much as any nation, and like other nations she has acted idiotically under the impulse of the German policy of 1873. In 1893 the Indian Mints were closed to the free coinage of silver by a hole and corner cabal presided over by Sir William Harcourt, without the British nation having any idea of what was being done. That arbitrary and thoughtless act has been equally injurious to India and Great Britain. Individually the people of our great dependency have been deprived of their natural resource in times of distress—the mint which converted their bangles into money; while, collectively, the closure of the Mints has deprived them of the natural channel by which money can be increased when it is "tight"; from the same cause our Eastern trade has suffered periods of partial paralysis by the

fall in the gold price of silver and the incalculable fluctuations in exchange.

LANCASHIRE SENTIMENT.

The rupture (in 1873) of the tie between gold-using and silver-using countries, which bimetallism had created and maintained, has reduced business between Oriental and Occidental countries to the barbarous level of barter. Again, the fall of silver in terms of gold, which was greatly aggravated by the closing of the Indian Mints in 1893, has developed an automatically growing tariff against exports from gold-using countries to silver-using countries, and an automatically growing bounty on exports from silver-using to gold-using countries. The opening up of China would under present conditions be a peril to the white race; M. Méline's speech shows, however, that the scales have at last fallen from Western eyes. Against "Chinese cheap labour" we may have to and can compete, but it looks as though the fatuous policy of providing the yellow race with a gratuitous tariff and a gratuitous bounty—both "made in Germany"—has had its day. We should gather from M. Méline's speech that France and the United States would present a joint statement to Great Britain declaring their desire to terminate the disastrous experiment they inaugurated in 1873, and claiming our goodwill and active concurrence. Were the British Government differently constituted to what it is, we do not believe it would be possible for it to return a hostile answer to such a request, for the voice of Lancashire is happily potent in English politics, and a refusal to co-operate in an international settlement of this question would be "not merely a national but a party disaster," to use a famous phrase. Many of the representatives of the great industrial constituencies composing Lancashire would lose their seats at the first opportunity. Almost all of them are pledged to promote international bimetallism, and we commend recent articles in *The Manchester Guardian* and *The Manchester Courier*, which represent opposite sides of politics, and differ on every question but this one, to those who may affect to doubt the force of this great northern movement. We believe that the British bimetallists would be able, with Lancashire as a lever, to compel any Government to join in settling this question on which the working-classes of Lancashire regard their future as depending. However, we have not a hostile but a friendly Government to deal with, containing as keen bimetallists as M. Méline or Senator Wolcott.

GREAT BRITAIN'S AID.

It is true our Cabinet is not united because it contains one monometallist in the person of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, but he is pledged by the exigencies of his position, and by

G.W.R. MECHANICS' INSTITUTION

his own declarations, to promote an international settlement of this question, and to do him justice, we believe he will not be found backward in playing his part. He is known to be sincerely desirous of seeing an end to the controversy, which he is conscious can only be got rid of in one way. Our readers are aware that on the 17th March, 1896, the House of Commons carried *nemine contradicente* the following resolution:—"That this House is of opinion that the instability of the relative value of gold and silver since the action of the Latin Union in 1873 has proved injurious to the best interests of this country, and urges upon the Government the advisability of doing all in their power to secure by international agreement a stable monetary par of exchange between gold and silver." In speaking to this motion, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, on behalf of the Government, used these words, which are peculiarly appropriate at the present juncture:—

"What is the policy which as a Government we intend to pursue? As I have said, we are willing, we are anxious, seeing that there are evils in the present low value of silver, and in the fluctuations in the value of the two metals, to enter into a conference, or into negotiations, which certainly I believe at the present stage would be much better than a conference, with other countries upon this subject, but we are not prepared to abandon the Gold Standard in the United Kingdom. If it be possible for other nations to be joined in a bimetallic league, or in an agreement on this matter which seemed good to themselves, I have little doubt but that the Indian Government would be prepared to agree with us in re-opening the Indian Mints to the free coinage of silver, and that we might endeavour by other minor means to promote the increase of silver in coinage to aid in an international agreement on this great question. . . . We cannot, therefore, alter the Gold Standard of the United Kingdom; *but with that reservation, we are prepared, in the words of the Resolution, to do all in our power to secure by international agreement a stable monetary par of exchange between gold and silver.*"

"SOMETHING FOR SILVER."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer made it plain that the British Government is not ready to abandon the Gold Standard for Great Britain, which has been in operation since 1816. Though as bimetallists we should greatly prefer to see the London Mints open to silver at a fixed ratio with gold, we have recognized that public opinion in England is not ripe for such action, and that as the mischievous effects of gold monometallism only commenced to accrue after 1873 the desired results will be attained if the civilized world retraces the disastrous steps it has taken since this later date. This would involve as Great Britain's principal contribution to the common pool, the reopening of the Indian Mints, which all cognizant with the question regard as a handsome subscription. There has been a good deal of misconception on this subject, both in Great Britain and abroad, owing to recent replies made in the House of Commons on this

subject, but in another reference. Our readers may take it from us as beyond all doubt that Lord Salisbury's Government is willing to reopen the Indian Mints in aid of an international settlement of the monetary problem. They are also willing to make further substantial contributions towards the rehabilitation of silver by extending its use in England. By increasing the legal tender of silver, by making silver the basis for notes, by empowering the Bank of England to use silver as a reserve, and in other ways such as the famous Huskisson proposals, to which we direct the Chancellor of the Exchequer's particular attention, powerful material assistance and strong moral support will be given to the object the United States and France have in view. The attitude of the British Government, coupled with a perusal of the important article contributed to this number by Mr. Lloyd, the able editor of *The Statist*, one of the most influential monometallists in the city of London, will, we hope, dissipate once and for all the grotesque delusion that John Bull is engaged in a conspiracy to contract the currency of the world, and eat the debtor and producer out of house and home.

A Canard.

Owing to the foregoing facts, which are facts and not surmises, we believe that a remarkable development is at hand. But side by side with the brilliant negotiations conducted by Senator Wolcott, information floats continuously across the Atlantic that a movement is on foot in the present Administration to ignore the overtures which the President is making to the leading European nations, and to make all preparations to effect a contraction of the United States currency, and to plant that country on a gold basis. Speeches of Mr. Lyman Gage, the Secretary of the Treasury, are cited approvingly by *The Times*, *viâ* Mr. Smalley, though not always correctly quoted, to show that the policy of the Administration is *gold monometallism* and not *international bimetallism;* that consequently the Commission is a cats-paw, and that France and England are being fooled. Certainly New Yorkers have a marvellous faculty for libelling and discrediting American institutions, and it would be difficult to conceive anything more absurd than that the President of the United States should accredit three Special Envoys to the heads of the chief foreign Governments for the express purpose of negotiating a bimetallic settlement, and meanwhile depute his Secretary of the Treasury to take the necessary steps for establishing his country on a monometallic gold basis. There never has been such double dealing as between nation and nation, and there never could be, and President McKinley is the last man in the world to lay himself open to such vile insinuations. He is a thorough and sincere bimetallist who

has done all that is possible to insure the success of his Special Envoys, which he ardently desires. Mr. Gage has been misreported, or misunderstood, if he is credited with making monometallist speeches in America, or else he has spoken without the sanction of the President. If our New York friends are wise they will support the President and do all they can to promote the international settlement.

A Straw.

Although political prophecy never pays, every straw seems to show the continued stability of Lord Salisbury's Government. A recent bye-election was held in the Petersfield division of Hampshire where the vacancy was due to the death of the sitting Conservative member Mr. Wickham. The Opposition were confident of capturing the seat as their forces were championed by a very strong local candidate, and when last there was a contest the Conservative majority was under a thousand. By all the laws of political meteorology an Opposition is entitled to expect victory in such a case, considering that the present Ministry has been in power for two years and bye-elections all over the world—outside Canada —tend to go against the Government. Moreover, we were told that an indignant country was panting for an opportunity of pronouncing a condemnation on Lord Salisbury's maladroit and nefarious Foreign Policy. To ensure this the constituency was inundated by a cohort of hysterical Phil-Hellenes who sought popular approval for their indefensible conduct in inciting the Greek nation to its doom. You can understand that the air of Petersfield was thick with misrepresentation and calumny during the days preceeding the poll, and as the electors of this rural constituency are not close students of foreign politics the Conservatives were rather nervous as to the result, which if adverse, would react disastrously on our influence in Europe. Mr. Gladstone—who is as restive, mischievous, and undignified in his retirement as the Grand Old Man of Germany—came most opportunely to the assistance of the Conservative candidate by writing a letter urging the electors to support his opponent, who was defeated by over four hundred votes. The average British elector has no confidence in Mr. Gladstone's judgment on Foreign affairs which he has consistently bungled throughout his career. We interpret this election which, owing to the defiant attitude assumed by the Turk, was held at a peculiarly inopportune moment for the Ministry, as a striking vote of confidence in Lord Salisbury's statesmanship. Englishmen of all classes know that, however cumbrous, incoherent, and laborious the Concert of

Europe may be, Lord Salisbury's influence is steadily and sleeplessly working on behalf of liberty and peace; they believe that the honour and welfare of the community are safe in his hands, and that Anglo-Saxon aspirations will ultimately triumph under his guidance.

A Valued Tribute.

We feel sure that Lord Salisbury must have greatly appreciated the valuable, because spontaneous, tribute he recently received from Mr. G. H. Reid, the Premier of New South Wales—an advanced Radical—at the Imperial Institute banquet:—"We are so far removed from your party conflicts that it is not so much a matter to us whether the destinies of the Empire are in the hands of that great Conservative statesman, who I am delighted to see to-night, for whose foreign administration may I, as a humble distant subject of the Queen, express my most profound admiration. At the same time, I am free to admit that if the Empire's destinies were in the hands of my noble and distinguished friend the late Prime Minister, I should feel equally safe." So long as Lord Salisbury's direction of Foreign Affairs receives the approval of the British electorate and the admiration of independent men like Mr. Reid, the venomous rhetoric to which Mr. Gladstone is devoting his old age is only damaging to its author. To revenge himself for his humiliation at Petersfield, Mr. Gladstone has written a letter egging his disciples on to insult the Queen on Jubilee Day by making a demonstration against the Envoys sent from Turkey to attend the celebrations. At the time of writing it is uncertain whether this incitement to disorder will be acted on, but it is ten thousand pities that those about the aged politician cannot persuade him to relapse into venerable repose. For sixty years he was engaged in active public life; two of the most conspicuous events with which he was associated, and for which he was responsible, were the Crimean War, which was waged on behalf of the Turk, and gave him a renewed lease of life in Europe, and the Coercion of Greece in 1886, when she desired to attack Turkey, and had at least as good a chance of victory as in 1897. Political memory is proverbially short, but under the circumstances it is intolerable that Mr. Gladstone should permit himself to masquerade in the garb of Christian righteousness and treat his ancient ally the Turk as an unclean thing of which no civilized Government can take cognizance. Our Eastern policy has not been one of the most glorious features of the Queen's reign, but Mr. Gladstone, as the sole surviving author of the Crimean War, has less right to throw stones than any living Englishman.

TURKEY'S EASY CONQUEST.

It was an extraordinary stroke of fortune for Turkey to obtain the opportunity of measuring her strength with a European nation so feeble as Greece. The effect of her easy triumph has been to give Turkey a fictitious appearance of strength, and we now hear of her "regeneration." In reality, the Turks did very little fighting during the war; they displayed their usual apathy, and, as was described by one of the smartest war correspondents, Mr. G. W. Steevens, they merely "shambled on into victory." This gentleman gave an entertaining description of the war in a letter which appeared in *The Daily Mail* of June 11th, from which we quote the following:—

"Whereas we had believed that the object in war was to destroy the enemy's army, what we saw looked more like a benevolent conspiracy between the two generals commander-in-chief to spare innocent blood. The Greeks hurried away the moment it threatened to be necessary to start shooting Turks in earnest. Upon that the Turks held back for a week, apprehensive lest the men might forget themselves, and do irreparable hurt to the Greeks. It was a race for defeat between cowardice and apathy, and cowardice won. Cowardice—it is useless to try and explain facts away with any other word. The Greeks fought well the first day, at Meluna, and never once afterwards. The great battle of Mati, which broke them down, was not a battle at all. Until I saw the descriptions of it in the newspapers I did not know that anybody ever thought it was a battle. Certainly there was a good deal of desultory shelling to find the enemy's batteries. On Thursday and Friday there was guerilla shooting on Kiritiri; on Friday there was a sharp fight about the villages of Deliler and Musalar, which were taken to prepare the way for the morrow's battle. But the real battle was for Saturday, and the Greeks bolted on Friday night. After that they were quite done with. Outflanked by a superior enemy, what could they do but retreat? Yes; but they knew when they went to war that the enemy would be superior; they knew that the strongest position could be turned. If their object was not to fight, it would have been best attained by remaining at peace. Once at war, nations of spirit believe it their duty to fight—to fight at strategical advantage, if possible, but always to fight. At Plevna Osman was not only outflanked, but surrounded. He deliberately stayed to be surrounded, and he nearly saved Turkey. But such deeds as those of Plevna are to the Greeks foolishness. They strove not to die for their country, and they succeeded. The Turks gave them every chance. It is amusing to find people in England now thinking that the Turkish army was officered and directed by Germans. How many German officers were there really with the Turks? ask all my friends. And I answer confidently: Not one. Grumbkow Pasha arrived on the third day of the war, and he left on the eighth; after him I am sure there was not one single German. The Turkish army beat the Greeks in its own wonderful way. The Turkish army is summed up in the Turkish transport service; it is like the pack-horse, which brings up its ammunition and bread and water. Strong, patient, stupid, slow, and indomitable, it goes its own way, whoever tries to guide it. Nobody is responsible for it; nobody knows who organizes it; it knows not itself whence it comes, nor whither it goes; when it sets out, or when it means to arrive. Untroubled, it stumbles and blunders on, and somehow Allah brings it straggling into camp at nightfall. So it is with the Turkish army. It makes wonderful marches; only it starts at the wrong time, and arrives at the wrong place. It walks unafraid into a blizzard of bullets; only it has no firing line and no fire-discipline, and the rear ranks shoot down the front ranks, and the

artillery shells both. The generals are hopeless, especially the generals of divisions; insubordinate, sluggish, absolutely incapable of combination, ignorant of the very range of their guns. When they ought to have cut off the Greeks, and the Greeks got off, they were as pleased as little children. The war had been planned—nobody quite knew how—that the enemy was to be surrounded and annihilated; the enemy was not to be seen anywhere, the Turk was occupying his position, and the sun was very hot—why, surely, yes, he had been surrounded and annihilated. The Turk was quite satisfied. He believed his own fictions whole-heartedly. He sat down, looked at his beard for days together, and smoked cigarettes and drank coffee until some day somebody discovered that the enemy was not annihilated after all. Then the Turk got up, collected any troops that were lying about, spent a week in making a plan, forgot it as soon as it was made, and let the Greeks go again. Then again he quite sincerely gave his word of honour there were no more Greeks left, and fell to contemplating his beard again. And the Greeks were scurrying across country for their little lives, screaming, 'The Turks are upon us!'"

THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS.

The armistice between Turkey and Greece has been prolonged, but the terms of peace as we go to press have not been definitely settled. It is a question of bargaining. Greece made an idiotic war, and was immediately vanquished, without, it must be added, having made a show of serious fighting. If the Turks had been subsequently left to settle matters with Greece, Greece would have been wiped out, but the Powers intervened to protect her from the natural consequences of her folly. The Sultan had to consider how much he could extort from Greece without giving dangerous provocation to Europe. That point has, doubtless, been reached, and would have been reached sooner if the Sultan had been informed that the Powers could not be treated separately, either through their sovereigns or their ambassadors. A firm intimation to this effect would have strengthened the collective action of the Powers by frustrating the Sultan's policy, which has always been to divide them. Notwithstanding this end, in spite of the caprices of the German Emperor, the European Concert has continued to act beneficially, and should succeed in obtaining moderate terms for Greece. The new frontier line, it is said, will be merely a military rectification, which will restore certain mountain crests to Turkey. This is only poetic justice. In the hands of the Greeks they served for offence, in the hands of the Turks they will serve for defence. The war indemnity will be as moderate as possible. It seems unlikely to exceed £3,000,000, though the Turks, in the first instance, demanded £10,000,000. The Greeks have appealed to the Powers to set aside all idea of an idemnity, seeing that Turkey provoked the war. The effrontery of this statement almost merits a fine of an additional million. The project of

autonomy for Crete still labours, and we shall be surprised if it is established this year.

THE REVIVAL OF TURKEY.

The regeneration of Turkey as the result of the late war is probably a delusion. The maxims and fanaticism of the Turkish race are fatal to any permanent regeneration. All that the war has done is to prick the bubble of a Greek revival. We are constantly apt to overrate the power of sentiment. It plays its part for good, of course; but it occasionally meets with disastrous reverses. Modern Greece is the ricketty offspring of European sentiment. A Frenchman of our acquaintance eulogized Greece the other day as a Boulevard of Europe, and that exactly expresses the national character. It is a fancy Boulevard which France, Great Britain, and Russia created artificially, and that never had within it the material for making a modern nation. The Greeks have taken themselves too seriously, flattered as they have been by literary incense, and have now shown that they are incapable of confronting the Turk. The Boulevard is no Bulwark. But though Greece becomes henceforth an insignificant factor in the Eastern Question, Turkey does not become thereby a formidable Power. She enjoys, however—in consequence of her victory over Greece—a temporary revival. The extent of this depends upon her enlistment of foreign favour. The pattern of the Eastern Question is likely to shift. It is impossible to predict what the Autocrat of Germany will do or what freak will seize him: otherwise the curious sympathy and friendship he has shown for the Sultan upon the Cretan and Thessalian questions indicate that some friction may arise between Germany and Russia on the Turkish question which will introduce a new element. German colonization in Asia Minor would be one means of easing the redundant population of Germany, and it would gratify at the same time the Emperor of Germany's ambition.

A FRANCO-RUSSIAN TREATY.

There has been infinite discussion in the French Press about the projected visit of M. Faure—the French President—to St. Petersburg. It has been conducted in somewhat trivial fashion, for which M. Faure's rather childish love of display perhaps affords a pretext. The significance of the event should not, however, be missed by serious students of European politics. *The Times* correspondent affirms himself in a position to give exact information as to the object of the Presidential journey, which is nothing less than the signature of "the definitive treaty of alliance between the two countries" (France and Russia). Whether it be purely "defensive" in character, or

"offensive and defensive," is uncertain, but it will bind France and Russia together for common action in certain contingencies, all very carefully defined. It is stated to be "one of the most laborious and carefully-considered diplomatic instruments which has ever settled the basis of alliance between two nations," for during the last eight years two Emperors and three Presidents have been at work to perfect it. M. Carnot was one of the first Frenchmen to devote himself to this cause, and a few months before his assassination he said to one of his Ministers: "During the five years that I have been endeavouring with Alexander III. to unite our two nations, I have never had the vexation of discovering in him a disquieting idea or an ambiguous attitude." From 1889 to 1891 the negotiations were regularly carried on between the President and Czar and their respective Ministers, and in August, 1892, there was an exchange of Notes at Paris which served as the basis for a military Convention. "This Convention, after full deliberation, was signed by President Carnot, and by M. Casimir Perrier, then Premier, in 1894, and is the only existing document governing the relations of France and Russia." During the last three years very active, cordial, and even intimate relations have existed between the two nations, and their *entente* has had a pregnant influence on European affairs. Now we are asked to believe the moment is at hand for the formal consecration of eight years' negotiations. We can well credit the information. And, moreover, so mutable are human affairs, whereas the majority of thinking Englishmen viewed the initiation of the Franco-Russian Alliance with some misgivings, they now regard it as a valuable guarantee of European peace. We are fully aware that there is an aggressive Anglophobist Party in France who hate England as Nelson used to hate the French. They would obviously like to use the weapon that has been forging for eight years against Great Britain, but as "A Russian Diplomatist" pointed out a few months ago in *Le Figaro*, the combination would not stand to gain very much from such an encounter, owing to the present supremacy of the British Navy, which will be maintained at all costs. The Franco-Russian Alliance is therefore not a menace to us. Its chief function is to keep the German Emperor in order, and this is a service to all Europe, including the German people.

THE ANGLO-CHINESE AGREEMENT.

Two peaceable but none the less important transfers of territory have been announced during the past month. By the new Anglo-Chinese Agreement China makes compensation to Great Britain for violating a previous Convention by alienating part of the province

of Kiang Hung to France in 1895. This territory consisted of a tract of country on the southern border of China, and its cession was keenly resented at the time as an insulting rebuff to Great Britain. It was regarded as a proportionate triumph for French diplomacy, which claimed to have secured for France exclusive access to the great trade centres of Southern China. By the present Convention, negotiated by Lord Salisbury, China makes abundant reparation for her former laches, and Great Britain is fully recouped for her former detriment. We will not trouble the reader with the string of impossible names of which the agreement is chiefly compounded, but its broad effects are as follows. Great Britain recognizes the sovereignty of China in a great tract of territory to the south of the Namwan River, but China undertakes not to exercise any jurisdiction or authority whatever in this country, the administration and control of which will be entirely undertaken by the British Government, who will hold it on a perpetual lease. China also cedes to Great Britain the Shan State of Kokang, which is equivalent in area (400 square miles) to the territory wrongly ceded to France two years ago. China further agrees to the opening up of other trade routes between Burma and China, and also to "consider" the advisability of constructing railways in Yunnan Province, which, if constructed, are to be connected with the Burmese lines. By an important clause, Great Britain is empowered to station Consuls at two further places in Southern China, where British subjects and persons under British protection will enjoy the same trade privileges as at the Treaty ports. At the same time China agrees to the opening of the West River, and this was actually effected on June 3rd, after it had been surveyed by H.M.S. *Tweed*, with the consent of the Tsung-li-Yamen (the Chinese Foreign Office). According to the well informed Hong Kong correspondent of *The Times*, the short-sighted opposition of the French to the new Anglo-Chinese Agreement has converted the success which Sir Claude Macdonald (the British Ambassador in China) has obtained on behalf of foreign trade generally — for British commercial advantages are not "exclusive"—into a defeat inflicted upon their own diplomacy:—"They do not conceal their chagrin at the realization of what their Hong Kong organs describe in hyperbolical terms as "the cherished dream of the British in the Far East." Lord Salisbury and Sir Claude Macdonald may we think be fairly congratulated on the manner in which this wearisome negotiation has been concluded, though history is strewn with the disappointments that Chinese "concessions" have inflicted on the foreigner and forbids us to be sanguine of results.

HAWAII, U.S.A.

The other transfer of territory announced during the past month is the annexation of Hawaii (in the Sandwich Islands) by the United States. In one sense it is a cession, as the *de facto* Government of these islands, composed of the handful of American settlers who rose and expelled the native dynasty five years ago, have been importunate in claiming admittance to the American Union. Continental American opinion has, on the other hand, been somewhat divided as to the wisdom of extension, and while the great majority of the people would unquestionably resent foreign interference in Honolulu, it is doubtful as to how large a majority are in favour of accepting the responsibilities of possessing an island 2,000 miles from their coast. However the Republican Party, which is now ascendant in the United States, has long advocated this step, and Senator Chandler, in interpreting the November victory of his Party in the December *National Review*, stated that "they (the American people) mean to annex Hawaii." There is, consequently, no occasion for surprise on our part, though President McKinley's sustained failure to protect American interests, or to recognize American duties in Cuba hardly prepared the world for this adventure in the Pacific, and no adequate explanation has been given of the swiftness of his action. Obviously, the usual *canards* were circulated in America to the effect that Great Britain meditated grabbing Hawaii, but this absurd gossip cannot have influenced the Administration, who know perfectly well that the suspicion is entirely groundless. The growing interest of Japan in these islands, and the great tide of Japanese immigration, together with the development of Japanese ambition to lord it over the Pacific, is probably at the bottom of the President's action, but unfortunately "the sinister designs" of England always make a more convenient and popular peg. Be the reason what it may, the Hawaian Annexation Treaty was jointly signed by Mr. Sherman (the United States Secretary of State) and the Hawaian Commissioners on 16th June at the unusual hour of 9 a.m., and it was transmitted to the Senate the same afternoon, accompanied by a Presidential message relating the history of the growing connection between Hawaii and the United States. This document affirms: "This is not really annexation, but a continuation of our existing relations with closer bonds between people closely related by blood and kindred ties." In the Senate a two-thirds majority of those voting is necessary for the ratification of Treaties. There will be some opposition which is expected to be overruled, though Senator White of California, announces that as there are only 3,000 Americans in the islands out of a total popu-

lation of 109,000, he and others will offer a determined resistance to the Treaty.

A Greater America.

The expansion of America into the Pacific is an event of capital importance. Henceforth, the United States must be regarded as a great colonizing and naval Power, for no one can imagine that she will rest on her oars in Honolulu or that in these days of strenuous naval competition her navy, which is already equal to that of Germany, will remain at its present dimensions. Captain Mahan, whose opinion very properly carries great weight with his fellow-countrymen, regards this new departure with unqualified approval, for in his eyes the Sandwich Islands constitute the Key to the Pacific. Certainly the construction of the long-contemplated Nicaragua Canal, if ever accomplished, would give great strategic importance to this new acquisition, but whether taking a long view the States will be permanently strengthened by planting her flag in the heart of the Pacific is an exceedingly difficult question to answer. The prize is tempting, and the desire to dominate that sea is consonant with Anglo-Saxon traditions. Certainly the British are the last to resent or question such an ambition which shows that whatever efforts may be made to sow distrust and hatred for England in the mind of the great mass of Americans their ideals are not very different from our own, and they are anxious to follow in our footsteps, and to see the Stars and Stripes floating in different parts of the world as a sign of their dominion. President McKinley is founding a Greater America beyond the seas, and when he endeavours to pacify the apprehensive Conservatism of his countrymen by affirming that there is no change of policy, but only a natural evolution, he is using language inadequate to the importance of his action. There is a revolutionary change of policy which may be thoroughly justified by a general consideration of American interests, and may be in accordance with the part America should play in the affairs of the world. Americans will settle that for themselves, but we do not believe that they will be imposed upon by the President's innocent artifice. They will realize that they are at the parting of the ways, and that the time has come for the decisive encounter between Old America and Young America. The former is Conservative from an American point of view, and Radical from a European point of view in that it would make America something distinct from Europe. It would keep to the mainland, and rely for its defence upon size and invulnerability rather than upon the old world system of armaments. Young America is Radical from an American point of view, and Conservative from a European point of view. In imita-

tion of Germany, France, and Great Britain it desires to possess armies, fleets and colonies, and to be an Empire. The Old World cannot but be flattered by the Europeanization of the New World, but we put it to our American friends is it not a trifle ridiculous under the circumstances for them to adopt airs of moral superiority over ourselves and to thank God that they are not as other men and nations are? There is, in truth, as much of the old Adam in the American as in the Englishman—in other words he is not the d—— prig his professors have depicted.

MECHANICS'
INSTITUTION
NEW SWINDON

BRITISH INTERESTS AND THE WOLCOTT COMMISSION.

I.—THE MONOMETALLIST VIEW.

President McKinley was elected last year on the two issues of a Reform of the Currency and an increase of the Tariff. During the campaign the Tariff Question receded more and more into the background, and the final struggle was between the Silverites and the Sound-Money men. President McKinley has decided, however, that an amendment of the Tariff is more urgent than the Reform of the Currency. Apparently he is of opinion that the experience derived from the Bland and the Sherman Acts proves that the United States acting alone cannot establish an entirely satisfactory currency system, and therefore, that it is desirable before practically undertaking the task to endeavour to arrive at some agreement with the leading European nations respecting silver. He has appointed a Commission of three gentlemen to visit Europe for that purpose, and it is understood that they are now negotiating with the French Government. The President and his Commissioners have decided wisely, from their point of view, in preferring negotiations to a conference. We have had very many conferences since the depreciation of silver began, and they all seem to prove that nothing effectual can be done by assembling together a multitude of gentlemen from all the leading nations to discuss in public how best silver is to be rehabilitated. The Chancellor of the Exchequer in March of last year, during the bimetallist debate, expressed his own opinion that negotiations would be much better than another conference. And it is satisfactory to find that President McKinley takes the same view. The President has also judged wisely in electing to begin with France. Of all countries in Europe, France undoubtedly has the greatest interest in the silver question. Hitherto, she has suffered wonderfully little from the enormous amount of silver held in France, and in the other countries of the Latin Union. She has been able to keep silver at the old par with gold mainly because of the admirable management, and the consequent high credit of the Bank of France. The Bank has practically withdrawn from circulation, and laid up in its own vaults, over fifty-one millions sterling worth of

silver at the old par. Thereby, she has reduced the quantity of the metal in circulation to what is needed in the ordinary course of business; and she herself has suffered no inconvenience because the confidence of the people in the Bank is so complete that they are willing to take its notes under all circumstances, and without questioning whether those notes are secured by gold or by silver. But though the Bank suffers no inconvenience, it is obvious that circumstances might arise which would be very dangerous for the Bank. Silver in the open market is worth not much more than half as much as it was thirty years ago. Therefore, if such a combination of unfortunate circumstances were to occur as should compel the Bank either to pay out all its gold, or endeavour to use a very large part of its silver, the Bank might find itself in a very awkward position. I do not mean, of course, that the solvency of the Bank of France is really in question, for I have no doubt that if such a combination were to arise as I have hinted at, the whole French nation would feel bound to make good the loss in the capital of the Bank—a loss which clearly is incurred in discharge of a most important public duty. All the same, it is clearly wise on the part of the French Government to do what it can while the peace of Europe is assured to prevent even the possibility of serious losses to the Bank. It seems not unreasonable, therefore, to assume that the present French Government desires to bring about some such arrangement as the Commissioners of the United States have in view. Putting aside, then, the question of the relative strength of the Bimetallist Party in France, and looking at it as one simply affecting the position of the Bank of France, and, through it, the finances of the nation, it seems safe to say that the French Government has a strong interest in helping the United States as far as it can to establish a fixed par of exchange between silver and gold. Whether the other nations of the Latin Union would assist is open to doubt. But it is not really of very serious importance. Greece, clearly, is not in a position to establish either a gold or a silver currency. For the moment, at all events, Italy is in a similar case. And though Switzerland and Belgium are very flourishing, they are small countries whose policy cannot very materially affect the trade of the world.

Hitherto, all the nations which took part in the various International Currency Conferences have declined to enter into any engagements unless this country was willing to make herself a partner in any resolutions taken. It is, however, the settled policy of this country not to interfere with the Gold Standard. The present Chancellor of the Exchequer on the 17th of March last year made this very clear so far as the present Government is concerned, and it is notorious that all Liberal Governments through the mouths of Mr. Gladstone and Sir William Harcourt have asserted

the same thing over and over again. Beyond all that, the City is so clearly determined to maintain the existing system that no reasonable statesman would think of an alteration. Is it possible, then, that such a change has taken place in the opinions of Americans and Frenchmen that they would be willing now to dispense with an agreement with England and to enter into an arrangement between themselves, provided that we were to give such help as is in our power while maintaining the Gold Standard? That President McKinley is so willing seems to follow from the fact that after sending Senator Wolcott to feel the way he has appointed a Commission to open negotiations in Europe. He can have no doubt as to the policy of this country. And, therefore, since he is willing to negotiate, he must have accepted the British decision. As regards France we have not the same means to judge, but it may be pointed out that a great change has taken place since the Brussels Conference, the latest of the series of international monetary gatherings. Very shortly after the breaking up of that conference the Indian Government decided to close its mints. As a result, the United States Congress a few months later repealed the Sherman Act. The closing of the Indian mints is thus not only a capital event taken by itself, but it has completely altered the preceding condition of things quite as much as did the decision of Germany to adopt the Gold Standard a quarter of a century ago. India, which used to be the greatest consumer of silver in the world, now takes less than half what she used to take, and there is an active agitation on foot amongst the currency agitators in India for increasing very considerably the duty on the metal so as to stop altogether, or nearly altogether, the imports of silver. Thus the new policy adopted by India has changed our position in regard to the great silver-using countries so completely that we are now in a very favourable position to negotiate. Formerly, it was assumed in the United States and upon the Continent as a matter which hardly admitted of discussion that the Indian mints must be kept open, and, therefore, that India would continue in the future as she had in the past to buy about seven millions sterling worth of silver every year. Consequently, the United States, France, and the other countries put aside as of no value our offer to pledge ourselves to keep the Indian mints open, and demanded that this country itself should join in the general arrangement proposed. When Mr. Goschen was Chancellor of the Exchequer he offered on the part of this country, to show its goodwill towards those states which desired to rehabilitate silver, and to give evidence likewise of our own desire to aid in the work, that the British Government should pledge itself to keep open the Indian mints, that the Bank of England should undertake to keep one-fifth of its reserve in silver, and that the gold half-sovereigns

should be withdrawn so as to make room for a larger internal silver circulation. As already said, these offers were then considered little more than evasions. But times have changed so completely that the offer now would probably be regarded not merely as advantageous, but as guaranteeing very largely the success of whatever plan might be adopted. It is possible, then, that the French Government might consider that, if we were to offer now what was offered by Mr. Goschen we had done all that could be fairly demanded of us towards bringing about a fixed par of exchange.

As regards other European countries, the probability does not seem great that much concession will be made. Just a quarter of a century ago Germany adopted the Gold Standard, called in and melted down most of the old silver in circulation, and sold a large part of it at a considerable loss. It is true that she was not able to dispose of the whole of the old silver, and that roughly about ten millions sterling of the old Thalers are still held by the Imperial Bank of Germany, the value being reckoned, of course, at the old par. Germany, therefore, is not quite indifferent in the matter, and possibly might be willing to make some concession. But that she would give up the Gold Standard, and adopt bimetallism, does not seem likely, in spite of the undoubted strength of the Bimetallist Party in the Empire. Russia, again, seems resolved upon adopting the Gold Standard. It is just possible that, if a different policy had been pursued some years ago, Russia might have been found more complaisant, but now Russia has accumulated about 130 millions sterling in gold. She has formulated a law establishing the Gold Standard, and it is difficult to see how she could be induced to go back from her decision. In the same way, Austria-Hungary has issued a series of loans amounting in the aggregate to a very considerable sum for the purpose of procuring gold. She has abolished the Silver Standard and adopted the Gold, and it does not seem likely that she could be induced to alter her resolve. In fact, the relations between Austria-Hungary on the one hand, and Germany on the other, are so close that Austria-Hungary has a strong inducement for adopting as nearly as possible the currency system of Germany. Each of the three countries mentioned, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Russia, no doubt, recognize that it would be useful to establish a fixed par of exchange, and probably, therefore, would be willing to make some concessions ; but that they could be induced to adopt bimetallism seems hardly possible. And the same may be said of Japan, which has followed in the footsteps of these three countries, and quite lately passed a law adopting the Gold Standard. If anything is to be done to carry out the ideas of

President McKinley it will be wise on the part of the United States and France to limit their demands in regard to these countries, and to look chiefly to India for help. They may fairly ask for concessions of some kind from the other countries, but they will in all probability meet with a direct refusal if they ask for bimetallism in any shape. So far as India is concerned, I entertain no doubt that the highest interests of that country are involved in the reopening of the mints as soon as possible.

The interest of India would be best served by getting rid of the present state of things. In the Chancellor of the Exchequer's speech last year, already twice referred to, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach very properly observed that India has now an inconvertible and appreciated currency which cannot be regarded as either satisfactory or permanent. And every man who understands the subject thoroughly agrees with the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Everyone is of accord that the present is only a provisional state of things, and that India must either go back to the single Silver Standard as of old, or must follow the example of the European countries and adopt a single Gold Standard. I will not now enter into an elaborate discussion to show that India is too poor to adopt a Gold Standard, and that the attempt to acquire the metal would disturb the trade of the whole world, and add formidably to the difficulties of India. It is enough to say that if a binding arrangement can be entered into between the United States, France, and India, it is at least possible, if not reasonably probable, that a fixed par of exchange may be established. And if a fixed par of exchange can be established that is all that is required for the prosperity of India. The advocates of the closing of the mints argue with much force that India acting alone cannot keep up the price of silver. But if the United States and France were also to open their mints to the coinage of silver, the demand for the metal would be so increased that we might reasonably look for some material recovery in the price, and ultimately for a steady range of value.

I am not a bimetallist, and I do not believe that a combination between two or more countries will be able to maintain a bimetallic system. But if the United States and France think differently, and are prepared to enter into a Bimetallic Agreement, provided that we give such help as we can, I freely admit that we ought to do as much as is in our power, consistently with our own principles and our own interests. There is a wide-spread belief in the United States that this country not only maintains the Gold Standard at home, but keeps up a propaganda abroad to induce other countries to adopt the same standard. British readers need not be told that the British nation maintains no such propaganda.

Still, the fact that the belief does exist makes it desirable to do what we can to dispel it. Our real feeling towards the United States is one of the sincerest friendship, and we have no desire to mix ourselves up in the internal affairs of the country. But we do wish to show our friendship in whatever way we can without hurting American susceptibilities. If an arrangement could be made between France and the United States on the condition that the Indian mints should be reopened, I am convinced that we should adopt the right course in the interest of India, and that in the long-run the Indian Government would benefit from what would be an advantage to its subjects. Therefore, in reopening the mints at the desire of the United States and France we should not act inconsistently, but we should do what, in my opinion at all events, is our plain duty with or without any such request. Furthermore, as a monometallist, I see no objection to the Bank of England undertaking to keep one-fifth of its metallic reserve in silver. The Bank Charter Act gave it the power to do so, and though, as a matter of fact, the Bank never has exercised the power, I can see no objection, in principle, to its doing so, provided the United States and France accept such action as a token of our goodwill, and of our desire to help to carry out a policy which they think is for their good. Further, I see no good objection to the calling in of gold half-sovereigns, and for the substitution of silver pieces. A silver coin of the value of half-a-sovereign would be too cumbersome, but there is no need for such a coin. As a matter of national thrift I hold that the existing half-sovereign ought to be done away with. It wears more quickly than the sovereign, and it is of little real use. No doubt, large employers of labour find it convenient to use gold when they can in payment of wages. But the large employers are not so numerous and so important that the tax-payers should be put to the expense of maintaining a costly coin simply for their convenience and without imposing upon them any contribution to the expense of keeping the half-sovereign of full weight. Moreover, if the half-sovereign saves clerical labour in the case of the large employer of labour, it is very inconvenient in the case of the work-people, whose first act usually is on getting their wages to change gold into silver, often thereby having to resort to the public-house. Excellent arguments, then, can be produced for reopening the Indian mints and for getting rid of the gold half-sovereign, altogether apart from the wish to oblige the United States and France. The only questionable suggestion is that of keeping silver as a part of its reserve by the Bank of England, and, personally, I attach no weight to the objections that have been made.

T. Lloyd.

II.—THE BIMETALLIST VIEW.

The present time is opportune and inviting for a survey, as nearly judicial as may be, of the salient points of the monetary controversy, which has now run on over nearly a quarter of a century. No one indeed, who has followed it closely during that comparatively long period, and has become familiar with the facts and principles involved can have failed to range himself, in thought at least, either amongst the monometallists or the bimetallists. Yet it is possible, I imagine, for one thus equipped to review the position as it exists to-day in a fair and critical spirit, if not with an open mind. That a solution is possible of all intellectual differences or doubts is beyond hope. Nor can the materials of a practical agreement as to policy between the disputants be yet discerned. But at least it may appear that some obscurities have been removed, and some matters of controversy put out of the way. It would be disheartening indeed if twenty years of almost incessant discussion had revealed no common ground, no narrowing of the field of controversy.

There are some people who think that the course of events is, in fact, solving the whole question in favour of a universal, or nearly universal, Gold Standard. Germany, Austria, Japan, and a few minor states have already adopted it, and the Presidential election in the United States last November brought that nation decisively into line with the rest. India, too, is looking in the same direction, and even at home the improvement in some important branches of industry is sufficient to warrant the hope that the wide-spread discontent with the long-prevailing monetary unsettlement will become gradually weaker. So it is thought and said.

These and similar assurances are prevalent and potent enough to warrant respectful consideration, and the greatest respect that we can show to them is to examine them with sincerity and frankness. There is no need to enquire now into the motives which have induced the Governments of these states to try their hands at the establishment of a gold monetary system. It is of much greater moment to ask, Have they succeeded? Are they likely to succeed? What are the consequences upon industry and trade—our own in particular—of their endeavours? And what further similar attempts lie in the future?

Very little reflection is needed to convince any thoughtful man that upon the answers which may be returned to these questions hang issues of the greatest importance. On all hands it is admitted that the industrial interests, agricultural and manufacturing alike, of the most advanced nations, of our own especially, have suffered grievously from the world-wide monetary unsettlement of the last twenty years. If no hope can be held out of its disappearance, and

if we must resign ourselves helplessly for an indefinite period, to the chances and vicissitudes of constantly changing monetary systems, now here and now there, the prospect is in the highest degree depressing. It is of course perfectly true that if it could be confidently anticipated that before long the Gold Standard will be securely established everywhere, it would be possible to rest in the assurance that much of the disorder and suffering which have afflicted our industries within the last twenty years will pass away, though a good deal will still remain. So much even bimetallists may allow, although they have the support of all the most eminent authorities for their contention that the Joint Standard is demonstrably more stable than either of the single ones.

But is there the slightest shadow of justification for the hope that the Gold Standard will ever become general? Not one of the great States which have tried to adopt it has yet perfectly accomplished the task; not even Germany. A large amount of the old silver thalers—estimated at about £23,000,000—possessing the attribute of legal tender without limit at the full nominal value of 3 marks per thaler, is still in existence. It is true that a law passed in 1876 gave power to the Federal Council to declare the thaler legal tender to the extent of only 20 marks, thus converting it into a merely subsidiary coin, but this permissive authority has not yet been exercised. Italy was obliged to abandon the task almost as soon as it was well begun, and Austria, after some years of preparation, is still struggling on with the preliminary work. Japan has undertaken to solve the problem of passing from silver to gold by coining a half-dollar in gold, and making it legal tender for a dollar. But even this short path she has not yet begun to traverse, her Government having postponed to some undetermined date the demonetizing of the present silver currency, although, with the aid of the Chinese indemnity money, a considerable amount of gold is being accumulated for the purpose. India set out upon the path toward a Gold Standard four years ago, the coinage of rupees having been stopped on June 26th, 1893. Adopting the plan since followed by Japan, the Government of India hoped to secure its object by fixing the gold value of its monetary unit at very much less than its old par—fifteen rupees to the pound sterling, instead of ten rupees—making the English equivalent 1s. 4d. per rupee. But notwithstanding that no more silver rupees have been coined, even this desideratum has not been attained, and the rupee is worth to-day only 1s. $2\frac{11}{16}$d. The attempt to establish a Gold Standard in India has thus been a complete failure, and the abundant warnings that this would be the result, which were given at the time by both monometallists and bimetallists, have been amply justified. But if

mere failure to attain the end desired were all that could be urged against the scheme, nothing more need be said from the present point of view, except by way of recording an unrealized ideal. Unfortunately the means employed have wrought much havoc within and outside India, which would have been serious enough even if they had led to success.

In the United States the Gold Standard, established afresh by the resumption of specie payments in 1878, has no doubt been preserved. But it has been in peril on more than one occasion, and the maintenance at par of the large proportion of legal tender instruments other than gold is evidently a precarious and costly business. It is hard to believe that the English writers and speakers who have so frequently affirmed or assumed that the victory of Mr. McKinley in the Presidential contest of November was a declaration of the American people in favour of the Single Gold Standard have any intimate acquaintance with the monetary history of the United States during the last twenty years. For if there be any fact more prominent than another in that history it is that the American people have been all along earnestly desirous of seeing the Joint Standard restored by international agreement. It was at their instigation that the abortive International Conferences, of 1878, 1881, and 1892 were convened. Wearied by these repeated failures, a section composed of members of both political parties, though mainly of Democrats, under the leadership of Mr. Bryan, resolved to labour for its restoration by the United States alone. That its defeat was not a decision on the part of the Americans for the Gold Standard is proved by the prompt steps taken by President McKinley towards the renewal of negotiations with a view to the adoption of the larger measure. The United States are therefore very far indeed from having fallen in with what is assumed to be the "inevitable tendency" of the times in the direction of a universal Gold Standard.

The obvious and necessary answer to the first question is, therefore, that although more than twenty-five years have gone by since the present movement towards a Gold Standard with a gold currency began amongst foreign nations, that end has nowhere yet been reached. To the second question, whether it is likely to be reached within any assignable period, the reply will be hardly doubtful when the nature of the obstacles to, and the consequences of, the movement are clearly apprehended.

The difficulty of converting a metallic currency, consisting exclusively or largely of silver, to one of gold, is often assumed to consist entirely in the acquisition of sufficient gold for the purpose. But the really embarrassing part of the task is the substitution of the new for the old coinage, and the getting rid of the latter. A

certain considerable space of time must be allowed during which both the old and the new currency are legal tender side by side. But during this interval many incidental changes in commercial or financial operations may occur inducing the export of the new coinage. Trouble of this kind arose during the five or six years over which the exchange of German thalers for gold coin was protracted. Still more troublesome was the process of getting rid of the discarded silver, and, in fact, the process was suspended long before it was completed, and has not since been resumed. With this experience before our eyes, it is surely no rash or inconsiderate statement to say that the Japanese project of resorting to a gold currency is not likely to be accomplished for a long time to come, nor without much obstruction and halting, notwithstanding that the conversion is to take place on the basis of a "50 cent." dollar.

The Government of Russia is apparently well aware of the risks attending the actual carrying out of a gold currency scheme. It has for a good while had at its disposal, according to credible estimates, an amount of gold arithmetically sufficient for the purpose, and announcements of the coming adoption of the scheme have for some time past been put forward again and again. No authoritative statement to this effect has, however, yet been made. But why should there be any hesitation, unless it be that the Russian Administration has serious apprehensions as to the risks in the actual work of conversion, although in this case, as there is little silver in circulation in Russia, one of the difficulties which hampered the German operation is absent.

Sufficient has now been said, in this rapid review, to induce the reflection that the supposed solution of the monetary problem by a general resort to the Gold Standard is altogether illusive. Indeed, the experience of the last twenty years goes far towards establishing as an indisputable fact the opinion expressed by Mr. Goschen at the International Monetary Conference of 1878, that "the theory of a universal Gold Standard is altogether Utopian." In one instance—that of India—where the creation of a Gold Standard is, according to the prevailing conviction, hopeless, and in another—that of the United States—where it lacks the conditions of assured permanence, British interests are very deeply involved. It is important, therefore, that these two cases should be considered more fully.

It cannot be said that the Indian movement was either hasty or insufficiently considered, although the precipitating cause was the nervous excitement and alarm produced in India by the prospect, which was becoming clear in the latter half of 1892, of a suspension of the purchases of silver then being made by the United States Treasury to the extent of 54,000,000 ounces per annum. Re-

peatedly, and with one voice, the Viceroy and his Council urged upon the Government at home the importance of assenting to the closing of the Indian mints to the coinage of silver, with a view to the introduction of a Gold Standard in default of an international agreement to restore the Joint Standard, which they had long and consistently advocated. The main reason put forward in favour of this step was the heavy burden cast upon the Indian Treasury in consequence of the fall in the gold value of silver and the certainty that this burden would be increased by a cessation of purchases of silver by the United States Government. The loss already involved was roughly about Rs. 8,726,000 per annum. Some reduction of this large amount would, however, be necessary upon a scrutiny of the items composing it, because in certain of them there were compensations to be taken into account. But what chiefly alarmed the Indian Administration was the fear of an addition of unknown, though certainly very serious, loss from the further decline of silver in the event of the contemplated change of monetary policy in America. The Financial Secretary, Sir David Barbour, summed up the position in the following words :—"The immediate cause of our financial difficulties, and the cause which, by comparison and for the time being, dwarfs all others, is the fall in the gold value of silver, which, as I have already shown, has added to the Indian expenditure in two years more than four crores of rupees. If that fall could be stayed, and the rate of exchange with England fixed permanently at even its present low figure, the difficulty of dealing with the present deficit would be comparatively light. The revenue continues to grow in a satisfactory manner ; even under the influence of indifferent seasons and poor harvests it has made fair progress. If we could feel assured that there would be no further fall in exchange, I have little doubt that increase of revenue, restriction and reduction of expenditure, with possibly some taxation of a temporary nature, would, in a very short time, re-establish equilibrium. A serious effort would no doubt be required in the first instance, but with a fixed rate of exchange we would have a definite task before us, and our measures could be regulated accordingly. But it unfortunately happens that, unless some settlement of the currency question is obtained, there is no prospect of even the most moderate degree of stability in the rate of exchange." And he added :—"It will be obvious, from what I have just said, that what we have got to consider in making our arrangements for next year, is not so much the question of increasing the public revenue, or restricting that portion of the public expenditure which is under our control, but the chances of a settlement of the currency question."

Before consenting to the scheme of the Indian Government, the

Secretary of State in London submitted the whole question to the judgment of a Committee, of which Lord Herschell was chairman. This was appointed in October, 1892, and its report was presented at the end of May, 1893. The document is probably the most concise and instructive official paper on the Indian aspect of the currency question which has yet been published. It sets forth very clearly the various ways in which India has been affected by the monetary changes of the last twenty-five years, and reviews briefly the action of several States in respect of their own currencies within that period. The proposals of the Indian Government are then discussed,as well as the objections urged against them on the ground of their impracticability and their inexpediency. Finally, the report recommends that consent should not be withheld from the endeavour to establish a Gold Standard in India, but that the basis should be 1s. 4d. per rupee instead of 1s. 6d., the ratio suggested by the Indian Administration.

It is now no longer debatable that profuse leakage at the Indian Treasury, to the amount of several millions sterling annually, is the direct consequence of the fall in the gold value of silver since 1873. To this extent, therefore, the people of India are the poorer. Moreover, the loss is persistent, and is irreducible except in the degree in which the divergence between the Indian and the home standards of value can be lessened. But for this loss it would have been possible to reduce the fiscal burdens of India, leaving so much more wealth to fructify in the hands of the population every year, or to be devoted to much-needed works of public utility. Unhappily the necessity of fresh taxation has been forced upon the Government, and the reimposition of the import duties with the levying of concurrent excise duties on the production of the Indian cotton mills is the painful consequence of the gratuitous sacrifice caused by the fall in exchange. It was mainly for the purpose of minimizing this sacrifice that the endeavour to attain a Gold Standard was made. But another object was to remove the discouragement to the investment of British capital in the Dependency, which has existed ever since the great fall and the wide fluctuations in the silver and Eastern exchange markets began. That this discouragement has been great and highly injurious alike to India and to investors at home is beyond doubt. One eminent merchant—Mr. Stephen A. Ralli—whose firm has an enormous stake in the export and import trade of the country, in giving evidence before the Indian Currency Committee, was questioned upon this subject. His reply was simply that, so far as his own business was concerned, the exchange difficulty had made no difference in the amount of his investments in India. He had just before explained, however, that as soon as

the fall and the disorder in the exchanges began, his firm took care to have no assets there which were not "covered by sterling." No more significant example could be adduced in proof of the statement that the breach of the old par of exchange has tended most powerfully and effectually to withdraw capital from India, and to prevent its flow thither. Ordinary investors have not at their command the unique facilities possessed by a great merchant engaged in many branches of both export and import trade, for insuring themselves against loss in the homeward remittance of interest, profits, and principal. The fact, therefore, that a shrewd and experienced man of business has, for the last twenty-four years, avoided having any capital in India not secured against the risks of fluctuations and decline in exchange, is eloquent testimony to the formidable and effective character of the barrier which has been set up to the employment of European capital in the Dependency. The very important growth of the cotton, jute, and other manufacturing and semi-manufacturing industries in India within the last quarter of a century is in no way opposed to this view. For much the larger proportion of these enterprises is in the hands of Indian residents, native or European. A striking illustrative instance of the manner in which the most lucrative business carried on in a Silver Standard country by means of British capital may be converted by an adverse exchange market into a disastrous investment, is supplied by the Imperial Bank of Persia. That establishment, founded several years ago, has enjoyed very great advantages, and has earned large profits. These have to a large extent never brought any corresponding benefit to the shareholders because of the impossibility of remitting home the profits actually realized. Not only have they lost the greater part of the earnings of their money in Persia, but they have been compelled to write off much of their original capital. If a careful collation of such experience as this could be presented, there would be no further need to insist upon the incalculable injury which the existence of two widely fluctuating standards of value has inflicted upon the important British interests connected with external investments, presenting otherwise opportunities of abundant reward.

Of the extent to which the profitable employment of English capital in Silver Standard countries has been cut off it is impossible to form even a conjectural notion; but no one who has fully considered the subject can doubt that it is enormous. More clearly within the range of the imagination, though still immeasurable, is the damage sustained actually, or through loss of opportunity, in the direction of the United States in consequence of the monetary unsettlement of the last twenty-five years. When the old par between the values of silver was broken, the American currency

consisted of inconvertible paper. Resumption of specie payments on a gold basis took place in 1878, when the consequences of the suspension of the free coinage of silver within the Latin Union were only beginning to be realized. But the large infusion into the currency of other forms of money than that of gold it has at times been difficult to maintain at par. Yet if the Americans had long ago redeemed the "greenback" notes, and had not brought silver into extensive employment either as coin or as a colleague of gold in the metallic basis of the note circulation, the monetary troubles which have marked the last twenty years would unquestionably have been greatly magnified. The momentous changes of policy with respect to these other elements in the American currency have no doubt wrought much mischief, but they are all subordinate to, and derivatives from, the great unsettlement of 1873. Those who quite justly ascribe some of the most serious of the fluctuations in the relative value of silver and gold to varying and unsystematic monetary legislation in the United States may, therefore, be usefully invited to reflect upon this undeniable fact and upon the much more serious injury which would have been brought upon the world if in the years of scanty production of gold—from 1873 to 1891—the Americans had redeemed all the greenbacks, refused to employ silver, and had adhered to a strictly gold system.

But the important consideration suggested by the present aspect of the currency question in the United States is that the monetary conflict has by no means been settled by the Presidential Election. This fact is deeply impressed upon the mind of Mr. McKinley, and he sees no prospect of a final settlement apart from the international adoption of a Joint Standard formed by the co-ordination of silver and gold. It is obviously impossible for us to rest in the delusive assurance that this is a purely American affair. The vast magnitude of our commerce with the United States, and the fact that so long as the monetary system of that country remains undetermined, a large potential field for the profitable investment of British capital is to a large extent closed to us are considerations of the highest moment, and are not the least amongst the numerous motives which should lead the English people to reflect seriously upon the solution on an enduring basis of the existing monetary disorganization. The "battle of the standards" in America is very far from being over, and the earnestness with which President McKinley is labouring to bring about another International Monetary Conference is striking evidence of his anxiety to avoid a new conflict, keener it may be, and more full of danger than that in which Mr. Bryan was so prominent a figure last year.

Reverting for a short space to the state of the question in India,

it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that there also we have no assurance of a settled monetary condition. The Gold Standard experiment is a failure, and there is not the slightest prospect that the object it was intended to achieve will be realized. Meanwhile the closing of the mints has not only brought much depression upon our trade with India, but has also inflicted a wanton injury upon the people. It has aggravated in a measure beyond calculation the sufferings of the present famine. In the first place, to it may be attributed most of the falling off in the Indian demand for textile manufactures which has led to the stoppage of a good deal of weaving machinery, within the last six or eight months, in the British cotton industry, and has compelled the proprietors of very much more to keep it going without profit or with absolute loss. The famines of 1876–78 had no such disastrous results. The exports of cotton goods to India at that time suffered little diminution. For although the purchasing power of those who had to endure the physical privations of the famines was for the moment nearly extinguished, that of the population in other parts of the country was much enhanced by the high prices which they received for their harvests and their stocks of grain. But at that time the mints were producing to the full extent of their capacity the greatly increased quantity of rupees needed to carry on the grain trade at the advanced prices. In the present calamity the mints are closed, and at the very time when more money is needed to carry on the vast internal trade of India, an artificial scarcity of it has been created. This scarcity has borne heavily upon all branches of business, small and large, and it is the main reason for the decreased demand for cotton goods for India in Manchester and Glasgow. Exporters to India have been made painfully aware of the hardly pressed condition of native distributors for lack of money by their failure to accept delivery of goods previously bought, and the consequent absence of remittances. How could the case be otherwise when the rate of discount in the bazaars has mounted up to 14 and 16 per cent.? But there is a second consequence of the closing of the mints, indirectly affecting the interests of our commerce with India, because it tends to impoverish large numbers of people in the Dependency, those who rely upon the realization of their savings in time of temporary impoverishment. Their hoards of silver, in the shape of ornaments, can no longer be sold, approximately weight for weight for rupees, as in former times. The rupee price of uncoined silver has fallen greatly, and rupees are scarce and dear. Mr. Forbes Mitchell, of Calcutta, a forty years' resident in India, has recently published the results of his enquiries during a tour

through the famine-stricken districts of the Central and North-West Provinces and Oude. He says :—

"What savings banks, insurance companies, and kindred societies are to the people of England, the practise of hoarding their savings by converting coined silver into jewellery or ornaments has been to the thrifty artisans and peasantry of India. When an Indian artisan or peasant farmer has saved up ten or twenty rupees he takes them to the village jeweller and has them made into ornaments for his wife or children, and such ornaments being made from coined silver could, with open mints, always be exchanged again for almost their full weight in rupees when hard times came round, and the hoarder had to reconvert his hoardings into current coin. Practically, all jewellery in India is merely hoarded money. Many of the wealthy natives have hoards of coined money: yet, though such hoards are often large, their number is small compared with the countless hoards of the great mass of the Indian artisan and middle-class peasantry, the bulk of the Indian people. Now, these are not the classes which come to the Government for assistance on charitable famine-relief works and almshouses; but they are the classes whom the Government has cruelly robbed of their savings by keeping the mints closed against the free coinage of silver. During my late tour throughout the famine-stricken districts I mixed largely with this class, and also with the mahajans, or banker class, and heard their views freely expressed on the late currency legislation of the Government. Most bitter are the complaints against the action of Lord Lansdowne's Government, and frequent the predictions that the historian of the future will have to brand that Act as one of the most cruel and unjust pieces of legislation that was ever enacted by any civilized Government. I will give your readers one instance out of many which came under my notice of how the closing of the mints is robbing the people of their savings. In the city of Allahabad I met a man who had come in from one of the most severely famine-stricken districts with silver jewellery weighing Rs.2,000, which, in former years, he could have sold for about Rs. 1,980; but, owing to the mints being closed, the silversmiths, who are the bullion merchants of India, had offered him only Rs. 33 for Rs. 100 weight of silver, or only Rs. 660 for what had cost the poor man Rs. 2,000."

The main object of the present article is to draw attention to the very deep interest which British investors have in some permanent settlement of the monetary question, and especially to the utter hopelessness of any such settlement as a result of the supposed tendency toward a Single Gold Standard. Two examples of this interest have been selected—those of India and the United States. They are but illustrations of the injury sustained by investors, or would-be investors in many other parts of the world. One of its consequences is the great glut of loanable capital and capital for which no remunerative employment can be found. As if in despair, investors are now being drawn into a multitude of home ventures for which there will be a disastrous reckoning-day before we are much older. With the effects of the monetary unsettlement upon British industry, agricultural and manufacturing, I have dealt minutely and at some length in another place.* These effects are unquestionably very serious, and they are in no degree lessened by

* *The Joint Standard.* Macmillan & Co.

the substantial revival which has recently taken place in the iron and steel trades. That revival is, no doubt, important and gratifying, and it has, in accordance with a well-known principle, given a fillip to other trades. But the great cotton industry of this country has been, in recent years, and is still, non-progressive, and in other directions prosperity yet lags behind. My principal purpose is served, however, if I have succeeded in showing that British investing interests which are commonly supposed to have little or no concern in the battle of the standards are in truth very deeply involved in it. It is vain to imagine that because we have in the United Kingdom a settled monetary system we can escape the consequences of the troubles in which other nations and our own Colonies and Dependencies are involved. In commerce they are our customers: in finance and in enterprises of many kinds they offer a wide field for the profitable employment of British savings. That which hurts them hurts us, and we cannot afford to be indifferent to the existing monetary confusion, and the frequently recurring changes and crises to which they give rise in one part of the world or another. Only one remedy has yet been propounded—the restoration of that Joint Standard which was in fact the sole standard of value in all countries having a metallic monetary system until 1873. Is it worthy of the nation which is politically, industrially, and commercially at the head of all to stand aloof from the effort shortly to be made to cure disorders from the consequences of which our own people—the people of the whole Empire—are, in one way or another, seriously suffering?

ELIJAH HELM.

III.—THE MONETARY RELATIONS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND THE COLONIES.

THE presence in the Mother Country, in connection with the celebration of Her Majesty the Queen's unprecedentedly long and glorious reign, of representatives from every part of the Empire over which she rules, makes the present time a very fitting occasion for considering the financial relations between Great Britain and her Dependencies and Colonies. Undoubtedly one of the relationships most prominently borne in mind at this auspicious time, throughout the length and breadth of the greatest Federation the world has ever seen, has been that of kinship and community of speech, a consideration which, we may readily believe, has excited no small amount of enthusiasm even in those representatives of the great Republic of the West who have officially taken part in our rejoic-

ings. But as that great Republic has itself demonstrated by the Declaration of Independence in the last century and the fratricidal Civil War in this, even the ties of common ancestry and speech are not the most binding; and as there are vast populations included in the British Empire who are not of our race or even colour, and who are only gradually acquiring our speech, it cannot, in connection with the great celebration of the year, have been even the most universal. A still wider sentiment, we may well believe, has been that of common loyalty to the royal lady whose wise rule and blameless life have exemplified those principles of good conduct and integrity, freedom with self-restraint, fair-play, justice, and humanity, which we believe to be the essential principles of British policy and the guarantees of our common safety, power, and influence. Paraphrasing the illusory declaration of Napoleon III., "The Empire is Peace," we may say, let us hope with better founded confidence, "The Empire is Right-Dealing."

But if Englishmen believe that the principle of "live and let live" is the bond of union on which the maintenance of the Empire really depends, it is important that we should watch carefully lest any legislative blunder, or flaw in our economic system, should have results not in harmony with the unquestioned morality of our intentions. I should be the last to under-estimate the value of sentimental considerations as constituting not merely a political, but an economic force. Community of blood, speech, and nationality in its widest sense implies community of taste; not merely Englishmen, but people of other races who become assimilated with English rule will always, for instance, have a preference for English goods. It is in this sense that it is true to say that trade follows the flag. But, allowing for sentimental ties, the practical relation between the Mother Country—or perhaps, to speak more accurately, the Metropolitan State—and her Colonies and Dependencies is essentially financial. Economic relations are the complement of the racial, or political, or Imperial relation, and the concrete expression of the economic relations is indebtedness in terms of money. Great Britain has not merely sent out her sons and daughters to colonize the waste lands of Canada, Australasia, and South Africa, and to build up great communities there, or to organize, develop, and administer vast Possessions already teeming with subject populations; she has also poured into those countries huge amounts of capital for the construction of public offices, railroads, and harbours, for the establishment of banks and great industrial trading enterprises, for the clearing and cultivation of the land, for the opening and working of mines, for irrigation works, and for the improvement of interior navigation and the construction of roads and bridges. On all these investments the Metropolitan State demands, and very properly de-

mands, interest, which, even if there were no merely commercial exchanges, no mutual buying and selling, would in itself constitute a very considerable and practically permanent drain on the industrial production of those Colonies and Possessions. The tribute thus required is swelled by the fact that the Mother Country demands, and again properly demands, salaries and pensions for officials who render, or have rendered, administrative services in her Possessions; by the fact that many colonists return to spend the evening of their days amidst the scenes of their childhood, leaving behind them capital created in the colony itself, but yielding revenues which the owners expend in England, while some even bring to the old country the capital itself. Then, again, there are settlers, and the descendants of settlers, who contribute to the support of relatives in the old country, or who make remittances to pay for the education of their children, or for the expenses of travel amongst the historic scenes in the home of the race, all these latter forms of tribute springing out of those very sentimental considerations which none of us desire to see weakened. I have said that all these tributes are in their nature proper tributes, and this is true so long as they are in fulfilment of contracts which have benefited the Colonies or Dependencies, or are the outcome of those feelings of racial or national pride and affection which find an expression also in loyalty to the Throne, and are freely paid out of Colonial abundance and prosperity. But the matter assumes a very different aspect if they become burdensome exactions, even as a result of natural developments not foreseen when the liabilities were incurred; and the aspect is still worse if the change in the relative position of debtor and creditor can be shown to be the result of the neglect, or the blunders, or the mere example of the Legislature of the Mother Country, or of the deliberate and nefarious cupidity of the money-lenders. It is this aspect which gives an Imperial importance to the Silver Question.

We need not attempt to fix on any of the persons responsible, directly or indirectly, for the boycott of silver as a money metal in favour of a gold monopoly, the stigma of a deliberate intention to defraud; for my part I have yet seen so little evidence of their possession of any knowledge of the real nature of money that I cannot suppose them capable of foreseeing the consequences of a policy concerning which the late Professor Francis A. Walker has said that "the history of the century will be searched in vain for a political blunder of equal enormity." But even if we could assume that the divergence in the relative values of gold and silver, the fall of prices, and the increased weight of gold debts, were the results of purely natural causes, that would not justify indifference to the subject on the part of the Mother Country. The fact that a famine

in India is traceable to meteorological causes has never been pleaded as a justification for a *laissez faire* policy in that matter on the part of the Imperial Government.

The desirableness of this aspect of the question receiving more public attention than it has hitherto done has recently been emphasized by considerations arising out of the Indian Famine, which in their turn have caused a remark made by Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons debate (February 28th, 1893) on Sir Henry Meysey Thompson's motion with respect to the adjournment of the Brussels Monetary Conference, on which I commented in a recent number of *The National Review* (March, 1897), to appear still more singular. It is well understood that it is only with their various productions that our Colonies and Dependencies can discharge their liabilities, fixed in terms of gold money, whether for interest on loans, the redemption of loans, or for services rendered. A fall of prices, or, in other words, a rise in the buying power of the money in terms of which the liability is expressed, implies an increased drain of the produce raised, without any compensation to the debtor. So far, of course, as produce exported merely pays for merchandise imported, a fall of prices cuts both ways. If the colonist sells more cheaply he also buys more cheaply, and, roughly speaking, it may be said that to this extent he is in no way injured; he only gives the same quantity of produce as formerly for the same quantity of imported requirements. But to meet his fixed monetary liabilities for loans, whether directly incurred by himself or by his Government, he has to part with an increased quantity of his produce, and if the yield of his labour is limited, the proportion left for his own sustenance, or for saving as capital, is necessarily diminished, while his creditor is proportionately enriched. Even if by technical improvements in his methods he succeeds in increasing his production sufficiently to cover the increased drain, he still merely parts with what should be the reward of his enterprise, or increased efficiency, to his creditor without return. This truth has been frequently explained, and with more elaborateness than is here attempted; but in this condensed and naked form it is sufficiently clear for the present purpose. Now, it was with reference to the increased buying power of the gold in which the liabilities of the debtors are expressed that Mr. Gladstone (somewhat unthinkingly, I must believe,) said :—

"I am almost afraid to estimate the total amount of the property which the United Kingdom holds beyond the limits of the United Kingdom; but of this I am well convinced, that it is not to be counted by tens or hundreds of millions—an extremely low and inadequate estimate. Two thousand millions or even more might very likely be nearer the mark. I think, under these circumstances, it is rather a serious matter to ask this country whether we are going to perform this supreme act of self-sacrifice (the establishment of bimetallism). I have a

profound admiration for cosmopolitan principles. I can go a great length, in moderation, in recommending their recognition or establishment; but if there are these two thousand millions, or fifteen hundred millions of money, which we have got abroad, it is a very serious matter as between this country and other countries. We have nothing to pay to them. We are not debtors at all. We should get no comfort or consolation out of the substitution of an inferior material, of a cheaper money, which we should get for less and part with for more. We should get no consolation, but the consolation throughout the world would be great. And this splendid spirit of philanthropy, which we cannot too highly praise, because I have no doubt all this is foreseen, would result in our making a present of fifty or one hundred millions to the world. It would, no doubt, be gratefully accepted by the world, but I rather think the gratitude for your benevolence would be mixed with very grave misgivings as to your wisdom."

I refrain from criticizing Mr. Gladstone's arithmetic. For the rest we must remember that he had himself previously confessed that the many engagements of his active life had prevented him from studying the science of money in its deeper economic relations, as revealed by the experiences of the past quarter of a century. It is readily conceivable that he may have supposed that a general fall of prices could not possibly take place without bringing abundant compensations to the producer, and that the incidental improvement in the position of the creditor could no more be regarded technically as an unearned increment, than fine weather during a holiday when rain is not desired. But let us contrast with Mr. Gladstone's utterance, some recent remarks by Mr. George Handasyde Dick, a Glasgow merchant who knows India and Indian trade well, and whose countrymen, whether still residing north of the Tweed or in other parts of Her Majesty's dominions, are not generally supposed to hold loose opinions as to the rights of men to the profits of any bargains they may make. In a presidential address to the Economic Science Section of the Philosophical Society of Glasgow on February 24th, this year, after calling attention to a telegram of the Viceroy of India requesting that money and not food should be sent for the relief of the famine-stricken districts, as there appeared to be no difficulty in obtaining abundance of food in India itself at the advanced prices, Mr. Dick said:—

"The highest price I have observed quoted for rice in India has been eight seers for the rupee, but, according to the district, the rates vary, say, between nine and fifteen seers for the rupee. Take the average as, say, eleven seers, and let us put that into more familiar terms. A seer is 2·204 lb. in our weight, and eleven seers make therefore 24·244 lb., say 24¼ lb. A rupee at present exchange is 1s. 3d. of English money. Now what evolves? 1s. 3d. of our money buys 24¼ lb of rice. We have eighty millions of people suffering from scarcity inimical to health, or from scarcity threatening death, when food is apparently abundant enough to feed all, at a price of, say, ·68 of a penny per lb. The present price of wheat in Glasgow is 16s. per 240 lbs, = ·80 of a penny per lb. Gentlemen, has it ever occurred to your minds to conceive of poverty such as the foregoing indicates? Here we have probably the most industrious, the most economical,

the most peaceable and well-regulated people in the world face to face with death from starvation, because they have not money sufficient to buy food grain, which can be purchased in the worst case at under a penny per lb. Remember, too, that beyond their food requirements their wants are of the fewest, as neither clothing nor houses are essential in immense districts of that country. It would not be reasonable to suppose that this poverty of the Indian people, and their consequent reduction to starvation point, is due alone or mainly to the partial failure of one season's rains in a country frequently producing two, sometimes three crops in the year. It may be mainly due to economic causes. Such causes have long been foreseen and pointed out by many economists, and by the Viceroys and Finance Ministers of India. Notably has this been done in the remarkable despatch of the Government of India, signed by the Viceroy (Earl Dufferin) and his Council, of date 2nd February, 1886. . . . Read in the light of later events, it goes to show that existing troubles in India are mainly due to economic causes for which the people and Government of Great Britain are responsible. The First Lord of our Treasury has been at pains to point out that in this matter the monied interests here are permitted to rule the councils of this nation. Probably the permission is used in their own supposed interests, certainly it has been used in direct opposition to the policy of the Government of India. But the trouble does not appear to end here. It is alleged by other nations that, through the British Government, the councils of the civilized world are nullified and made of no effect. . . . If the despatch mentioned is correctly regarded to-day as a monument of far-seeing wisdom and statesmanship—its truth demonstrated by experience,—consider in connection with it that this country is now fussily engaged, with much unction to itself, in sending an insignificant charity dole of under a crore of rupees to the Government of India, which Government has for years past been compelled, by the alteration of laws in Europe and America, to send annually to this country Indian produce valued at eight crores of rupees (at par of exchange £8,000,000) in excess of what the interest it has to pay was reckoned at when the debt was mainly incurred. It is asked—Are we thus in our relation to India, as rulers, reviving ancient barbarisms by living in luxury while drawing upon the labours of the subject races of India till these races are impoverished below subsistence point? "

G.W.R. MECHANICS' INSTITUTION, NEW SWINDON

I have quoted Mr. Dick's suggestive paper at this length, because I have not met with any other illustration which conveys so realistic an idea of that which we all know, more or less, in a vague, far-off way—the extreme poverty of the great masses of the people of India. It is against labour of this kind, earning such microscopic wages as to be always on the verge of starvation, that the gold-paid operatives of Lancashire, and the small farmers and squatters of Canada and Australia, have to compete, and, let it be remembered, every decline in exchange practically lowers wages in India in comparison with the gold wages of Great Britain and her Gold Standard Colonies. It is useless to expect that the position of such labour can be raised, or the day of famine provided against, by thrift encouraged by the agency of saving-banks, or by the paper-money which Lord Farrer, misled by the nebulous credit-money theories of Macleod and Nasse, imagines will be the solution of the price problem in India and elsewhere. It is only by an abundant inflow of silver that wages in India can be raised to a degree sufficient to enable the poorest native to hoard some small portion of the tangible metal as realiz-

able money. As the late Professor Francis A. Walker has so eloquently shown in his *Wages Question*, it is the habits and the fashions of the community to which he belongs which make for the progress or degradation of the individual labourer. "Tastes, when once inspired," says Walker, "are not only more costly than appetites, but far stronger," and in the hereditary and social desire of the poor native of India to adorn his wife's person with silver ornaments I recognize as divinely beneficent an instinct as any that tends to the preservation of a species or the progress of a race. Yet all the utility of this instinct has been destroyed by the insane legislative boycotting of silver. In the day of scarcity the savings of the Indian people have been practically destroyed by demonetization. I wish to write in moderate terms; but when I consider how the Herschell Currency Committee in the attempt to force a *fiat* currency on the people of India has deliberately written off all the teachings of economists, from Locke downwards, as null and void, and has actually denounced as an evil that flow of silver into India which the rich mines of Nevada and Colorado made possible, and which would have been the best provision against famine if the gold theorists would only have refrained from "tampering with the currency," the ignorance of that Committee, in combination with the dignity and influence of its members, seems to me to be nothing less than appalling.

Now this blunder in regard to India has been the consequence of an attempt to save that Dependency from a huge drain of its produced wealth merely to meet the constant increase in the burden of gold liabilities, resulting from the divergence in the relative values of India's silver money and the gold money of the Mother Country, for which India receives absolutely no compensation. One of the effects of that drain has been a powerful influence in lowering prices elsewhere. It may be said that this influence has only been conspicuous in the case of wheat. But the practical lowering of the gold prices of Indian exports has made necessary an equivalent lowering of the prices of imports into India, otherwise the corresponding volume of imports could manifestly not have been maintained; and any contraction in the proportionate off-take of imported merchandise would, in itself, through the mutual competition of the producers for the diminished trade, eventually have forced down prices or caused a contraction of industry. This is one of the ways in which a fall in the prices of any great group of commodities tends to spread over all commodities, a tendency which is not generally recognized. There is, of course, a way in which a fall in the price of one commodity may raise the prices of others. If, say, the labourer's expenditure on bread is reduced, he may have a larger margin for expenditure on other commodities or services, and the

increased demand for those commodities or services may raise their prices. But this result only follows, broadly speaking, when there is a real reduction in the cost of production of the cheapened article, so that the cheapening does not impoverish its producer; if, on the contrary, a fall of price means a diminished return to the producer, his own expenditure on other things must be diminished unless their prices are also lowered. Thus a severe fall in the prices of grain, if it impoverishes the farmers, not merely of the United Kingdom but of the Colonies and of other countries, including the United States, may in itself be a quite sufficient cause of a fall spreading over the whole range of commodities; and we have already seen that a fall in gold prices, unaccompanied by any fall in the burden of gold debts, must necessarily impoverish the producers of the Colonies, or deprive them of the reward of increased efficiency and of the accumulation which should enable them to redeem their debts, be the stimulus to thrift and industry, and afford the basis of a higher culture and more enjoyable social conditions. Have any of the Colonies during recent years presented pictures of such progressive evolution? I remember hearing, when a boy, Henry Russell sing the praises of emigration to lands

> "Where a man is a man if he's willing to toil,
> And the humblest may gather the fruits of the soil."

But is that true of the Western or the Austral regions to-day? In the former days affluence, at a comparatively early age, was regarded as the certain reward of voluntary expatriation to the Colonies; "colonial" was regarded as synonymous with "wealthy." And surely, under natural economic conditions, the transference of energy and enterprise, muscle and brain, to virgin lands, and to new communities still in the early stages of development, ought to be productive of abundant well-being. But has anybody in recent years recommended the peasant or the artisan who has saved a little money to abandon employment in the old country for the prospect of making his fortune by independent industry in the Colonies. On all sides we are told that great capital is necessary if production is to be carried on remuneratively there; of immigrants "swelling the ranks of the unemployed"; of strikes for a "living wage," and of the necessity of State help for the small settler. Yet it is still asserted that the Gold Standard and declining prices are vadantageous to labour. It is explained that the competition of beet-root sugar is the cause of the serious depression in the West Indies. But the beet sugar industries of the Continent and the bounties by which they are fed are alike the result of the agricultural distress in Germany and France caused by the fall of prices which followed the German demonetization of silver; and it is well known that the

difficulties of the West Indies are a consequence of the increase in the burden of gold debts due to the fall in the prices of the planters' produce. And in this case it must be remembered that gold prices are depressed not merely by the "bounty-fed" beet sugar of Europe, but by sugar grown in the East on a silver basis. In Canada one striking feature of the day is the pressing demand by the agricultural classes for Government action in forcing down railway rates, and for the construction of competing lines from Manitoba to the American frontier, on the ground that the rates hitherto charged are oppressive in consequence of the low prices of the farmers' produce. We have seen the consequences of such reductions in the wholesale bankruptcy of American railways. Yet the Canadian papers say that, with the ruling prices for produce, railway charges have become for the Western farmers "a matter of life and death." The movement for the construction of the line from Winnipeg to Duluth has caused serious alarm in the eastern provinces of the Dominion, as being not unlikely to cut off the trade of the western from the eastern provinces. Another feature of the position in Canada is the oppressively high rate for loanable money, 6 to 7 per cent. being the discount for even the best commercial paper. Manifestly this is—in Canada as in India—a consequence, not of a demand for capital for reproductive investment, but of the precarious currency conditions. The Canadian currency system has been avowedly the type and the suggestion of the Herschell Currency Committee's Indian experiment—"a Gold Standard with or without a gold currency" according to the late Mr. Bertram Currie's exposition of gold monometallic theory—and it is a system which is manifestly wanting in every condition of true economic elasticity. It is a monetary system based, to quote the late Professor Francis A. Walker's pithy description of all such systems, on "the doctrine of chances," and tied down by the necessity of maintaining a ridiculously slender gold reserve. Indeed, as a matter of fact, no one who enquires into the working of the Canadian exchanges can fail to see that the Canadian monetary system is really dependent on the gold reserve of the United States Treasury, and that any rupture of the American parity, or a balance of trade or financial indebtedness seriously adverse to Canada, would reduce it to a system of inconvertible and depreciated paper. Yet this is the system which the lawyers and permanent officials of the Herschell Currency Committee held up as a scientific example to serious producers, merchants, and economists, and which a grandson of Sir Robert Peel has been commissioned to endeavour to defend and spread!

Turning to Australasia, what is the position there? I am content to take the description given in the leading paper of the colony—

New South Wales—which is relatively the most prosperous, because it has been wise enough to realize the competitive advantage which free trade gives to the producer. *The Sydney Morning Herald* remarked as follows in February of this year :—

"Fortunately the interest on the money employed by Australian squatters and farmers has been reduced; and those of our producers who depend on it will so far be in easier circumstances. But with the possibility, if not probability, of still falling prices, the amount of the principal borrowed in relation to the security is a question that has to be borne in mind quite as much as the rate of interest. The aim should be to lessen the sum of the mortgage, or it may be that at some future time further reductions in value, almost necessarily attendant on the fall in prices of commodities, may lead to a fresh batch of foreclosures such as have recently been so common. The value of our lands is obviously based on their reproductive capacity, and if the ordinary clip or crop, by reason of a fall in prices, shrinks from £1,000 to £500 it almost goes without saying that the capital value of the station or farm producing it must be depreciated, and the mortgagee with 50 per cent. margin will step in and take the whole. Thousands of illustrations of this experience have been furnished in Australia as well as in England during the past decade. With borrowing prevalent a fall in prices almost inevitably brings serious trouble. A veteran Australian financier and squatter of more than half a century of experience some time back remarked that in the business of money-lending the borrower almost invariably got the worst of the transaction. He did not then go on to say that the cause of this was that the downward trend in prices depreciated the value of land, and the mortgagee of £500 took property that had been worth twice as much. Yet that is the explanation of what undoubtedly is a fact. There will, however, always be borrowing and lending, and, unless more attention is given by the producer who depends on borrowed money to the questions affecting values, we may expect to see the experience of the financier mentioned repeated at some future time."

Moreover, in the case of Australasia the influence of declining exchange elsewhere in depressing prices is not denied. Every rise in the gold premium in Argentina has developed increasingly formidable competition with the wheat, wool, and frozen meat export trades of Australasia, and large numbers of Australians have abandoned their farms in the colony of Victoria in order to take up land on the River Plate. The influence of the rise or fall of the gold premium in promoting or checking Argentine competition in the wheat trade was described as follows in a letter from Buenos Ayres to an Australian farming paper last year, during the growing season on the River Plate as well as in Australasia :—

"Wheat last year (1895) was sold when the premium was 230 per cent. ; this year (1896) the premium will probably be 100 points lower. The value in gold may remain the same, but the paper dollar is worth so much more. The peons who were employed for harvesting were paid last year three and four dollars per day ; this year they will also have to be paid the same number of dollars. You cannot make them understand that three dollars this year are worth as much as four were last ; indeed, to the peon they are not, for the prices of the necessaries of life still remain the same. Only the paper dollar fluctuates. The uneducated native cannot be made to understand the rise and fall in gold, more especially as the camp stores do not lower their prices in proportion as the dollar rises in value in the towns. Should the dollars ever get to par, wheat-growing would

become an impossibility, and the Italian immigration to the country would cease. As it is, the Italian, who works with his wife, sons, and daughters, and lives on starvation rations all the year round, is the only man who can grow wheat, but even he, should gold continue to fall in value, will have to give it up. It is highly improbable, however, that gold will fall to such an extent."

For some time past the noticeable fact which is causing some alarm in the Australasian colonies is a continued drain of gold much in excess of the new production and in spite of a partial resumption of borrowing in London and huge investments of British capital in the mining properties of Western Australia and New Zealand. This is a clear indication that Australasia is failing to meet her current liabilities by means of her produce, even including the new gold produced. But other and not less significant explanations are offered in Melbourne; not only is it asserted that London and European capital is being steadily withdrawn from Australasia as opportunity offers, but that Australasian capital is being sent to London for investment in British gilt-edged securities. Such movements can scarcely be considered to be indications of a progressive Australasia.

I do not overlook the fact that an appearance of reviving prosperity has been produced in South Africa, Western Australia, and British Columbia by the new gold-mining enterprises. But the expectations based on the yield of these mines seem to me, from both the economic and the financial point of view, to be wildly exaggerated. As regards any effect which such increased yields of gold can have on general prices, it must be remembered that, when previous increases of gold production occurred, the gold was allied with the vast existing stock of silver and the annual production of that metal, as full-powered money; whereas now, with the spread of Gold Standard legislation in India, Japan, Peru, and the United States, the new gold must replace existing silver and paper money and be the only provision for constantly expanding demand with increasing population and increasing consumption in the arts. For all this the new supplies are hopelessly inadequate. If gold-mining in British Columbia is successful it seems more probable that the product will be drained away across the Pacific to supply the new demand for Asia, rather than that it will fertilize the eastern provinces of Canada. Not only in South Africa, but in Australasia, the future production depends on the doubtful problem of deep-level mining, and in any case that implies increasing cost of production, if not diminishing yield. It is significant that, even now, reductions of miners' wages are being demanded in South Africa as essential to the life of the industry. Then, again, mining seems only possible by means of companies employing vast amounts of European capital, and the

product will be drained away as dividends on what are practically new loans to the Colonies, rather than go to increase the resources of the Colonies for the service of the old debts. In all these respects the new gold discoveries differ from the "placer" discoveries in the 'fifties. Senator John P. Jones described to me in Brussels his experiences as a digger in the old Californian fields; how individual diggers "panned out" until, with their small accumulations, they were able to go back to the land and civilization; and how, in this way, to quote the Senator's graphic phrase, "this widely diffused golden shower made the western wilderness blossom as the rose." In the gold-mining enterprises of to-day the miners will continue to be, in the main, mere wage-earners in the employment of European companies. I do not say that such industry will not stimulate other industries and the production of other wealth in the Colonies; I merely wish to point out that the conditions are very unlike what they were in the 'fifties, in order to discourage exaggerated expectations and false reasoning.

In this article I have carefully avoided going too deeply into the quantitative theory of prices. I cannot imagine any thinking man who has ever had less money in his pocket than he wished to have denying that theory. I have endeavoured to present practical illustrations of the evil effects of dislocated exchanges and contracted currencies on prices, and, consequently, on the prosperity of indebted Colonies and Dependencies, and on the advancement of labour, rather than theory. The mere statement of the facts seems to me to demonstrate the wisdom of the historic bimetallic monetary system so rashly destroyed in 1873. The late Mr. John A. Beith, too soon lost to every good movement in Manchester, declared, on the occasion of Mr. A. J. Balfour's profession of bimetallic faith in the Manchester Town Hall some years ago, that he looked forward to the time when the Queen's rupee, as well as the Queen's shilling and the Queen's sovereign, would circulate throughout the length and breadth of the Queen's dominions. In such a "sound money" system, neither the British, nor the Canadian, nor the American dollar would be out of place. The Colonial Premiers are credited with a desire to utilize their visit to England not merely to promote Imperial Federation, but to arrange for the raising of new loans. They may well consider the necessity for the re-establishment of the dual monetary standard, as the basis of equitable, and, therefore, safe financial relations between the many members of our world-wide Empire, a consummation which would be the crowning glory of Her Majesty's beneficent reign.

F. J. Faraday.

THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH.

THE Bishops, assembled in England from every quarter of the world, are about to celebrate the thirteen hundredth anniversary of the landing of Augustine's Mission on the shore of Kent. England, illuminated by this inroad of Mediterranean civilization, gradually became a province of the great Church of the West centred at Rome. Nearly a thousand years later England, under the masterful guidance of the Tudors, supported by the strongest, most enterprising, best educated, and richest part of the nation, broke away from that unity. At the same time the doctrines and worship of our Church were re-modelled with the assistance of learned divines, who had, on the whole, though with English caution, embraced the views of the Continental Reformers. But the ecclesiastical organization—and this has made an immense difference—was continued and preserved. The English Reformation was, to speak widely, an attempt to combine two things by nature opposed—a Catholic hierarchy and a Protestant system of doctrine. The result of the attempt is still doubtful.

The fortunes of the Church of England have been parallel with those of the Crown. Throne and Hierarchy were, in the seventeenth century, overthrown and restored together. After the Whig revolution of 1688 the glory of divine right departed almost altogether from each of them. Church and Monarchy were dimly seen through a dull, rational atmosphere. Both have become magnified with the wonderful expansion of the British race and empire. The Crown has become the symbol and uniting bond of a vast Imperial dominion, including many countries and races. The Anglican Church aspires to be, not merely a national establishment, but a cosmopolitan ecclesiastical federation, centred in the renowned and ancient See of Canterbury.

In numerical strength the Anglican Communion is but small compared with the Church of Rome, and that of Russia. A large majority of those who dwell between Berwick-on-Tweed and the English Channel adhere to it, and, perhaps, some five millions of people outside that area, excluding African converts. In learning,

G.W.R. MECHANICS' INSTITUTION, NEW SWINDON

intelligence, piety, preaching-power, good works, educational and missionary zeal, the Anglicans hold a place in Christendom very high in proportion to their numbers. Within the wide limits of Anglo-Saxondom the future of this Church may be a great one. It is very remarkable how in England the Church, now on excellent terms with the nation, has in recent times regained ground which it had lost to outside Protestantism. In the United States the Church in communion with Canterbury made a late start and a bad one. The Republic owed most of its original population to Puritan refugees. The chief subsequent reinforcements have been by Presbyterians from Ulster and Scotland, Lutherans from Germany and Scandinavia, and Roman Catholics from Ireland and Germany. According to the census of 1890 the "*membership*" of Roman Catholics in the United States was about 6,258,000; that of Methodists, 4,589,000; that of Baptists, 3,712,000; Presbyterians, 1,278,000; Lutherans, 1,231,000; Episcopal (Anglican), 540,000; Congregational, 513,000; Reformed Church, 309,000; Friends, 107,000; all others, 1,777,000. Thus there is in the United States a wide field for expansion open to the Protestant Episcopal Church deriving its orders from the old English stem. In Canada the Roman Catholics, at the last census, numbered about 1,992,000; the Methodists, 848,000; the Presbyterians, 755,000; the Anglicans, 646,000; all others about 500,000. In the Australasian colonies, the Anglicans seem to be in the majority.*

The chief subjects which the Bishops are to discuss at their present meeting are (1) the better internal organization of the Anglican Communion, and (2) the relations of that Communion to the Greek, Latin, and other Churches. The wording of the programme of the Conference with regard to the first of these matters suggests that there is in contemplation a declaration of the patriarchal primacy of the Occupant of the See of Canterbury, and the formation round him of a permanent Consultative Council, and a Judicial Court, to which questions of doctrine and ritual may be referred from all Anglican Churches. If these proposals are carried through, there can be no doubt that in time the dignity and real power of the Archbishops of Canterbury will be very greatly exalted. Hitherto, the somewhat dubious position of these Archbishops, and the fact that their decisions were individual decisions only, have diminished the weight of their pronouncements. But a Council gives an assurance of a continuous and collective policy. Even to Protestants, who accept not the tenet of divine inspiration, there is something impressive in

* See *Statesman's Year Book*. These numbers must be taken for what they are worth, as giving a very rough idea. The word "membership" seems to have differing meanings in some of the Churches of America.

the Voice of the Vatican. It is at least the Office in all the world that resumes the largest experience, and is fed by the most widespread present sources of information. The voice of the Archbishop in Council will be far more potent than the voice of an individual Tait, Benson, or Temple. Nor will the Court of Reference be less important. The Colonial Churches are, unlike that of England, associations founded upon contract. A clergyman who accepts one of their benefices enters into an implied contract that he will preach Anglican doctrine, and use Anglican practice. Whether he does so or not, it is, if the question arises, for the Courts of the association to decide. The Civil Courts take cognizance of, and will enforce the decisions of the association. If a Colonial Church embodied in its constitution an appeal to the central tribunal at Lambeth, it would make it legally part of its own deciding machinery. In England itself, the Church is not founded upon contract. The Lambeth Court could only exercise moral power, but this would be considerable. If institutions like an Administrative Council and Court of Reference are successful at all, their power is sure to increase with time. If the proposed measures are carried through, the Anglican Communion will have a true Patriarch ("*Papa alterius mundi*"), a Council to assist him, a Tribunal to decide questions and develop the case-law of the Church, and a decennial meeting of the Anglican Bishops to discuss wider questions. One more thing remains to be said on this part of the subject. Continual and *unerring* guidance by the Divine Wisdom, which Anglicans have ever denied to the assembled Episcopate of Rome as well as to the Popes, they will not, of course, claim for the Lambeth Conference, or the Archbishops of Canterbury. We must admit that we may err, and may have erred, even as the Churches of Jerusalem, Alexandria, Antioch, and Rome have erred.*

Recent events have aroused great interest in the other question before the Lambeth Conference, that of the relation of the Anglican Communion to other Churches. There is the Roman Church to consider, and the various Eastern Churches, of which the National Church of Russia is infinitely the most important; there are the Lutheran and the Presbyterian Churches, and, in the English-speaking world, the great Protestant bodies broken off from the Church of England.

Canon Mason, a Professor of Divinity at Cambridge and an able leader in what might be called the Benson School of Anglicanism, published last year a book called *The Principles of Ecclesiastical Unity*. In it he says:—

* So we allege in Article XIX., but perhaps the Article errs.

"At present the terms of Communion imposed by Rome are, in our belief, uncatholic and wicked; but we give the men who impose them credit for believing them fully justified by Catholic principles. . . . Either Rome is, to speak frankly, an irrecoverably heretical Church, or she is not. The rest of Christendom has no right to say that she is until other means have been tried for her recovery than any which have been tried during the last three hundred years or more. When the methods of sorrowing love and of spiritual candour have been patiently used, we, or our descendants, shall be in a better position to judge. . . . He who promised that the mountain should remove at the command of faith can bring even Rome back to the primitive belief."

Canon Mason thus contrasts the "heretical" Church of Rome with the orthodox "rest of Christendom," composed of Russians, Anglicans, Lutherans, Calvinists, Presbyterians, Wesleyans, Baptists, &c. But is there anything in common between these sections of Christendom *except* resistance to the claims of Rome? Would they agree in any way as to the nature of that "primitive belief" to which by "methods of sorrowing love and of spiritual candour" they are to bring back the "heretical" Church of Rome?* Of the differences between Dutch Calvinists or Scotch Presbyterians and the Eastern Churches it is unnecessary to speak. The Anglican Churches resemble those of the East in external organization: the marriage of the parochial clergy, and other matters of some importance. The Eastern and Anglican are equally Churches with a historic, continuous Episcopate. They are equally national or racial Churches, not seeking to extend their communion to Christians of other races and languages. Thus they are equally opposed to the Church of Rome, which claims for its heritage all the children of men, and acts on its belief by invading every country in the world. This common principle and antagonism does indeed form a bond of sympathy between the Anglican Churches and those of the East. Our relation to the Russian Church is one of natural peace and alliance: no conflicting desires, and a common danger. Mr. Palmer, when he made his attempts to be admitted to the Orthodox Communion, found the general Russian feeling to be that Anglicans, like Lutherans, were a species of heretical dissenters from the schismatic but yet mainly orthodox Patriarchate of Rome. But now an Archbishop of York is most kindly received at Petersburg and Moscow with the honours due to a high orthodox prelate.

Of all Christian lands, Russia is that which now presents the most living image of that mediæval religion with which England and other countries of Northern Europe broke so decisively at the Reformation. In no country does the adoration of images and relics, and invocation of saints, form so large a part of practical religion. In no country do symbolical acts of worship play so

* I am not sure that I quite understand the precise meaning attached by Canon Mason to the word "heretical."

large, preaching so small a part. It is, *par excellence*, the land of saint-worship, pilgrimages, shrines, festivals, miracles, ceremonies. To our ardent and sincere reformers of the sixteenth century, to Ridley or to Latimer, modern Russia would have seemed, as it did to a recent English traveller, to be a land given over to idolatry.* Is it due to the decay of the Protestant faith, or to the influence of Hegelian and evolutionary philosophy that we no longer hold in these matters absolute standards of right and wrong, truth and falsehood? We look with tolerance upon the Russian form of religion as one well-suited to a naïve and simple-minded people. We admire the devotion of a great population to a form of religion which was that of our fathers in centuries now so distant; we see it with the half-envious feeling with which grown-up people regard happier children.

The Lambeth Conference, after the tour of the Archbishop of York, may well exchange further courtesies with the Russian Synod. But with these Churches of the East we in England have little serious to do. Everyone knows that the really important matter is our relation to the Church of Rome. Its adherents are closely interspersed with the rest of the population in every part of the Empire. In Canada and in the United States the Roman Catholics far outnumber the Anglicans. In the United Kingdom itself there are to-day quite five millions of Roman Catholics—every eighth person. When the Queen came to the Throne, she had probably almost as many Roman Catholic as Anglican subjects in the United Kingdom; and, if the proportion is different now, it is chiefly because the population of England has doubled while that of Ireland has been halved. England and the whole Empire is covered by a Roman hierarchy; a Roman church is in every town of any importance; prayer for the re-conversion of England goes up from a thousand altars. Rome, in her proudly calm and patiently-convinced utterances, strong with the gathered force of so many centuries, seems to say, like Apollo's Oracle to the home-seeking Trojans:†—

> "Dardanidæ duri! quæ vos a stirpe parentum
> Prima tulit tellus, *eadem* vos ubere læto
> Accipiet reduces; antiquam exquirite matrem!
> Hic domus Æneæ cunctis dominabitur oris,
> Et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis."

The late effort of an Anglican party towards reunion with Rome, followed by the letter of the Pope on Anglican Orders, and the reply of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, has brought out vividly the questions at issue between the Churches. So strangely made is the world that to a very large part of it these questions

* See Mr. Durban's article in the May number of *The Contemporary Review.*

† 3rd Æneid.

seem the most shadowy of dreams, while to another part they are of an importance as much transcending that of the passing shows of political and social events as eternity transcends time. It is, of course, given to none to *know* the truth—the sphere of belief is not that of knowledge—but it is always useful to attempt, without any advocacy, to define and distinguish conflicting views. Half the bitterness on earth, or all of it, comes from misunderstanding.

The question before the Pope was whether, *according to the principles of his Church,* Anglican Orders are valid. On this depends the practical question whether a priest of the Church of England who passes to Rome must be reordained. After consideration of the question Leo XIII. declared that Anglican Orders were not valid. It is, in his view (the truth of which Anglicans are not bound to admit), necessary to the validity of Orders that there should be, on the part of a Church, an unquestionable, unbroken, explicit, and general intention to transmit and convey to its priesthood certain definite sacerdotal powers. Regard being had to the history of the English Reformation and to the present Anglican forms, the Pope held that there was no evidence that the English Church intended, and had always intended, to convey these powers to her clergy.

What is this sacerdotal doctrine? "The Church," says a learned and moderate-minded German Catholic, "is the living figure of Christ manifesting himself and working through all ages, whose atoning and redeeming acts, it, in consequence, eternally repeats and uninterruptedly continues. The Redeemer not merely lived eighteen hundred years ago so that he has since disappeared and we retain but a historical remembrance of him as of a deceased man; but he is on the contrary eternally living in his Church, and in the Sacrament of the Altar he has manifested this in a sensible manner to creatures endowed with sense. He is in the announcement of his word the abiding teacher; in baptism he perpetually receives the children of men into his communion; in the tribunal of penance he pardons the contrite sinner; strengthens rising youth with the power of his spirit in confirmation; breathes into the bridegroom and the bride a higher conception of nuptial relations; unites himself most intimately under the form of bread and wine with all who sigh for eternal life; consoles the dying in extreme unction; *and in holy orders institutes the organs whereby he works all this with never-tiring activity.*"

This is the full sacramental doctrine, to take or leave, a dream or a tremendous reality. To those who reject it the validity of Orders is a technical quarrel among professional men; to those who receive it the question is one of vital importance. It can hardly be doubted that the Reformation movement, as a whole,

was a revolt against this conception of the necessary, mediatorial office of the Priesthood, and that the reformation of the English Church was to a great extent affected by this revolt. At that time other forces combined to destroy the substantial power of the priesthood, while (in the usual English way) retaining the outward form. But the real power of the Hierarchy was connected, like a stream with its source, with the belief in the active miraculous life of the whole Church. In no way was this power more impressively exercised than in the daily recurring miracle of transubstantiation. Luther said: "The Mass is the rock on which the Popedom is built." He meant that the Popedom was built on the priesthood, and the priesthood on the Mass. Hence, in order to destroy the sacerdotal power centralized at Rome, the Reformers instinctively knew that they must destroy the belief in the miracle of the Mass. At bottom, the question always is the same. Is the Church a miraculous, divinely-inspired, visible Body and invisible Soul conveying living powers to its ministers? Or does no such Being exist, but merely a number of associations charged with the maintenance of public worship, moral teaching, and philanthropic functions? Between these opposite and irreconcilable conceptions passes the true frontier line which divides Catholic from Protestant, and it cuts the Anglican Communion in two.

Although the question extends to the whole office of a priest the controversy has on the present occasion, as always, centred on the view taken as to the great Sacrament of the Altar; the effect of the act of consecration; the sacrificial power.* The Council of Trent declares, "Sacrificium et sacerdotium ita Dei ordinatione conjuncta sunt, ut utrumque in omni lege extiterit." The doctrine of the Church of Rome is, in the words of that Council, thus formally stated:

"Quoniam autem Christus, Redemptor noster, corpus suum id, quod sub specie panis offerebet vere esse dixit; ideo persuasum semper in Ecclesiâ Dei fuit, idque nunc denuo sancta hæc Synodus declarat, *per consecrationem panis et vini, conversionem fieri totius substantiæ panis in substantiam corporis Christi Domini*

* "All the other distinctive doctrines," says the writer from whom I have already quoted, "are here combined, though in a more eminent degree. . . . On the view which we take of this subject depends the fact whether the Church be destined to possess a true and vital worship or to be devoid of one. According to the clear declarations of Christ and his Apostles, and the unanimous teaching of the Church attested by the immediate followers of our Lord's disciples, Catholics firmly hold that in the sacrament of the altar Christ is truly present and, indeed, in such a way that Almighty God, who was pleased at Cana in Galilee, to convert water into wine, changes the inward substance of the consecrated bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. We therefore adore the Saviour mysteriously present in the Sacrament." "In the doctrine of transubstantiation" (he adds elsewhere) "Christianity, with its entire essence exhibits itself as an external, immediate, divine revelation."

nostri et totius substantiæ vini in substantiam sanguinis ejus. Quæ conversio convenienter et proprie â sanctâ Catholicâ Ecclesiâ transubstantiatio est appellata."

G.W.R. MECHANICS' INSTITUTION

This great doctrine is certainly visible in the writings of the earliest Christian writers.* It made its way as the Central Church fortified its positions against the opinions which threatened to dissolve the real religion into theosophic mists; it was defined by the Lateran Council in the thirteenth century, received by the whole Church of the West, and confirmed by the Council of Trent. It seems also to have been held from the beginning by the Eastern Churches; it was defined by the Council of Jerusalem, and, in this century, virtually in the same way by the Russian Synod.

Although this belief prevailed, its adversaries were able to rely upon language used by some of the greatest of the early Christian authorities in support of the argument that the outward sacrament was but a type or symbol of a purely spiritual process, and that to maintain the doctrine in question is to confuse a sign with the thing signified.† The English Reformers claimed the right, in this and all other questions, not to be bound by the accepted tradition of the Church, but to reason on the words of Scripture and to weigh the opinions of the Fathers. The conviction of the Protestant party is admirably expressed in a well-known passage from Archbishop Cranmer's lucid and consistent argument against Bishop Gardiner in 1551:—

"The first Catholic Christian Faith is most plain, clear, and comfortable, without any difficulty, scruple, or doubt. That is to say, that our Saviour Christ, although He be sitting in Heaven, in equality with His Father, is our Life, Strength, Food, and Sustenance; who by His death delivered us from Death and *daily* nourishes and increases us to eternal Life. And in *token* hereof, He hath prepared bread to be eaten and wine to be drunk of as in His Holy Supper, *to put us in remembrance* of His said death and of the celestial feeding, nourishing, and increasing, and of all the benefits which we have thereby; *which benefits through faith* and the Holy Ghost are *exhibited and given* unto all that *worthily* receive the said Holy Supper. This the husbandman at his plough, the weaver at his loom, and the wife at her rock can remember, and give thanks unto God for the same. This is the very doctrine of the Gospel, with the consent wholly of all the old Ecclesiastical Doctors."‡

If the Book of Common Prayer is read as a whole it seems quite clear that this was the doctrine incorporated in it. The doctrine of transubstantiation, namely, that, by the act of consecration, the

* It is, I know, contested, but it seems to me to be difficult to doubt, that Justin and Irenæus in the second century held virtually the same doctrine—that of an actual change in the nature of the bread and wine—affirmed by the Council of Trent in the sixteenth.

† Cyprian, Cyril, Athanasius, and Augustine, *e.g.*, might be cited as witnesses in support of the symbolic view.

‡ In another passage Cranmer says: "Nor no more truly is He corporally or really present in the due ministration of the Lord's Supper than He is in the ministration of baptism."—Answer to Gardiner, Edit. 1551.

bread and wine undergo a real though invisible change, is in Article XXVIII. said to be "repugnant to the plain words of Scripture" and to "overthrow the nature of a Sacrament." The central doctrine of the Church of England since the Reformation has been that the outward feeding on the bread and wine is a process concurrent with or parallel to the spiritual feeding on the spiritual life by means of faith. Neither Anglicans nor Lutherans deny the mysterious "real presence" in some sense at the celebration of the Sacrament. In some degree this belief is shared by most Christians. At a meeting last May of the Congregational Union, the chairman, Dr. Berry, after describing the Congregationalists as a branch of the Catholic Church, and rejecting what he termed, rather strangely, "the one fold heresy," said that Congregational Churches did "believe in the Eucharist and the Real Presence, while repudiating the doctrine of carnalized Elements, fulfilling this sacred service, not merely as a commemorative rite, but as a communicative channel." If this be so, the Congregationalists hold a belief as full as that *expressly authorized* by the Church of England, a fact that promises well for the re-union of English Protestants.

Dr. Berry thinks, I suppose, that just as the earlier Church materialized the Sacramental idea, so also it materialized the idea of Christian unity. Thus his objection to the Roman Catholic belief as to the Sacrament rests on the same foundation as his objection to their belief as to the Church. It is an objection extending to every part of the controversy, and reaches deep and wide, deeper and wider, perhaps, than Dr. Berry imagines, even to the very *doctrine* of the Incarnation.

Beyond this affirmation of some kind of Presence, how far does the collective Anglican doctrine go? Perhaps the central *belief* of the Church of England at the present day is best expressed by the old lines:—

> "Christ was the Word and spake it;
> He took the bread and brake it;
> And what that Word doth make it,
> That I believe and take it."

Compare these fine lines with the words of the ancient Latin hymn:—

> "Dogma datur Christianis
> Quod in carnem transit panis,
> Et vinum in sanguinem."

It is the difference between the indefinite and the definite, the open and the closed. But there is no doubt that the positive doctrine of the Latin hymn never wholly disappeared from among the English clergy. It smouldered on even under the grey ashes of the Georgian period, was kindled into flame by the wind of anti-Christian revolution which swept Europe, and blazed

up in the Oxford Movement. At last the question came to an issue. In 1854 the Archbishop of Canterbury, in ecclesiastical court, solemnly condemned Archdeacon Denison for teaching the same doctrine by which, some years later, Mr. Bennett, of Frome, made his name famous in Anglican history. The case of Mr. Bennett came before the Privy Council in 1870. They had to decide whether the following language of the defendant was in accordance with the governing documents of the Church :—

"Who myself adore and teach the people to adore Christ present in the Sacrament under the form of Bread and Wine, believing that under their veil is the Sacred Body and Blood of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."

The Privy Council held :—

"That the Church of England in her Articles and Formularies and Catechism holds and teaches affirmatively that in the Lord's Supper the Body and Blood of Christ are given to, and received by, the faithful Communicant. She implies, therefore, to that extent, the Presence of Christ in the ordinance to the soul of the worthy recipient. As to the mode of the Presence she affirms nothing, except that the Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after a heavenly and spiritual manner, and that the mean whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is faith. Any other Presence than this—any Presence which is not a Presence to the soul of the faithful receiver—*the Church does not by her Articles or Formularies affirm or require her ministers to accept*, and consequently the maintaining by a clergyman of a 'real, actual and objective Presence of our Lord' in the Sacrament of the Holy Communion 'upon the altar under the form of Bread and Wine' *was not, in the affirmance so contradictory or repugnant to the Articles and Formularies of the Church as to be properly made the ground of a criminal charge against him*, and a clergyman cannot be *condemned* for maintaining that the change in 1662 'corporal' for the words 'real and essential,' in the declaration of kneeling appended to the service of the Holy Communion, was an intentional substitution, implying that there *may be* a real or essential presence in contradistinction to a corporal Presence, if he does not in terms allege a corporal Presence of the natural Body of Christ in the Elements, or that the Body of Christ is present in a natural or corporal manner."

The Privy Council also held that it was not lawful for an English clergyman to teach the sacrificial doctrine of the Eucharist in the Roman sense, and that adoration of the Elements on the part of the congregation is contrary to law, although acts of adoration on the part of the officiating minister at or after the moment of consecration are not illegal. How strangely does this hesitating permission contrast with the firm language of the Roman canon :—

"Nullus itaque dubitandi locus relinquitur quin omnes Christi fideles pro more in Catholicâ Ecclesiâ semper recepto latriæ cultum qui vero Deo debetur huic sanctissimo sacramento in veneratione exhibeant. . . . Nam illum eundem Deum præsentem in eo adesse credimus quem Pater æternus introducens in orbem terrarum dicit 'et adorent eum omnes Angeli Dei.'"

Nothing would be more contrary to the law of the Church of England than the service of the Benediction of the Sacrament, an act of pure adoration of the Host, daily recurring in Roman churches.

The matter seems then to stand thus—that whereas the Latin and Greek Churches do affirm and command their priests to hold and teach the mysterious but actual transmutation of the substance of bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ by virtue of the act of consecration—a priest of the Church of England cannot be made the subject of a criminal prosecution for affirming a real, actual, and objective Presence upon the altar under the form of bread and wine. So far, however, is the English Church as a whole from affirming this doctrine that an Archbishop of Canterbury solemnly condemned it in 1854.

The Bennett case practically made it lawful for clergy to teach what doctrine they like by word and practice. The greatest diversity of rite and doctrine now prevails. In the great cities which absorb so large a proportion of the Anglo-Saxon race, parochial life has given way to congregational, and one congregation does not interfere with another. On the whole, under this free *régime*, the doctrine for which Mr. Bennett was impeached has increased mightily. Other cases, especially that of the Bishop of Lincoln, ended in the permissive sanctioning of rites which have no meaning apart from the doctrine of the real objective presence. In many parishes the clergy have moulded their practice as closely as possible upon that prescribed by the Church of Rome. To that Church, indeed, our High Church clergy owe, from one point of view, the deepest possible debt of gratitude. Roman Catholicism alone, in civilized Europe, kept alive the ancient doctrine, rite and sentiment, while all our fathers worshipped Common Sense. On account of their adhesion to this doctrine, English and Irish Catholics suffered much. They may be forgiven a passing irritation when they are assured by some modern writers that the whole thing has been a mistake, since there never was any real difference between the Mass and the Communion Service. Anglicans are at liberty to desire to restore the doctrine of transubstantiation and the worship connected therewith. They have no right to pervert history by alleging that this doctrine and worship, known collectively as the "Mass," was not intended to be abolished by the Elizabethan Church Reform.

The reply of the Archbishops to the Pope, though it is not much approved by the more Protestant side of the English Church, seems to be quite consistent with the Privy Council interpretation of our ruling documents. It does not bridge over the gulf that lies between the doctrine of the Church of Rome and the doctrine of the Church of England. By one party in the Anglican Church the letter of the Pope was received with sincere satisfaction. In it they found a forcible statement of their own view, till recent years the usual view, that the Church of England has had

no continuous and general intention to ordain a sacrificial priesthood in any sense resembling that of Rome. Another party, strong among the clergy, hold that Leo XIII. is in error as to the intention of the Church of England, and that, whatever may have been the phraseology, or even the views, of the Reformers, our Church has always had the intention to vest in its clergy the fullest possible sacerdotal powers. This view received the sanction of Archbishop Benson, who, in the letter written the day before his sudden death, said that our Orders "*are in* origin, continuity, matter, form, *intention*, and all that belongs to them, *identical*" with "those of the whole Catholic Church," and "accordingly *with those of the Church of Rome.*" The words seem to register a change. There is not, I think, one of Archbishop Benson's predecessors for at least two hundred years who would not have denied (if this was the late Archbishop's true meaning) that the ordination intention of the English Church is the same as that declared by the Roman Church to be its own.

This uncertainty or indefiniteness upon tenets touching the heart of her life and worship, is it a source of strength or weakness to the Anglican Church? It seems unsatisfactory to the more logical and consistent order of minds that the vicar of one parish should, in his teaching and practice, maintain the doctrine of a "real, actual, objective Presence in the Sacrament upon the altar under the form of bread and wine," while the rector of the next should, by teaching and practice, set forth that (in the words of Archbishop Whateley) "the bread and wine at the Eucharist are not only a mere sign, but the sign of a sign." * It is this ever existing uncertainty of doctrine which has driven across the border some lovers of consistency, order, and symmetry. On the other hand, freedom and absence of finality, a door open rather than closed, suits the general English disposition. It renders easy the passage into the Anglican Church from the outside Protestant sects. It enables the Church to keep many adherents whose allegiance is conditional on a certain indecision or vagueness of doctrine. We lose a Newman, a Manning, a Maturin, but are able to retain an Arnold, a Stanley, or a Jowett. The Anglican Church serves, so to speak, as a spiritual bridge, one end resting on the modern Protestant, the other on the Catholic side of the river. In this liberty of opinion, thought is able to evolve itself in an interesting way. Nothing throws more light than the Anglican movement upon the earlier developments in the Christian

* "Christ himself, having explained that 'the flesh profiteth nothing,' and that 'His flesh is (means) His life,' I have been accustomed strongly to set forth that the bread and wine at the Eucharist are not only a mere sign, but a sign of a sign." Archbishop Whateley, Letters, II. 54.

Church. It shows how rapidly an idea can grow.* At present the younger generation is being trained in intellect and sentiment by the teaching and form of worship which was still rare and strange when the present middle generation was being formed, and hardly existed at all when men of the oldest living generation were at school. To children born twenty years hence the new ritual, which so startled our fathers, will appear the most natural and usual thing in the world. It should attract their Conservative instincts. By the mode of worship the fundamental idea is conveyed to the national mind. An idea gives birth to an outward form; a return to the outward form restores the idea. The *lex colendi* and *lex credendi* are, in the end, inseparably connected.

At present the outward surface of the Anglican Church is calm compared with a period thirty years ago, but there is, I think, latent a certain profound disquietude, the kind of disquietude which precedes a final conflict of opposing convictions. The present life of the Reformed Anglican Church is becoming more and more at discord with her history and written Articles of Faith. A still distant Lambeth Conference may have a great part to play; that of sanctioning and giving due form to a victorious movement. The Anglican Episcopate assembled from all the world is a body of very different calibre from the State-tied and impotent Convocations of York and Canterbury. Like the Councils of old, the Lambeth Conference, in some future decennial year, may find itself compelled to decide by a concise and unmistakable definition a question of faith which is distracting the Church. The Anglican Hierarchy Bennett prosecution is to be held the true interpretation of the meaning of the Anglican Communion. The Privy Council made the Reformation their point of departure. They interpreted, no doubt correctly, the intentions of the Reformed Church as set forth in her ruling documents. But the Anglican Retrogressive Reformers of this century, starting from the root doctrine of Apostolic Succession, claimed to go in all matters behind the episode of the sixteenth century Reformation, and to make the Articles of Faith subordinate to Catholic tradition. The formula, of open or ambiguous meaning, *Fiat nobis*, was rejected by Cranmer as dangerous, and

* A speaker at the last meeting of the Church Union said that the daily Eucharist was now celebrated in 500 churches, incense was used in 337, and "proper vestments" in 1,032. He added that the "prejudice against confession was rapidly dying out," and looked forward to the adoption of "extreme unction" and reservation of the consecrated elements. The advance of the sacramental-sacerdotal idea in the reign of Queen Victoria is certainly astonishing. In most of these churches it is not easy to distinguish at sight the Eucharistic practice from that of the Roman Church.

expressly omitted from our existing Liturgy. It has now been accepted by the two Archbishops in their reply to Rome. Will the Anglican Episcopate some day advance to the simple *Fiat*, and thus formally lead, or follow, their army across the Rubicon which separates the objective doctrine of Rome and the East from the subjective doctrine of Protestants? If so there might be a schism, but the battle would be over, and all the minor matters of cult and practice would fall into their right places. This seems to be the natural end of the movement which began at Oxford nearly seventy years ago; the collective and formal restoration, that is, of the central conception and act of worship, as now and always understood in the Roman and Eastern Churches, received in England itself before the Reformation, repudiated at the Reformation, and now in part virtually restored by the irregular action of the clergy.

This is not, indeed, all that the "Anglo-Catholic" leaders hope for—or rather did hope for before the Pope's declaration. It is to Dr. Berry a heresy to say that Christianity remains imperfect unless its adherents are united in one visible organic Church. To many a deep and tender soul in the Anglican Communion this re-union "in one fold" has been the noblest of ideals. To men like Lord Halifax the Catholic Church of the Creeds is an idea non-realized, or, at best, most imperfectly realized. They are not satisfied with a purely nominal Catholic Church any more than with a purely nominal Presence in the Sacrament. Like ardent lovers, they cannot live on spirit without body; they starve on a purely Platonic diet. They accept not the meagre definition supplied by our embarrassed Article XIX., "The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure word of God is preached and the Sacraments be duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same," a definition reducing the Church to a matter of opinion.

From time to time, as lately, a hope of re-union has traversed the world. One might apply Arnold's lovely melancholy lines about the parted islands, moved to a feeling of unity by the sounds and odours of each returning spring:

> "Who ordered that their longing's fire
> Should be, as soon as kindled, cooled?
> Who renders vain their deep desire?
> A God, a God their severance ruled!
> And bade betwixt their shores to be
> The unplumbed, salt, estranging sea."

One discusses, for the sake of clearness of vision, the differences of doctrine between Church and Church. At bottom one feels they are but signs and indications of the great forces

dividing the spiritual world. It is not so much the doctrines that make divisions among men as the natural divisions that make the distinct doctrines. For all we can tell, some mighty invasion of spiritual force may destroy all existing embodiments, and clothe itself in a new and universal form. Meanwhile, so far as one can see—and narrow is the range of sight—the main divisions of Christianity, corresponding to natural divisions of mankind, seem likely to endure. Even if the Anglican Church formally or virtually admits that its reformers, in their excess of zeal against superficial corruptions, fell into opposite errors, and does restore, in effect, the never utterly destroyed doctrine and practice of the Mass, with the consent or acquiescence of the people; even then England would be divided from Rome by sentiment, history, difference of spiritual climate. As for individuals, they will be guided through the labyrinth of thought and action by the balance of forces within them—the will, the intellect, the affections. Those who freely follow the dictates of rational understanding will in the end, after passing possibly through some make-believe imitations of the real religion, find themselves outside the pale of the historic Creed. Those who follow most freely the guidance of the heart—the best guide is it, or the worst?—will it is likely in the end yield to the attracting magnetic power of that Church which is, whatever its faults, the most mighty Lover and Coveter of souls.

> "Amor ch'a null' amato amar perdona,
> Mi prese di costui piacer sì forte,
> Che come vedi, ancor non m' abbandona."

Northern Europe, never quite able to forget the ancient spell of the Roman Catholic Religion, might almost use the haunting words of Francesca. But those, possibly or probably the wisest, who follow freely neither the heart nor the rational faculty, but ride both with the curb, will stay where they are born. So will those—an endless host—who pass through life quite undisturbed by these questionings. If chiefly of Anglo-Saxon descent, they will find their best home in the spiritual climate of the Anglican Communion, sober and temperate as the natural climate of our cloudy island; far from the Arctic desolation; far also from the enchanted regions of the sun.

BERNARD HOLLAND.

THE NEW NELSON.*

What do we mean when we say of Nelson that he was a great man? This is the question which Captain Mahan has taken infinite pains to answer. That he has adopted the right method is beyond doubt; he illuminates the record of Nelson's work by the parallel record of Nelson's thoughts. Nor will any serious fault be found with his conclusion, which is to exhibit the great commander as a compound of determination with intellectual power. Thus he speaks of "that preparedness of mind, as well as of purpose, which at bottom was the greatest of Nelson's claims to credit." The two volumes are an enumeration of the seaman's actions accompanied by a classified catalogue of his ideas. The analysis seems to me accurate throughout. But when Captain Mahan begins a synthesis, when, having taken his hero to pieces, he puts him together again, I cannot feel quite satisfied. The question here is, How do judgment and determination come together in the same man? Captain Mahan finds the cement in the shape of "genius." This is to my mind a synonym for miracle, and amounts to giving up the problem. We apply the word genius to those men who in any department reach the highest level of developed power. This perfection of faculty in exercise is the divinest phenomenon in life, seldom recognized by the public in time to be made the most of for the public good, and, when perceived, regarded as inexplicable and superhuman. It has always seemed to me a bad definition to explain greatness by genius. The better way is perhaps to examine the growth of the man whose powers when mature appear so extraordinary. This method also is followed by Captain Mahan, but in his hands it leads to a result less clear than might be in regard to the genesis of Nelson's power, because the expressions of the later period are always kept before the reader during the consideration of the years of growth. Captain Mahan perpetually recurs to explanations that do not explain, at one time to "genius," at other times to "faith." Perhaps a simpler analysis may be worth attempting.

The Battle of the Nile revealed Nelson as the greatest leader in

* *The Life of Nelson, the Embodiment of the Sea Power of Great Britain.* By Captain A. T. Mahan, D.C.L., LL.D. Sampson Low, Marston, & Co., London. Price 36s. net.

naval war. Until that time he was in no danger of being puffed up by public recognition, though afterwards his sense of his own greatness was naturally somewhat expanded. The first forty years of his life, therefore, the time of his development, are the period when his own idea of himself will be the clearest and most unaffected. The letters of this period are a true record, and they may be interpreted by the light of the autobiographical sketch which he wrote in 1799, when he evidently meant to tell his readers how, according to his own experience, a great man makes himself.

The essence of Nelson, the root and foundation of the whole man, is zeal. His autobiographical sketch is pervaded by this idea. At fourteen "my ambition was to be a seaman"; at fifteen "I begged I might be coxwain"; "I exerted myself to have the command of a cutter"; at nineteen his captain "felt as easy when I was upon deck as any officer in the ship." Even then "a frigate was not sufficiently active for my mind." In this review of his own life his whole impression is of an uninterrupted effort to be the best man at his work, and in particular to command. It winds up with the moral: "Thus may be exemplified by my life, that perseverance in any profession will probably meet its reward . . . and I may say to the reader, 'Go thou and do likewise.'"

We must, however, not take Nelson's career on the mere faith of what he thought of it at forty-one. There is no need to do so, for we can find abundant corroboration in his previous correspondence, which is brimful of evidence of zeal, activity, and ambition. Here are a few typical passages:—

"DECEMBER 13, 1786.—Our country has the first demand for our services, and private convenience, or happiness, must ever give way to public good."

"MAY 6, 1788.—I have invariably laid down, and followed close, a plan of what ought to be uppermost in the breast of an officer; that it is much better to serve an ungrateful country than to give up his own fame. Posterity will do him justice: a uniform conduct of honour and integrity seldom fails of bringing a man to the goal of fame at last."

"MARCH 26, 1794.—I feel for the honour of my country, and had rather be beat than not make the attack. If we do not try we never can be successful. I own I have no fears for the final issue; it will be conquest, certain we will deserve it."

"APRIL 1, 1795.—In short, I wish to be an admiral, and in the command of the English fleet; I should very soon either do much, or be ruined. My disposition cannot bear tame and slow measures. Sure I am, had I commanded our fleet on the 14th, that either the whole French fleet would have graced my triumph, or I should have been in a confounded scrape. I went on board Admiral Hotham as soon as our firing grew slack in the van, and the *Ca Ira* and *Censeur* had struck, to propose to him leaving our two crippled ships, the two prizes and four frigates, to themselves, and to pursue the enemy; but he, much cooler than myself, said, 'We must be contented; we have done very well.' Now, had we taken ten sail, and had allowed the eleventh to escape, when it had been possible to have got at her, I could never have called it well done. Goodall backed me; I got

him to write to the Admiral, but it would not do ; we should have had such a day as, I believe, the annals of England never produced."

"APRIL 28, 1796.—I have not a thought on any subject separated from the immediate object of my command, nor a wish to be employed on any other service.

"JUNE 20, 1796.—Opportunities have been frequently offered me, and I have never lost one, of distinguishing myself, not only as a gallant man, but as having a head ; for, of the numerous plans I have laid, not one has failed, nor of opinions given, has one been in the event wrong."

"AUGUST 2, 1796.—Had all my actions been gazetted, not one fortnight would have passed during the whole war without a letter from me : one day or other I will have a long gazette to myself ; I feel that such an opportunity will be given me. I cannot, if I am in the field for glory, be kept out of sight."

These scraps from Nelson's letters reveal a man burning for distinction, and full enough of himself, though it must be remembered that they are, as a rule, confidential utterances to intimate friends, and by no means prove a lack of proper modesty. It is an honourable ambition. Never for a moment does Nelson seek distinction except by deserving it. He has the disposition to command, and, therefore, he spares no effort to qualify himself. He is determined never to lose an opportunity, and therefore he is always making plans, constantly thinking over what can be done, and how to do it. His determination to act when opportunity offers is the purpose of his life, the moving spring of the whole man. Because he means to act he is perpetually planning, constantly discussing with himself and others the whole situation in which his work places him, and every possible operation which may be necessary. Thus in him judgment and determination are inseparable ; they are two sides of the same thing. If to Captain Mahan their union seems miraculous, the reason is that his career has been a different one. Nelson threw his whole force into thinking how to do what he had to do, what he was resolved to do, what it was his duty to do. His forethought was part and parcel of his action. Captain Mahan's duty in the central years of his life has been not so much to act, and, with a view to action, to prepare his mind, as to teach and to study in order to teach. Academical study rarely leads directly to action ; it seeks principles and constructs a theory, but it is divorced from executive responsibility and authority. This kind of study tends to overload the intellect at the expense of the will, and leads to just that astonishment at the perfect equipoise between the two which marks Captain Mahan's general summaries of Nelson's greatness. The academical study of war, as Captain Mahan well points out, is a thing of modern growth. No one has more distinguished himself in this department than the author of *The Influence of Sea Power upon History*, and the remarks which I have ventured to make are not meant, and will not be taken by him, to convey any disparagement of his work. But most certainly the study of war can never produce its perfect fruit, the profound

insight of a great leader, if it is carried on without the steadying ballast of responsibility. Jomini and Clausewitz will never teach us quite as much as Frederic, Napoleon, and Moltke. In maritime war it is from Nelson that the most can be learned, and if there is a doubt as to which of Nelson's ideas are the most important, it may to some extent be solved by comparing them with the leading ideas of the other great masters. To work out the comparison is of course a task beyond the limits of a short essay; but some hint may perhaps be given. Frederic the Great wrote more systematically about war than most other commanders, and never anything more valuable than the section headed "Du Militaire" in the *Testament Politique* of 1768. The parallels between Frederic's ideas here expressed and similar ideas of Nelson's is worth suggesting. The first passage I shall quote* touches on the relation between the commander and his forces :—

"Tout ce que je viens de dire n'est pas suffisant encore pour former une bonne armée. Il faut qu'elle soit agile, adroite, mobile et capable d'exécuter les dispositions des généraux ; ou bien l'habileté du général, inutile par l'ignorance des troupes, ne saurait déployer son art et ses resources" (p. 12).

Nelson is as clear as Frederic with regard to the necessity for intellectual power developed by exercise in the commander and to its helplessness unless the machine which he has to direct is supple to his hand. Thus (August 19, 1796) he expects St. Vincent to defeat a superior force "by the skill of our admiral and the activity and spirit of our officers and seamen." Nelson, indeed, is even more specific in respect of the qualities to which he attaches importance in his subordinates. "Their high state of discipline is well known to you, and with the judgment of the captains, together with their valour and that of the officers and men of every description, it was absolutely irresistible" (August 3, 1798). Frederic's view of the essence of tactics may be given under two heads, superiority of fire and concentration against a part of the enemy's position. "Les batailles se gagnent par la superiorité du feu" (p. 13.) Nelson is all along certain not only that superiority of fire is essential, but that it must be sought at close and decisive ranges. Thus he writes :—

"FEBRUARY 23, 1794.—Our guns were so exceedingly well pointed that not one shot was fired in vain."

"MARCH 13, 1795.—It was my intention to have touched his stern before a shot was fired. But seeing plainly from the situation of the two fleets, the impossibility of being supported, and in case any accident happened to our masts, the certainty of being severely cut up, I resolved to fire so soon as I thought we had a certainty of hitting."

"MARCH 9, 1801.—I hope we shall be able, as usual, to get so close to our ene-

* From *Das Militärische Testament Friedrichs des Grossen*. Herausgegeben und Erläutert von A. V. Taysen, Major im Grossen Generalstab. Berlin, 1879.

G.W.R. MECHANICS' INSTITUTE

mies that our shot cannot miss their object, and that we shall again give our enemies that hailstorm of bullets . . . which gives our dear country the dominion of the seas."

There is a piece of evidence which goes to show that the plan of taking the ship close up to the enemy before opening fire was a special part of Nelson's tactical theory, and recognized as his. Sir Edward Berry, in his hasty note to Nelson (March 30, 1800) informing him of the capture of the *Guillaume Tell,* writes at the foot of his postcript : "Within hail before I fired." He evidently knew that the master would be delighted with this feature of his action.

Frederic's view of the way to attack an enemy in position is :—

"Il ne faut attaquer qu'une section de ce poste, la droite ou la gauche ou le centre, selon qu'on y trouve plus de facilité" (p. 27).

Nelson writes :—

"AUGUST 19, 1796.—This country is the most favourable possible for skill with an inferior fleet ; for the winds are so variable that some one time in twenty-four hours you must be able to attack a part of a large fleet, and the other will be becalmed or have a contrary wind."

"JANUARY 8, 1799.—By attacking the enemy's van and centre, the wind blowing directly along their line, I was enabled to throw what force I pleased on a few ships."

The development of this idea in the Memoranda of 1804 and of Oct. 9, 1805, is the famous "Nelson touch."

The wary Frederic lays down the principle : "Il ne faut jamais se battre quand l'ennemi le veut, mais seulement quand ou le veut soi-même" (p. 33). Nelson is little given to the enunciation of general principles, being always occupied with the concrete case before him. Here are his ideas on this subject :—

"JULY 2, 1804.—My mind is fixed not to fight them, unless with a westerly wind outside the Hières, and with an easterly wind to the westward of Sicié.

"Do not imagine I am one of those hot-brained people who fight at an immense disadvantage without an adequate object. . . . We won't part without a battle. I think they will be glad to leave me alone if I will let them alone ; which I will do either till we approach the shores of Europe, or they give me an advantage too tempting to be resisted."*

Frederic, like most great men, found it difficult to bring ordinary people to see the necessity for comprehensive designs :—

"Les projets de campagne vastes sont sans contredit les meilleurs, parce qu'en les mettant en exécution, on ne tarde pas à s'apercevoir de ce qui serait impraticable d'effectuer, et qu'en se rabattant sur ce qui reste d'exécutable, on va plus loin qu'en ne formant qu'un petit projet, qui ne mène jamais à grande chose" (p. 25).

Nelson writes to the Queen of Naples (July 10, 1804).

"I do not believe we had in the last war, and, according to all appearance, we shall not have in the present one either, plans of a sufficiently grand scale to force

* Mahan, II., 305.

France to keep within her proper limits. Small measures produce only small results."

An officer whose heart is in his work, and who has a sincere consideration and affection for his subordinates is sure to be beloved by them. Captain Mahan has admirably brought into prominence this side of Nelson's character. On some of the difficult questions of Nelson's life he is perhaps inclined rather to judge than to sympathize with his hero. The passionate attachment to Lady Hamilton is just what was to be expected from a man of Nelson's temperament. It matters little to us what Lady Hamilton's character seemed to be to others; to Nelson she supplied what his character absolutely required—a person from whom his devotion could meet with an expressive response. The case well exemplifies the truth of Goethe's saying: "Unreine Verhältnisse soll man niemand wünschen; sie sind aber für den, der zufällig hineingeräth, Prüfsteine des Characters und des Entschiedensten, was der Mensch vermag."

In the case of Nelson's disobedience to Lord Keith, it seems to me that there is more to be said for Nelson than his biographer allows. It was no rash act of disobedience. "I am perfectly aware," wrote Nelson, "of the consequences of disobeying the orders of my commander-in-chief; but as I believe the safety of the kingdom of Naples depends at the present moment on my detaining the squadron, I have no scruple in deciding that it is better to save the kingdom of Naples and risk Minorca, than to risk the kingdom of Naples to save Minorca" (July 19, 1799). Politically and strategically I have little doubt that Nelson was right. Two months later (Sept. 20) he writes to the Admiralty: "I knew when I decided . . . that perhaps my life, certainly my commission, was at stake; but being firmly of opinion that the honour of my king and country was involved . . . I determined at all risks to support the honour of my gracious sovereign and country, and not to shelter myself under the letter of the law." This is an unassailable position. There can be no rule that an officer shall never in any circumstances disobey an order; the only rule possible is that he disobeys at his peril, and with a rope round his neck. Nothing more convincingly proves the strength of Nelson's character than that he boldly put the rope round his neck when he was sure that the public service required it. The position of a perfect master of his profession under a commander at a distance, who is comparatively a second-rate man, is always difficult, and the true moral of this instance surely is that the Admiralty was not equal to its task of selecting the best commanders, irrespective of red tape. Wars are not won by regularity in great matters, but by "a happy irregularity," and one of the chief dangers of modern organization

is, that the too systematic course of promotions and appointments may choke a whole service with second-rate men. The British navy is by no means free from this danger. A most distinguished and deservedly respected Admiral not long since attempted to justify the present cumbrous organization or disorganization of the Admiralty, giving in its favour two principal pleas, the first being that in five years at the Board he had not been able to master the interior working of the machine, and the second that in the last great naval war the British navy was in the end successful.* But the perusal of Nelson's correspondence must convince any unbiassed mind that success was obtained in spite of, and not in consequence of, the then organization of the Admiralty. It is said that if Nelson had survived Trafalgar he would have liked the office of Lord High Admiral, and to have had the entire management of the service.† The early death which prevented the fulfilment of that wish was an irreparable loss to the country.

Captain Mahan repeatedly touches the subject of the effect of an inferior fleet as a hindrance to the inception and execution of the enemy's designs for the transport of troops by sea. A school of English writers some years ago maintained the opinion, of which I ventured to call in question the soundness, that a fleet weaker than the enemy's may be counted upon as an effectual bar to the execution of such designs. This weaker fleet was called the "fleet in being," but those who employed that phrase have, since their original doctrine was criticised, accepted the qualifications which I suggested, and appear now to use the term to cover a theory by no means identical with their earlier views. Sir George Clarke in *The Nineteenth Century* covers this retreat by the sentence "an effective fleet is a most powerful deterrent to naval operations, and especially to the over-sea transport of military forces," a rather elementary truism which no one ever disputed. My position from the beginning has been that there is no absolute bar to the transport of troops short of decisive naval victory, which is itself the proof that the winning force was superior, though of course not necessarily in numbers. It is interesting to note Nelson's ideas on this subject, which are as far opposed as possible from those of the popular English school of to-day. The following extracts tell their own tale :—

"October 26, 1794.—Before their army can risk being cut off, there must be a sea action to force us into port; when, if we are not completely victorious—I mean, able to remain at sea, whilst the enemy must retire into port—Italy is lost."

* *Naval Administration*, by Admiral Sir R. Vesey Hamilton, G.C.B., pp. ix. 2.

† *Recollections of the Life of the Rev. A. J. Scott, D.D., Lord Nelson's Chaplain*, p. 199.

Again, in 1804 (June 8th) Nelson writes :—

"My first object must ever be to keep the French fleet in check, and if they put to sea, to have force enough with me to annihilate them. . . . That would keep the two Sicilies free from any attack from sea."

This is one aspect of the matter. The side that aims at preventing transport must gain the command of the sea. The other aspect is that of the side wishing to effect transport. According to Nelson (March 4th, 1796), "One week's very superior fleet will effect a landing: we may fight their fleet, but unless we can destroy them their transports will push on and effect a landing." And again, seven years afterwards (July 2nd, 1803): "As the army can only be moved by the protection of a superior fleet, that fleet they will try to have, and a month's start of us would do all the mischief." It is a pity that if the words "in being" were to be used in the discussion of strategy, they were borrowed from Torrington, and used ambiguously, seeing that the same words were used by Nelson without any ambiguity whatever. Writing to Lord Minto (August 29th, 1798), he laments that his wound had prevented his annihilating the French fleet at Aboukir, and says: "It is no small regret that *L'Orient* is not *in being* to grace our victory."

Spenser Wilkinson.

WOMEN.

MANY marvels and many changes mark the era of the record reign, and perhaps none of its wonders is greater than the extraordinary evolution of Woman between 1837 and 1897. Who could have foretold it? What was there to foreshadow it? Queens have reigned over England before now, so it cannot be simply caused by the fact of a Woman on the throne; queens have reigned in other countries without producing any change in the position of their sex. What, then, is the cause of the immeasurable difference that has been effected in sixty years, and where will it end? Who shall answer either of these questions for us?

Look at Woman as she has been immortalized in the books and pictures of the early years of Her Majesty's reign, and compare her with Woman as she is to-day, not only in dress and manner, for you can find as broad a difference between the fashions of 1777 and 1837 as between those of 1837 and 1897, but in thought, in language, in attitude, in action. What has become of the maiden with her ringleted head and short waist, taught to mince and look demure, to spoil her appetite in private lest a hearty meal in public should clash with preconceived notions of ladylike delicacy, to let down her back hair and weep on the smallest provocation, and to faint artistically on the greater ones? Whither gone the matron with the smooth-banded hair and dress that "could stand by itself," who watched so sternly over the sandalled feet of that same maiden, thinking waltzing iniquitous, and even the sober quadrille verging on the indecorous? And what would she say—or think—of their sisters of to-day?

In those bygone days Woman's education consisted of the dear old three R's, a little study of the harp or harpsichord (mainly with an eye to graceful attitudinizing), a smattering of foreign languages, and the careful learning of family recipes and tambour embroidery. As little may have remained of most of this a few years after schooltime then as of our learning now, but many a historic castle and fine old manor-house can testify in endless cushions, curtains, screens, rugs, and even carpets, to the untiring industry of the tambour frame in the white hands of their fair inmates.

That was the time when correspondence was an art to be practised only by the gifted few, and the post a rare and valuable privilege. Only the very wealthiest and most enterprising could travel beyond the limit traced by their country homes at one end and London at the other; many never even managed as much. Books were heavy and very solemn; novels rare and looked at askance by careful mothers and prim governesses.

But railways came and the penny post. The Spirit of Unrest, released in the cataclysm of the French Revolution, was spreading from end to end of the earth; and, having stirred Man to his depths, laid his disturbing hand on Woman. Very gently, very quietly he went to work, hiding behind the seething ferment still troubling the sterner sex, but very thoroughly, till now in this year of grace 1897 it is almost impossible to actually trace his steps. Where are the links of an evolution that connects Mrs. Magnall with Mrs. Besant; Miss Austen with Mrs. Garrett Anderson, M.D.; a Mrs. Hemans warbling softly to a privileged few of intimates, with a Mrs. Meynell ready to accept the Laureateship?

When Lady Hester Stanhope startled a stay-at-home world by her adventures among the Bedouin, she had to adopt a kind of masculine disguise for her travels and to announce her determination to be no longer considered a woman. But Miss Kingsley records her researches and doings in the darkest part of the Dark Continent without dreaming of laying aside petticoat or chignon, or finding them in the slightest degree impediments to her work.

How has it all come about?

When the Queen first ascended the throne, only one career was open to women above the labouring classes—domesticity. It was called by many names, but it really resolved itself into service: maids of all varieties, governesses, shop-girls. They were badly paid, and in nine cases out of ten down-trodden and despised. For the family formed as close a guild as ever trade did; the servants who had grown grey in ministering to nobleman or squire took good care that their children inherited their desirable berths; the farmer's daughters needed only help for the roughest and dirtiest work; the counter was best served by the shop-owner's own girls. So the wretched outsider found all the choicest places taken, and only exceptional natures could rise out of their narrow and lowly grooves; and the comfortable and uncomfortable alike were contented to remain in *statu quo*.

But the world around was moving. Machinery was making enormous strides; and money-making man was discovering that much besides light manual work could be as easily done, and a good deal more cheaply, by female as by male workers. So the numbers of the factory girls increased, and they became bonds-

women only for a certain number of fixed hours, free as men after that to go where they listed and do as they chose. It seemed a small change to the outsider, those few unappropriated hours, and rather a melancholy one; but to the girl herself it meant a new world. No one to order her home at stated hours; no one to interfere with her fringe or her feathers; to demand an account of her doings abroad, or to prohibit followers at home; and the "slavey" awoke to dreams of independence, and to the possibility of wage-earning in another line.

Then, one day, came war to our doors—not far away in the distant East, to be heard of and grieved or rejoiced about when all was over—but near enough and big enough to grip at the heart of the whole nation. Florence Nightingale electrified the world by her invasion of the Crimea, and created a new career for her sex. Sarah Gamp and Betsey Prig died as surely on those Russian steppes as the flower of the European armies; and now the profession of nursing sister, with its many privileges, its fascinating uniform, its Royal Charter, is threatening like all other professions to become overcrowded.

Meanwhile, unnoticed yet determined, a small number of strong-minded women, recognizing the impossibility of finding sufficient husbands for the increasing majority of girls, devoted themselves to opening up other paths than that of matrimony to their younger sisters. Wherever they turned, it was always the want of training that stood in the way of the employment of women; so they took up and worked away at the better education of girls. For centuries pious founders had bethought them of the education of boys. Dame schools, grammar schools, public schools, Universities, provided education for all classes and all ages of boys. But girls were left out in the cold. Education was not considered necessary for them, and little schooling. So whenever a couple of maiden sisters found their incomes scant to live upon and cherished no hope of marrying they set up "boarding schools for young ladies"; of which in most cases the less said the better. Why should girls not be educated in the same sense as boys are? So energetic, broad-minded, persevering women like Miss Buss and Miss Somerville set to work, till high schools and colleges arose, and grew, and flourished, culminating in Newnham and Girton and the delightful controversy that has lately been carried on in the public papers between Professors Case and Sidgwick.

Once admit the classics and higher mathematics into the curriculum for girls, and the step to science in both abstruse and practical form was bound to follow. There was much horror in the old-fashioned world when the agitation for admitting women to medical degrees began, and more when it was carried to a

successful issue. It seemed so evident that a woman who could unshrinkingly face all the inevitable gruesome sights of the hospital and surgery must have ceased to be a woman; that the first thing to be brought home to her in the dissecting-room and operating-theatre must be that woman's physique and woman's nerves were not built for the necessary iron steadiness and unimpressionable mind and hand of the male doctor; that the wonder was the idea should have been so persistently clung to and carried through. But

> "There's a Providence that shapes our ends,
> Rough hew them as we will."

There is a country where an unlimited field is open to Æsculapia as distinguished from Æsculapius; and the reports of the Countess of Dufferin's Fund in India bear witness to the grand work doing and to be done by the female M.D. among the zenanas and harems of Hindustan.

But the effects of improved tuition and greater opportunities for study made themselves felt not only in these upper spheres of intellectual development; they naturally by degrees permeated the whole system. The girl destined to be a governess, to teach the young idea to shoot under the most depressing and suppressing circumstances, did not see why that should be the only way of wage-earning for an educated woman. Why not become a clerk, a private secretary? Double entry and a neat handwriting are not unalienable attributes of man. The employer soon found that he could get as good work for less pay; and the revolution was accomplished even before the invention of typewriters—machines which, requiring the practice of that bugbear of girlhood, "five finger exercises," are much more quickly mastered by grown women than men.

Given so much, it became natural that all barriers should seem negotiable to women. They invaded the realms of Art, not as rare geniuses, but as a means of wage-earning for those with talents in that line. And certainly if we can boast no George Eliot in these later days, there are many names that jump to the eyes, as our over-sea neighbours would say. Can any other century claim so many names of women notable in literature or painting? Look at the book advertisement page of *The Times;* you will find more female than male authors in the list; and if the scoffer hint at quantity *versus* quality, yet what a change from the days when it was thought unwomanly to appear in print!

Legislation, too, has taken up the cudgels on Woman's behalf. She has been given an independent status. The *feme-sole* is no longer necessarily hedged in by "nearest relations" like the infant

in the eye of the Law. The Married Women's Property Act has freed her from the absolute control of her husband.

Forty or fifty years ago no power on earth would have induced the generality of women to admit they could possibly take an interest in politics, far less attempt to understand them; now the Primrose League is a power in the land, and the Women's Liberal Association is doing all it knows to try and catch it up in spite of its older existence and more attractive title. There are women among the Poor Law guardians, among the inspectors of schools, asylums, factories, and prisons. There are female parish councillors; only by the skin of its teeth has the London County Council as yet escaped having a woman thrust into its council chambers. The Bill for giving women the suffrage has passed a second reading in the House of Commons.

What bourne is all this leading us to? Where is it to end? These are questions difficult to answer; all the more difficult because some sections of the community are quite ready with replies as final as they are crushing. Some there are who shake their heads and assure us that we have bartered away for the shadow of an unattainable power the substance of a mighty influence, and with it all that was sweetest and best and fairest in womanhood. They sigh as they turn impatiently from tennis-racquet and bicycle, and long for the dear old days when high-heeled shoes and trailing skirts forbade any game more energetic than croquet; and archery with its thousand opportunities in the way of stretching bows, fastening gloves and arm-pieces, picking up arrows, &c., for the help of Man to come in, provided practice for the more ambitious.

Others assert that the revolution has only just begun; that the splendid time will arrive when Man and Woman shall be absolutely equal; when all careers and all professions shall be open to both sexes alike, and the wearers of skirts shall have the same rights and the same votes as the owners of trousers. There shall be Doctoresses of Law and Medicine, Memberesses of Parliament, Professoresses of every art and every science in those golden days; and it shall no longer be a bar to anything to have been born a girl.

Philosophers of olden times, and theosophists of to-day, tell us that the *fin de siècle* is always a time of transition, when old landmarks disappear, and new influences become potent. They point to many ends of centuries to prove their case; and though the lay mind finds it difficult to understand why a law of Nature should condescend to fit itself into a purely arbitrary delimitation made by Man—for if these are the ending years of Christian centuries they are almost the centre ones of the Israelite and Mahomedan

eras, which races are having a good deal to say just now to the developments of humanity—they certainly can quote a large number of dates in favour of their theory. A hundred years ago we had Tom Payne and the Rights of Man. Is his equivalent in petticoats on the way at this moment with the Rights of Woman?

For myself I venture to doubt it. I think we have well-nigh reached the outer limit of what Woman will try to do; and that we are nearing the time when she will hit off the golden mean between the irritating priggishness of an Emma of Mansfield Park and the trying-to-shock-at-any-price aggressiveness of a Yellow-Aster.

If there has been much to deplore in the changes of these last decades there is a great deal to praise. Women have become healthier, both physically and mentally, under the new *régime*. They have a chance of learning the uses of freedom, and when they have once mastered that lesson they will be less likely to abuse their liberty. They are more active; faculties that were left to lie dormant are now developed to the advantage of everyone. The "crying doll" is no longer in favour: however lifelike and human the mechanism makes the squeak.

What we most want now is a class of clear-minded, far-seeing women, able to impress on the generality of their sisters a few home truths; and above all to prove to them that the "advanced" woman has advanced into a wilderness where she has fairly lost her way and is incapable of guiding anybody; and also to explain and define the meaning of the word Education.

Most women—and I am afraid a good many men too—imagine that book-learning is synonymous with education. It never strikes them that if it were so our bookworms would be the great leaders of Humanity. They see games playing a great part in boys' schools, and they immediately wish these games introduced into girls' schools. They fancy that if only the girl could be taught as the boy is taught, she would become, in spite of her dress, a Man. This sounds a *reductio ad absurdum*, but is it not, in plain language to be understanded of the people, the meaning of the clamour for girls' cricket and football, for a University education for girls, for the opening of all careers and all professions to girls? Because boys come and go alone and it is good for them to learn to fend for themselves, therefore chaperons for girls should be abolished. Because men, in knickerbockers, can travel ever so much farther without fatigue on their bicycles than women, therefore women should be made to wear divided skirts and then they will be able to go as far and as fast as men.

Could anything be more unconnected, more illogical, than these

sets of propositions? Yet they are warmly and strenuously advocated by women who take themselves most seriously.

But if you wish to realize fully the maze in which the "advanced" woman has lost herself, take her views about marriage. Listen to her argument that because, according to her ideas, the "bargain," as she will probably call it, has been too much in favour of the bridegroom, therefore in future it should be a great deal too much in favour of the bride. The contract on which the sanctity of the family and the welfare of the rising generation mainly depend, she thinks should be one to be repudiated at will, for any caprice, any whim. Above all, her old sphere, the home, is far too lowly, too humble for anyone with the slightest talent to be wasted on: it should be looked upon as the last resource, the final refuge of the poor-spirited, the mentally destitute.

The keynote of the present day is selfishness—Selfishness stalking abroad, barefaced and not ashamed. Everywhere you meet the theory that the one aim and object of the Individual should be his or her development. I can hear the agnostic philosopher drawing my attention to the fact that the churches have had the same aim. Certainly the notion of "making your soul," as they say in Ireland, had that same fault; but then, except when it degenerated into religious hysteria, penances, and hermitages, it had the saving grace that you worked out your salvation by doing, or trying to do, good to your fellow-creatures. The modern cry is I, I, I first and let the rest of the world take care of itself. To paraphrase an old quotation "what matter the good of the world if it benefit not ME?"

What matter if the Mother be lonely and overweighted with household cares, if the Father at the end of his day's work, out in the City or in his study at home, find no young voices to brighten his hour of leisure, no young hands to play to him or with him, no young feet to run his errands and forestall his wants; if the Parents have to deny themselves the little luxuries they had hoped to enjoy that they may pay the school-fees they thought they had done with when the Daughters proclaimed they were grown up, or the travelling expenses of the young lady bored at home? Those daughters must go to Newnham or Girton, or out into the world to mix themselves up with questions of which they ought not to and cannot know anything.

And what has this ferment among Women during the last ten or twenty years achieved? A certain amount of mischief, no doubt. But what great or permanent good? Man's curiosity results in mighty inventions and great discoveries; Woman's in Blue Beard's cupboards and mares' nests at the Empire Music Hall.

Where is the Prophet who will impress upon Woman at large

that, do what she will, she cannot become a man, any more than a cow can become a horse? We know that there are countries where the cow draws cart and plough; but it does not improve her milk or her beef; and when *good* work and *fine* work are wanted she has never succeeded in ousting the horse. So it is with Woman. There are certain kinds of labour which are rendered more cheaply and no worse by women than by men. In these she can hold her own. But there are places in man's sphere no woman can fill, just as no man can fill a woman's.

We want an education which shall teach Woman not only book-lore and figures, but reason and logic. Brute force and intellectual influence are not interchangeable terms; and each will and must always rule in their respective spheres. Man's strength is the will that has moved mountains; Woman's the quiet perseverance that wears away the stone. (I trust I shall not be looked upon as standing up for the "nagging" powers of Woman: I only mean to draw her attention to the fact that she can achieve anything she sets her mind to do with the weapons she already possesses, and need not go out into the market-place clamouring for others.)

Nature, however wasteful in some ways, never squanders her resources. She has managed the world since the Creation, broadly speaking, by two powers: masculine and feminine, positive and negative. Disturb the balance between these two forces, and you destroy instead of creating. Why should Man and Woman be the only exception to this general rule? Are they so? Have we not in the past ample proof that Man has always been the active, Woman the passive spirit of the world? Man has achieved what Woman has inspired him to do. He invents, she applies. Man discovers and formulates the broad laws of nature, Woman sees the details and works them out. Has there ever been a great woman scientist, musician, or poet? Are we quite sure that if we had any of Sappho's poems to read we should still rank her with Homer and Pindar?

But was there ever a great poet or painter or statesman without his Laura or his Fornarina or his Egeria? Have we forgotten the old idea that the genius owes the best impulses of his soul to his mother? Have not women caused half the revolutions and nine-tenths of the wars of the world?

Another question perpetually discussed is that of the vote. Why should not an educated woman have one in preference to an illiterate man? The answer has been much simplified by the lowering of the franchise, which has virtually removed the property qualification, or rather, perhaps, silenced the enquiry as to the disqualification of property when held by a woman. The power of government has always been, and must always remain, in the

hands of those who can enforce their decrees. The last resort will always be war, and it is impossible to give the right of declaring war to those who can only look on while others fight. The real question, therefore, should be not "Should women have a vote?" but "Should women fight?" Should they be soldiers? That suggestion has never yet been made by even the most advanced of the Shrieking Sisters among the New Womanhood, and till they can convince us that an army of Amazons is a *desideratum* of our civilization, let them leave the voting power to those who can fight.

It is not the possession of a vote, or the right to shout down one's neighbour on the hustings or the rostrum, that has withheld from or will give to Woman power. For that she depends now, as she depended two thousand years ago, on qualifications the law cannot give her—on charm, on virtue, on tact, on unselfishness, on the thousand and one things that have always been within her reach. Not all the laws in the world could prevent a Semiramis or a Cleopatra from ruling that world; not all the repealing of the "man-made" laws against which the New Woman declaims could add one iota to the power and influence of a Queen Victoria.

Woman creates and influences not by what she does but by what she is. Let us take this to heart and glory in what we can do well instead of striving to take part in what at best we cannot do properly. The battlefield of the world is like the cricket-fields on which the Iron Duke did *not* say Waterloo was won. Woman's only chance of victory there depends on her opponents playing left-handed and with broomsticks. Is such a victory ever worth winning?

In all the sixty years of her reign the Queen has never come forward to preach a doctrine or demand a law. She has never declaimed in public against anything, or announced from the throne her determination to do one thing or leave undone another. But many a change that she has deprecated has been unmade; many a thing that she has disapproved of has been quietly altered. Her influence has been made manifest to the uttermost ends of the Empire, not by what she has said, but by the life she has lived. Who shall gauge the effect of her example in an age whose tendency has been to deny all things high, to knock down all things sacred? Who shall say that it is not owing to the standard she has set us that the reaction has begun, and that the influence of religion is once more quickening through the world?

Is not this a great enough work for any woman?

Let us then look forward to the time, not when Man and Woman will enjoy an equality which would be as absurd as unreal, but when Woman shall admit her limitations and glory as much in her

inability to make direct laws and wars as man does in his incapacity to embroider and to knit; a time when she will understand where her power lies, and exploit it to such good effect that she will wonder how it ever was possible for her sex to imagine that their salvation lay along other lines; a time when the short-haired divided-skirted ladies of the nineteenth century will be classed with the Précieuses of the seventeenth, and Woman will once more take her proper position in the scheme of the Universe, and re-ascend the throne from which she has so foolishly been tempted to descend.

ELLEN DESART.

EUROPE'S NEW INVALID.

To clearly understand the political Spain of to-day it is expedient to take, at least, a cursory view of the more recent causes of its national decadence. A century has passed since Spain, by any act of its own, has either menaced the balance of power in Europe or has been taken into account in the European concert of nations for the maintenance of peace. Since that period it has been too much distracted by the invader and by five separatist movements in Cuba, two insurrections in the Philippine Islands, two Carlist wars, the Morocco war, the deposition and restoration of a monarch, the Melilla outbreak, and numerous military "pronunciamientos" to have been in a condition to put its spoke in the wheel of political Europe. Spain has undoubtedly advanced theoretically in its form of government. It has, this century, rid itself of its Godoy and the host of similar Court intriguers and policy-framers whose baneful influence has been superseded by a *nominal* suffrage. It has its Senate and its Chamber of Deputies, with two Prime Ministers who alternately take their innings. The Córtes de Cádiz of 1812 may be compared to our Runnymede Council of 1215. Their resolutions were the keystone of Spanish modern liberty and a death-blow to despotism.

But it is a feature in Spanish character to step over the traces of written laws and regulations if possible. A Minister or high official who has an appointment at his disposal usually looks more to his own advancement than to the interests of his Party, or the merits of the applicants, in its bestowal. Personal excellence stands for little in Spain. All that is worth having is more easily attained by intrigue, bribery, or a *quid pro quo* in some sense than the sterling qualities of the solicitant. Hence an office-seeker would have little chance of success if he urged his suit in a straightforward manner on the worth of his individual capacity, or his rights as a citizen; he would beat up his acquaintances in search of "recommendations" and "influences" to secure the preferment. Individual egotism and envy stand in the way of national progress. Appointments are more frequently made for the advantage of "self" than for the benefit of the commonweal.

I remember, for instance, a most remarkable case of a man, who had been a furniture maker and joiner, being appointed to the post of Chief Administrator of a department in Manila at a salary of $4,000 a year. He left a pretty wife in Spain, and his influential "protector" had a keen eye for feminine beauty. The joiner arrived in Manila, and was introduced to the native permanent staff, who politely showed him his *table*. The new chief examined the top, the bottom, and the legs of the piece of furniture, and pronounced it very good work. The head clerk again reminded him that it was his "mesa"—his official bureau where the documents of the department requiring his signature would be placed before him. At length the duties of his new post dawned upon him, and he signed all that came under his pen. It would have taken him half an hour to read through one document of the hundred, so he authorized anything and everything without investigation or comment. He signed so much that he got himself into serious trouble: then he begged an audience of the Governor-General and asked to be allowed to resign. "You are appointed from Madrid," said the General, "but I have little doubt about your resignation being confirmed, so I provisionally accept it; but what do you propose to do?" "May it please your Excellency, I am a joiner and furniture maker," was the reply, "and would solicit your support as I am going to start business in my own line." The General gave him an order to furnish the Government House throughout, and he opened his shops in the Calle San Jacinto, where he worked for many years.

A Civil Service exists in a certain sense, that is to say that a man who, by hook or by crook, has been once appointed to a Government berth has always some grounds on which to solicit another. It is not an exclusive service. Anyone—an artisan—a shopkeeper—a nothing-at-all of good family is eligible if he can only "catch the eye" of the man in power with the right "influences," or the consideration of a discount on the salary. Hundreds go out to Cuba and the Philippine Islands on this last condition, against which they cannot demur, for, if they did, the same influence which virtually appointed would cause the *cesantia* (cessation of office) to be cabled out. No Civil Service examinations are held, and no special personal qualification is necessary for a colonial appointment in the Far East or the Far West. Of the hundreds of officials whom I have known not one had the most elementary notion of Tagálog or Visaya (the native languages of the Philippine Islands) at the time of their appointment, and not one in fifty took the trouble to learn either language afterwards. Why should they? They are here to-day, in another colony next year, and finally sunning themselves in the *Puerta del Sol* in Madrid waiting for

the new favourites who have superseded them to be, in turn, shifted by their "protectors."

Spaniards are not instinctively an industrial people, and except perhaps in Biscay and Barcelona they would scorn the idea of being a "nation of shopkeepers" in the present accepted sense of the phrase. The majority regard the State as a milch cow to which they are always looking for sustenance. But as the supply is limited, thousands give up in despair. Hence, a few weeks ago, we had the dire spectacle of poverty in Alora, Lucena, Murcia, Malaga, and many other places—thousands loudly clamouring for the necessaries of life, not to speak of the other thousands who yield to their lot of misery in silence. On the forced abdication of Queen Isabella II.,General Juan Prim, the Dictator, complained to a foreign reporter that his most arduous task was the examination of the daily shoal of petitions from place-hunters. He further declared that even in his temporary refuge at Maida Vale, London, he was not altogether free of insinuating declarations of "adhesion." In recent years no general appointed abroad has ever been allowed to do his duty without being assailed on all sides by those who have counter-interests, or envy the position he holds. General Camilo Polavieja had been hardly three months in the Philippine Islands to suppress the present rebellion when he was violently attacked in public print. He had asked for more troops to garrison the places he conquered and was refused. When he afterwards cabled that he was physically incapable of continuing the commandership-in-chief, his enemies put forward the public accusation in interrogatory form—did he wish to resign on account of ill-health, or did he resent the refusal to send out more troops? and the public journals hostile to him were full of the hypothetical falsity. Having been superseded at his own request, General Fernando Primo de Rivera was sent out in his stead. Polavieja left Manila for Spain on the 15th April. During the few days prior to his arrival at Barcelona the papers were full of the reasons why he should and why he should not be received with ovation. The organ which most enthusiastically advocated his being welcomed as befitted a conquering hero of the nineteenth century was *El Imparcial.* His enemies took up the note, denounced him as the representative of the old theocratic *régime* which flourished prior to the constitution, the prototype of the modern retrogressists and a dangerous politician. In *El Liberal* of 11th May Señor Ordax Avecilla, representative of the Red Cross Society, is reported to have said at the Madrid Mercantile Club in his speech on General Polavieja: "If he (the General) thought of becoming Dictator, he would fall from the height of his glory to the Hades of nonentity." But by far the most scathing satire is to

be found in the article of *El Pais* of the 10th May, entitled, "The Great Farce." It says: "Do you know who is coming? Cirus, King of Persia; Alexander, King of Macedonia; Cæsar Augustus; Scipion, the African; Gonzalo de Córdoba; Napoleon, the great Napoleon, conqueror of worlds. What? Oh! unfortunate people, do you not know? Polavieja is coming, the incomparable Polavieja, crowned with laurels, commanding a fleet laden to the brim with rich trophies; it is Polavieja, gentlemen, who returns, discoverer of new worlds, to lay at the feet of Isabella the Catholic his conquering sword; it is Polavieja who returns after having cast into obscurity the glories of Hernán Cortés; Polavieja, who has widened the national map and brings new territories to the realm—new thrones to his queen. What can the people be thinking of that they remain thus in silence? Applaud! imbeciles. It is Narvaez who has resuscitated. Now we have another master!" It was a cruel imputation on a man who had honestly risen from the ranks to be a lieutenant-general. Often entrusted with military missions which could not be divested of their political character, he could hardly abstain from holding certain opinions on public affairs, but, outside his legitimate sphere, he never took any active part in their resolution. Moreover, there is not a single Spanish general who is not affiliated to some political party or the other. Poor Polavieja landed in Barcelona on the 13th of May, amidst the acclamations of an admiring populace, a physical wreck. Almost blind, his very features changed by the ravages of a diseased liver, he brought a ghastly proof of devotion to his country's welfare which his worst detractors had not the courage to deny. Where could be the dream of dictatorship, or the political danger? Only in the fertile imagination of party opponents. Nor was his predecessor, General Ramon Blanco, much better treated. I was in Manila when the rebellion broke out, and for months after, and I admit the General exposed himself to a deal of just criticism. On what grounds he permitted the chief supporter of the conspiracy to quietly take passage to Europe cannot be publicly discussed, but his party foes—his adversaries on principle censured his refusal to initiate, with 1,600 European troops, a war *à outrance* which has required 28,000 men, under his successor, to accomplish. But Blanco's downfall was directly due to his having fallen into disfavour with the Clerical Party, headed by the bloodthirsty Archbishop of Manila who, if he could have made a tool of Blanco, would have started a war of native extermination with daily executions. General Martinez Campos is another who has been constantly "praised by some and blamed by others," and then made the shuttlecock of parties. Everybody knew what his Cuban policy was. Everyone who had followed the course of Spanish

politics for the last twenty years could not fail to remember that the peace of Zanjon was, with great difficulty, achieved by promises honestly made to the Cubans by Martinez Campos on behalf of and with the sanction of Spain, whose Government afterwards treacherously repudiated them, or at least persistently abstained from carrying them out. The rebels being already *disarmed by promises* what need was there to act further? When he returned to Spain in 1878 he became the idol of the people. They were not to be satisfied until he became the Prime Minister. Cánovas himself advised the King to call upon Martinez Campos to form a Cabinet so that the higher he rose the greater would be his fall. This military hero was about as successful a politician as our late Iron Duke. Of course he wanted to ratify, as leader of the Government, his word of honour which he had pledged to the Cubans as Commander-in-Chief. He had mistaken his own strength in the "vaulting ambition that o'erleaps itself." When Martinez Campos was again sent to Cuba in 1895 leaders of public opinion on all sides hailed him as the saviour of Spanish sovereignty in Cuba. They knew that his policy was one of attraction and pacification rather by an *entente* than by force of arms, yet no influential voice was raised against his appointment. The Cubans were not disposed to fall a second time into the same trap. In six months time Martinez Campos was no nearer the end of his mission than when he started. He was violently attacked through the public press, and having returned to Spain in disgrace he is now but slowly regaining something of his lost popularity. His political adversaries so persistently revile him that quite recently the organ of his party *La Epoca*, the director of which is the Senator Marquis de Valdeiglesias, actually started the publication of the General's service sheet to convince the public of his great merits. The same paper also commenced the publication, on the 18th of May, of General Ramon Blanco's service sheet for the same reason.

Again, General Wenceslao Weyler, who is at present in command of the operations in Cuba, has not escaped the angry lash of home politicians. His line of conduct is diametrically opposed to that of Martinez Campos, and were he given *carte blanche* to act on his own fire and sword policy he would faithfully give effect to Cánovas' declaration that "whilst there is a single armed rebel in the field the Cuban reforms shall be withheld."

Although the Government of Spain is carried on constitutionally in Parliamentary form the Military Party is always on the alert and really holds the situation in the balance. Looking back to the history of the period under discussion—the present century—I cannot say that this state of affairs has proved, upon the whole, other than beneficial to Spain up to the restoration of the Bourbons

in 1875. What did the Military Party accomplish for Spain? The abolition of despotism under Ferdinand VII.; the expulsion of Court politicians, palace sycophants, and political favourites; the purging of an immoral Court which happily brought about the abdication of 1868; the extinction of a Republic proved to be utterly impracticable for the country; the clipping of the wings of the Ultramontane Party under the Carlist banner, and the restoration of Constitutional Monarchy, the only form of Government adequately suited to the temperament of Spaniards of to-day. The Senate has its contingent of generals. The Military Party virtually holds the sword over the heads of the Government and the people. Whilst there is no sign of abuse of this power there is a determination that it shall not be trampled upon or brought into contempt. When, in 1895, some Madrid newspapers attributed cowardice to the troops in Cuba several officers went to the printing offices and smashed up the printing-presses. The movement had the entire sympathy of the Military Party, and a Ministerial crisis was talked of. The matter was not allowed to drop, for quite recently the Government has had to introduce a Bill in Parliament closely curtailing the liberty of the Press in military criticism.

A passionate race like the Spaniards would argue a point till doomsday. The newspapers live more by polemics than the publication of news. Each sectarian finds it beneath his dignity to yield one jot to others' logic and common-sense; each party (and there exist a score) has its own interest to serve; each lawyer-politician strives to create a personal political force, hence we have the Salmeronistas, the Silvelistas, the Gamazistas, the Canovistas, the Sagastinos, and a host of others who follow the individual more than the principle in the struggle for office. There is also the Party of Romero Robledo, always in opposition, which seems to have no other mission than that of creating difficulties for the existing Government, whatever it may be. As the average Spaniard needs an immediate chief whom he blindly follows, so he requires a figure-head to look up to in silent reverence—an ideal leader who he cannot help feeling is superior in his very essence. The name of royalty sends a thrill of awe through the veins of the masses.

The Republicans are strongly organized, so strongly, indeed, that the Monarchical Government is obliged to recognize them as a legitimate political party. They openly hold their conferences in all the provincial capitals, and have their Madrid centre or casino at No. 7, Calle del Principe. Speeches are delivered in a most inflammatory and seditious strain, and reported on in the public press. "The Revolutionary Republican Union" might almost be regarded as a government *in posse* already existing within the government *in esse*. They have their president and their National

Assembly to which deputies are elected. Their deliberations are recorded and publicly announced as if they were the actual governing body of the nation. As to the leaders, they are mostly men of practical knowledge, experience, and common-sense. They know exactly what they want and they are weary of the political ball, manufactured by secret cliques, being batted to and fro between Cánovas and Sagasta with little beneficial result to the people. But merely as a political party they cannot reasonably expect to overthrow the dynasty and uproot the present form of government by any constitutional measures. That would be too absurd. They can only reach their goal by revolution, to support which they must rely upon the millions of the lower order—that class which, in the four or five years following the abdication of Queen Isabella in 1868, showed that they had an entirely mistaken notion of what Republicanism meant. Republican effort is again doomed to ultimate failure. The Spaniards collectively, as a nation, are not sufficiently educated for a Republican form of government to prosper. They wrongly interpret liberty by libertinage. When a Republic was talked of as imminent a few years ago the turbulent classes of Cadiz overtly discussed what they would do under the name of liberty. As Republicans they would make an open raid on the property of the rich, and divide the spoils amongst the "people." In their crass ignorance they would slide from rational Republicanism into the absurdities of Communism. In the third week of May last Señor Labra, a leading Republican light, was publicly entertained at Valencia. In his discourse on "Private co-operation for national education" he advocated (for the interests of his party) the teaching of popular science, and the education of women. He fully recognized that self-government required a standard of mental training which the people had not yet acquired, a fact which is the stumbling-block to the maintenance of a Republic. He further declared, in another speech, "I consider it necessary to separate the Church from the State by gradual measures."

At the last census it was ascertained that more than one in six of the population over six years of age could neither read nor write. From my own twenty-three years' experience of Spain and Spanish women, I should say that 75 per cent. of the female population are ignorant of the elementary subjects of school education. Young women of the upper middle classes are taught to be satisfied with only those educational adornments which take in society, such as music, fine needlework, and so forth, with a careful study of the lives of the saints and everything popularly associated with religion. Nine-tenths of the population are hopelessly under the thumb of the priests who, on the one hand,

foster their ignorant superstition, and, on the other hand, profit by it to hold in check any up-to-date ideas which might possibly tend to the overthrow of their own power—for, undoubtedly, the very first solid movement towards that national progress which could ever place Spain on a level with the most advanced nations of Europe would be the depopularization of clerical influence. How this may one day come about it is not for me to suggest. We can only look at the history of nations now free of the ban of an all-absorbing Church.

The Philippine war which is helping to cripple Spanish finances was the work of the haughty monks who pushed their oppression of the natives to an intolerable degree. The wholesale slaughter and other atrocities lately committed in those islands were the acts of men whose banners were blessed by the priests, and who are led to believe that in suppressing liberty they are fighting for a holy cause. In Cuba (and I have travelled over half the island) religious influence hardly obtains to the extent of becoming oppressive. There the greed of the Spanish monopolisers of office originally produced the yearning for liberty. Months before the insurrection broke out in February, 1895, the Liberals, under the leadership of Sagasta, saw the storm coming and opined that it might be averted by the concession of certain administrative reforms urgently insisted upon by the Cubans for years past. But the Conservatives, led by Cánovas del Castillo, were obdurate, and, unfortunately for the country and their own dignity, they strenuously refused to yield, with good grace, that which they are now reluctantly constrained to offer under extraneous pressure. The speech of Señor Sagasta, as leader of the Opposition, throws some light on the present situation. In the Senate-house on the 19th of May, 1897, he said, in the course of his criticism on the Government :—

"With respect to the Cuban campaign the Government not only insists upon declaring that the Western provinces are pacified, but affects to believe that with the *promises* made the whole island ought to be in peace. But the fact is that from private information received from different sources we learn quite the contrary, whilst the inconsistency is moreover proved by the official despatches published daily. The military organization in those provinces said to be quieted down remains the same as it was prior to the alleged pacification. Suffice to add that in the provinces said to be pacified the armed force is 75 per cent. *in excess* of that employed in the disturbed provinces! The country cannot continue to be deceived in this way. . . . The real facts demonstrate to us that the revolt has developed to an extent unknown in past Cuban wars. After having sent out 200,000 men, and having shed so much blood, we are not masters in the island of more land *than that upon which our soldiers tread.* As regards the Philippine campaign the Government also told us, long ago, that we might consider it finished, but the truth is there are still bodies of rebels in the field whose extinction one cannot foresee. Apart from all this . . . we are threatened with a Carlist war in the Peninsula, and even a regional war seeks to raise its head. In short, we have a war in Cuba, a war in the Philippines, a prospective

insurrection in the Peninsula, with ruin, desolation, and misery in four Cuban provinces. . . . Had the reforms been opportunely applied they would have been effective, but if applied now they will appear to have been the result of foreign pressure rather than a spontaneous act, hence they will produce no effect on the rebels who regard their proposed application as a proof of weakness on the part of the Government. . . . What has been done with the enormous sums of money sent to Cuba? I can assure you there are *five months arrears* of pay due to the valiant soldiers who shed their blood in the island. We are in debt for war expenses more than *forty millions of dollars*, and yet the Government says that the financial situation gives it no concern, because it has ample resources for the war operations."

The country is so weighed down with Colonial troubles that a change of Government would signify no more than the carrying on of practically the same policy by the Liberals to be then combated by the Conservatives. Elections to Parliament are an utter farce. When I passed through some electoral districts last year Government agents were coercing the electors and menacing the mayors. In Madrid itself it was a waste of time and energy to have voted for the Marquis de Cabriñana, the party in power having resolved he should not sit. Almost the same may be said of the municipal elections, and the apathy shown in these matters is not surprising. The last municipal voting took place on the 9th May. *El Liberal* of 10th May admits that three-fourths of the population of Madrid did not take the trouble to know that the polling centres had been open until they read the evening papers. In Barcelona there was some fighting; in Linares and Bilbao shots were fired. A telegram from Bilbao published in *El Liberal* on the 10th May, says: "Votes were paid for at 35 pesetas." "Many electors abstain from voting because the votes are not paid for. (Signed) Mencheta."

In England a change of Government is usually the result of the general elections. In Spain it is more frequently effected by the Opposition raising some crucial question which produces a Ministerial crisis and forces a resignation. An attempt of this kind was made in May last. The Duke of Tetuan (descendant of the famous O'Donnell), a member of the Cánovas Cabinet, had an altercation with the Liberal Senator Comas, and came to blows. Thereupon the Liberal Party demanded the resignation of the Duke, which, however, Cánovas refused to accept. To bring pressure on the Government, the parties forming the minority resolved to absent themselves from the Córtes *en masse*. The position of the Government became untenable; it was impracticable to vote Bills in Parliament without the co-operation of the Opposition in debate. Cánovas then brought the crisis to a close by tendering his resignation to the Queen Regent. The crowd of office-seekers and hangers-on of the Liberal Party were in high glee. Sagasta

was literally besieged at his residence by "aspirants and adherents." Most of them, however, had counted their chickens before they were hatched, for the Queen Regent, after consulting with the representative generals, ex-presidents of Council, Sagasta and other leading statesmen, on the 7th June calmly confirmed her confidence in Cánovas and his continuance in office. Moreover, Her Majesty at once gave orders for the journey of the Court to San Sebastian early in July, and selected as Minister in attendance the Duke of Tetuan, whose expulsion from the Ministry had been so emphatically demanded by the minority parties. The news fell like a thunderbolt on the over-confident Liberals. The rage and disappointment of the thousands who had reckoned on employment were boundless. They still refused to admit that the crisis was over. They declared that the same party difficulties remained unresolved. The pretext of the whole conflict was the Cuban question, accelerated by the Tetuan incident. General Weyler was so violently denounced as an obstacle that I should not be surprised to see the present Government give way on that point, and send out General Blanco or even Martinez Campos in his stead. Some ex-Ministers lost their equanimity so far as to call upon their political chief, Sagasta, to publicly protest against their party being left out in the cold, but the Liberal leader is too old a bird in politics to be caught in such a ruinous trap. In the Liberal Club the crestfallen aspirants to power bitterly lamented the fact that they could not fight out the question face to face with the Government. Cánovas, indeed, with great perspicuity, had taken the wind out of the sails of his opponents; he had closed the political arena by obtaining the Queen Regent's signature to a decree proroguing Parliament.

When we come to examine the 1897-98 budget, the financial prospect is in no respect reassuring. For the present year the Cuban war expenses will be covered by the last national loan of four hundred millions of pesetas (say £13,300,000), but, after that, what? The Government intends to impose new taxes to such an extent that the commerce of Spain, especially the home trade, must suffer greatly from these fresh obligations. The Custom House receipts being mortgaged for the sum of ninety-two millions of pesetas annually (say £3,070,000) for extraordinary disbursements, the ordinary expenses which would have been paid from this source are to be covered partly by an increase (called a war tax) on existing direct and indirect taxes, excepting only the land tax and the interest on the public debt. All other contributions not included in the above sections are to be increased up to 10 per cent. Several monopolies are to be created, on the anticipated product of which loans are to be raised; for example, the refining

and sale of petroleum calculated to produce eighteen millions of pesetas per annum, and on this a sum of forty millions of pesetas is to be borrowed. This system of drawing upon income long before it is due, the enormous accumulated interest payable out of the diminished future resources, and the large sums due by the Government to private contractors, for instance, the Compañia Transatlantica (Steamship Co.) and the National Bank of Spain, must all lead to ruin and financial chaos. The idea has been already mooted of selling Cuba to the Cubans for a fixed sum under the guarantee of the United States. The amount proposed would restore to the Madrid Treasury the outlay for the present war, besides yielding a lump sum as purchase money pure and simple, whereby the financial situation in Spain would be consolidated. The Cuban war is estimated to cost about eighteen millions sterling per annum, so that over forty millions sterling will have been already spent. From a material point of view, if three-fourths of that sum had never been raised and the other fourth honestly spent on developing the natural wealth of the Peninsula, what a vast amount of happiness it would have produced! Looking at the matter from a purely humane standpoint, it is simply appalling to contemplate that "ten to twelve thousand more men are destined to succumb to the action of endemic disease during the coming wet season" (*El Liberal*, 2nd June). But Spanish pride—called patriotism in Spain—will probably never consent to the suggested solution. On the 23rd May *La Epoca* published a cablegram from the Spanish Minister in Washington in which he says, touching this proposition: "This idea is now in the minds of all influential politicians without responsibility, and the sooner it can be dispelled by declarations in Parliament the better. (Signed) Dupuy." *La Correspondencia* of the same date, referring to this subject and the probable tactics of the Liberal minority says: "No: Señor Sagasta has by no means lost the hope of Cuba remaining for ever Spanish. . . . His patriotism has been too long tried for a calumny like this to offend him at the close of a life of loyalty and civic virtues of pure Spanish tradition." The relations existing between the United States of America and Spain, with regard to Cuba, are as curious as they are interesting. Every move, every resolution in Congress, every speech in the United States is watched and commented upon in Spain with an anxiety approaching dread, as quickly counterbalanced, however, by proud, or as they would call it, patriotic resolves to shed the last drop of blood for Spanish sovereignty. In this matter Spain has shown her hand too freely. There is no apparent reason why a country which has exhibited such vitality of resource when in distress—which has performed the unpre-

cedented feat of landing 187,000 troops across the Atlantic (of which 5,000 went to Porto Rico) and almost simultaneously 28,000 troops in the Far East—should display such nervousness. After all, the loss of Cuba to the Spaniards would be more sentimental than material. If the Cubans cannot be forced into subjection they will certainly not be induced to lay down their arms by the reluctant application of reforms, meaningless in actual operation, and which may be summed up in a few words, namely, an agreement under which Cuba may propose and Spain shall dispose.

Spaniards are patriotic insomuch as relates to love of country as an abstract theory. In a burst of enthusiasm they will readily subscribe to a patriotic fund raised for specific purposes which gives them individual enhancement in the eyes of their fellow-men. Still their patriotism is very much subordinated to personal interest, and is no check to peculation. Where is the real patriotism of a Carbineer or a Custom House officer who, with the one hand takes a large bribe to cheat the Treasury, and with the other hand gives a fraction of it to some popular subscription? Where is the true devotion to the welfare of the fatherland in those friars who stubbornly hold the Philippines, knowing full well that their presence is an obstruction to the colony's progress? Again, the raising of so large an army for the colonies is no proof of individual sacrifice. It was organized under pressure; hundreds have crossed the frontier to evade enlistment; women have been in open riot against the conscription in Saragossa and other places; meetings of protest have been held, and recruits have been embarked in Barcelona under armed escort. Hundreds of "patriots" have exploited the situation in many ways, such as conscript substitute agents, or as furnishers of clothing which could only last the soldier till he was well out of sight. Raw recruits voluntarily drew my attention to this at the Dalahican Camp, near Manila. The constant coming and going of civil and military employés enriches the subsidized steamship company in which so many Government wire-pullers hold shares. Permanent appointments, which would mean patriotic economy, are set aside for personal gain. When a military officer in a colony nine thousand miles away is promoted, he is called home to be commissioned in his higher rank for no other apparent object than that of benefiting the steamship company. Feasts and banquets are given, and bunting is spread to celebrate the return of any officer from a lieutenant to a general who is reported to have done anything out of the common. In all this whirlwind of rejoicing, lamentation, intrigue, religion, vice, corruption, collective patriotism, but individual grabbing, there is one noble figure which prominently stands out, in vivid contrast, a model of virtue and

enviable tact. Her Majesty the Queen Regent, notwithstanding her foreign birth, knows exactly how to do the right thing at the right moment with exquisite taste. She has won by her charitableness the adoration of the masses; by her gracious sympathy the love of the middle classes; and by her clear comprehension of all that is traditionally Spanish the esteem and admiration of the aristocracy. His Majesty, her son, who is eleven years of age, labours under the disadvantage of having been born a king. His dignity from birth is an impediment to his education. He cannot mix freely with other boys of his own age, and it would be difficult for him to travel for knowledge in other lands. It will, therefore, hardly be his fault if he is unable to appreciate, by comparison, the condition of his subjects.

The trade of the country in the higher sphere, that is, the Import and Export branches, has in no way fallen off.

According to the British Consular Report on Spain for 1896 (No. 1851) the total value of Imports for the last three years were as follows:—

1894.	1895.	1896.
£28,421,733	£28,148,834	£29,366,912

and the total value of Exports in the same year were thus:—

1894.	1895.	1896.
£23,197,169	£27,705,435	£34,890,405

from which we not only see an increase in Imports and Exports, but we deduce the more important result, namely:—

Excess of Imports over Exports in 1894	£5,224,564	value
Excess of Imports over Exports in 1895	£443.399	,,
Excess of Exports over Imports in 1896	£5,523,493	,,

which, if it denotes anything, would show progressive prosperity, inasmuch as the country has been able to produce and find a market for so much more than it required to receive from abroad.

This is, however, by no means the keynote to the condition of the masses—the millions who are neither enriched nor impoverished by the comparative state of trade with abroad. Seeing the amount of misery and mendicity in so many districts in Spain it is evident that the sum total of profitable trade—comparatively progressive as it may be—does not reach the wants of the entire population. The small dealers, craftsmen, artisans and all who depend exclusively on home requirements are those who feel most acutely the burden of heavy taxation. The smallest trader is not allowed, by law, to attempt to get a living without previously paying a tax (*patente industrial*). One cannot carry provisions

for personal consumption from a town to a suburb without paying the *consumos* tax. A month ago in Madrid there were 1,500 Treasury cases of fraud against persons who necessarily evaded this tax.

Many municipalities themselves are poverty-stricken. That of Málaga was insolvent when I was there this year. Last May, according to *El Liberal*, the Provincial Asylum of Alicante could not find servants for the institution because twenty-six months' salary had not been paid. Also at the Hospital of Murcia the patients had to go without meat because the municipality could not pay the butchers' bills.

The prospect is anything but cheering. With these constant turmoils the poor priest-ridden Spanish nation holds no more weight in Europe than Switzerland. Were peace to be restored in Cuba by Spanish arms, a hundred thousand men would return for disbandment in the Peninsula. If Cuba became free a total evacuation would bring one hundred and eighty thousand men home to swell the ranks of the other thousands of unemployed. They would then probably find employment in completing the country's ruin, for Señor Sagasta, in the speech already quoted, makes no secret of the anticipated civil war. I can see no other remedies for the calamities which must ensue than the abandonment of Spain's fifteenth century colonial policy, the propagation of a liberal secular education amongst the masses, and the abolition of priestcraft. But what prospect is there of such measures being adopted?

JOHN FOREMAN.

THE MULTIPLICATION OF MUSICIANS.

ARE we over-educating in music? We are, undoubtedly, and many minds are at present extremely perplexed concerning the prospects of an already overcrowded profession, into which such vast numbers of young aspirants are endeavouring to push their way. It may seem absurd to speak of over-educating the masses in the luxury of an art like music. And certainly if we could stop at the masses, in other words, if all but the very smallest minority of those who are taught music in one way or another would content themselves with remaining mere listeners to and makers of music for themselves—if we could stop here, no harm, but a great deal of good, would be done. Unfortunately, experience has shown and is daily showing more clearly, that a very large number of those who at first take up music as a relaxation ultimately come to see in it a genteel way of making a living, or of adding to an income accruing from another pursuit; the unfailing result being that the profession of music has overflown to an extent unparalleled in any of the other professions.

The increase in the number of teachers during the last twenty-five years is indeed alarming. From returns issued some time ago by the Local Government Board, it appears that, whereas in 1871 there were in England and Wales 19,000 male and female teachers of music, the numbers in 1891 had risen to 19,495 for men, and 19,111 for women. These figures are sufficiently portentous, but in the case of women teachers, at any rate, they are certainly below the mark. There must be three or four female teachers of music to every male teacher, yet because they only half "profess" the subject and live with relatives, the great majority of women teachers escape the census. Nor has the increase of music teaching been confined to what may be called the private practice of the profession. Schools and colleges of music have sprung up in every direction, and the old institutions which formerly counted their pupils by tens now have their hundreds and thousands on the roll. Take the Guildhall School of Music. This institution began in 1880 with sixty-two pupils; at the time of writing there are 4,000 students receiving instruction within its walls, and the

number is increasing daily. During the year 1896 the fees paid by the pupils here amounted in the aggregate to £31,836, while in 1880 the sum was only about £500! At the Royal Academy of Music, again, there are now usually on the roll about 500 students, representing a steady increase since the institution started in 1823 with twenty-one students. The Royal College of Music opened its doors in 1883 to ninety-four pupils; now there are 348 students in regular attendance. The same story could be told of several provincial institutions. Thus, the Glasgow Athenæum School of Music, which seven years ago had 834 students on its books, is now giving instruction to close upon 1,700 pupils. The Manchester School of Music, founded by the late Sir Charles Hallé, is in a like position; and indeed everywhere the cry of the College Principal is "still they come." Nor, as a rule, is there anyone to dissuade them from coming. Other professions are undoubtedly overcrowded as well as the musical profession, but there the evil is generally recognized, and candidates are warned and discouraged. In music alone they are urged and beckoned to come on, and their increasing numbers are proclaimed with jubilation by those who know nothing of, or are indifferent to, the grinding competition that awaits the objects of their rejoicing. The blunder is a cruel one, for, as we shall see later on, the only prospect before the great body of young musicians is to take the bread of poverty out of someone else's mouth, and to reduce both Peter and Paul to a state of semi-starvation.

The increase in our general cultivation of music being thus admitted, we may look at some of the effects on the profession itself, for it is just here that the matter of the increase becomes of practical interest. To put every man and woman in the country in the way of intelligently enjoying music, nay, of making music for him and herself, would be a wholly laudable enterprise. But when this cannot be done without the inevitable result of filling the ranks of the teachers to overflowing, it becomes a question for consideration to what extent the cheapening of musical education by schools and colleges and the encouragement of all and sundry to take up the study of the art is a wise and commendable thing. The practice of music differs so far from the practice of certain other professions that it is absolutely open to anyone to enter upon it. This is, indeed, one of the chief reasons for the overcrowding, about which we are hearing so much in these days. There are no prohibitive restrictions to act as a wholesome check. One may not become a doctor or a barrister without having first passed through a recognized course of training, ending in a certificate of his fitness for the duties he proposes to undertake; and although there are certainly more lawyers and medical men than

MECHANICS' INSTITUTION

the public requires, or the members of these professions themselves find to be advantageous, the fault is assuredly not due to the system of education and license. On the other hand, there is nothing to prevent any person, capable or incapable, from setting up as a teacher of music. He may have had no training at all; he may have taught himself; or he may have put in a term or two at some of the leading musical institutions and then set up in all the glory of a "Professor of Music," with a brass plate so inscribed on his front-door. This is a position of matters which undoubtedly calls for serious consideration; but it is much easier recognizing the evils of the position than suggesting a feasible remedy for these evils.

A year or two ago a great agitation sprang up in favour of registration, not only as a means of reducing the competition among music teachers, but as a safeguard in the matter of competency. It was contended that, as the medical and legal professions are in the position of close corporations, so the musical profession should be open to those only who have been duly certified as fit to teach. The agitation fell through, and for sufficient reason. To begin with, music is after all nothing more than a luxury. Medicine and law deal with life and property, and the practice of both is therefore very properly hedged about with certain restrictive conditions. And while, as things are, the world could not get on very comfortably without doctors and lawyers, it could do perfectly well without music. Nobody would die for the want of a piano, and one might have his will drawn up without ever having heard a symphony. Nor is the parallel between the three professions any more exact in other particulars. The primary function of a professor of music is to teach; the duties of the doctor and the lawyer lie in quite another direction. The training of the doctor and the lawyer, again, involves a certain amount of intellectual discipline; the teaching of music, on the other hand, being more identified with the pianoforte than with anything else, is mainly a question of mechanics.

Moreover, supposing that the registration of music teachers were already an accomplished fact, it would still be impossible to interfere so largely with the "liberty of the subject" as to prevent an unregistered teacher from giving lessons to anyone who desired to employ him. No statute can compel the subject to buy in the dearest market; and one of the effects of registration would undoubtedly be an increase in the average fee within the privileged ranks. This would simply mean more work for the unregistered teacher; for the poorer classes who want to have musical instruction will take it where they can get it at the lowest rate. And even if the public were always willing and able to employ none but

the registered teachers, it would still be a question whether they might not, in some cases, obtain better instruction outside the favoured body. For it cannot be too strongly insisted upon that no system of examination can prove a musician's ability to teach. It can show the extent of his knowledge, and test his capacities as a player; but a man may be crammed full of theory and be able to play like a *virtuoso* without having any of the gifts of the instructor. That a poor teacher should have his status raised by a certificate qualifying him for registration would be a good ground of complaint with the non-registered teacher, were the latter in any way placed at a disadvantage with the public. Nor is it easy to see how any scheme of registration could be satisfactorily worked, supposing it to be expedient to adopt such a scheme. What could be done with the multitude of orchestral players, the crowd of pianists, the swarms of players and singers coming to this country from abroad, and obliged to earn money by giving lessons? What, too, about the foreign governess engaged by private schools to teach German and music? How, again, is the ordinary citizen —if he should think of enquiring—to distinguish between the registered and the unregistered teacher? If a register is to be kept—and what a fine bulky volume it would be!—where is it to be seen for general consultation? And what means are to be taken to have it kept up to date? The truth is, as one critic of the scheme has already pointed out, that the compilation, the maintenance, and the publication of the suggested register would be on all sides beset with such difficulties as would render it practically an impossibility, unless carried out by officials directly responsible to the Government—a *via ultima* which is not to be thought of in the circumstances.

But while we believe this scheme of registration to be a hopeless one, both from the point of view of the public and the profession, there are other things demanding grave deliberation in the interests of all parties. One of the greatest evils of the craze for education, and especially for cheap education in music, is the large increase in the number of irresponsible and semi-private colleges and schools of music, so-called. All over the country, but more especially, of course, in London, these mushroom institutions have sprung up, not unfortunately to sink again into oblivion, but to flourish and fatten on the gullibility of that large section of the youthful public who think it such a fine thing to be musical. These organizations, as Mr. Labouchere has proved in at least one instance, are nothing more or less than the speculations of individuals who find that they can make a far better income in this manner than as ordinary professors of music. Of course there is no reason why a teacher of music should not set up as the

"Principal" of a so-called college, if he thinks he can improve his position in that way. But experience has shown that there are two evils in connection with the semi-private college system which do not exist in the case of the usual teacher. In the first place, the College "Principal" has special methods of tempting pupils which no private professor would think of adopting. Allurements are offered and advantages promised to prospective students which, to put it mildly, prove only too often to be the fictions of the speculator, invented entirely in his own interests. "Scholarships" are held out as bribes, appearances at concerts are guaranteed, and, in short, every legitimate and illegitimate means is employed to induce the thoughtless victim to walk into the net. In the end the scholarships are discovered to be practically a fraud, and the concerts at which appearances have been promised are, as often as not, the concerts of the "college" itself.

Nor is this the worst evil of these questionable institutions. The multiplication of diplomas and the trade in these discredited "degrees" is far more serious. Time was, and not so long ago, when one might have consulted a register of abbreviations with the certain hope of finding there an explanation of any possible musical title that might have been met with; now the diplomas and the diploma-granting institutions are so numerous, and are still multiplying with such amazing rapidity, that even the musical man who tries to keep himself abreast of the doings of his profession, is hopelessly left behind in the matter of "titles." Leaving out the University degrees and the accredited diplomas of the Royal Academy of Music, the Royal College of Music, and the Royal College of Organists, one finds by looking through the musical magazines, and the advertisements of teachers and performers, that the people who suffer from what a distinguished organist calls "too much alphabet," represent something over two dozen diplomas of one kind or another. All this means, it need hardly be said, so much additional revenue to the founders of the trumpery schools and colleges from which the various diplomas are obtained. For it is not musical education only that the patrons of these institutions desire to have. They know how the ordinary uninformed person in such matters is apt to stare in open-mouthed admiration at the musician who displays a big selection from the alphabet behind his name; and they would as soon think of leaving without their diploma as of having their hair cut or their clothes made like other people. So the trade in diplomas goes on; and unfortunately, as the law stands, nothing can be done to check the abuse. If only the public were better informed as to the value of the various "titles" that are flaunted before them, one might have some hope of reducing the number and of repressing the diploma trade of

these shady undertakings. But the great mass of the public for whom diplomas have any fascination at all, know as little about the worth of one degree or the worthlessness of another as they know about the source of the Nile; and until the law comes to their aid they are likely to continue in their ignorance, while the self-styled colleges of music flourish in ever-increasing numbers.

Looked at from the pecuniary side, the profession of music, even by its own admission, is in a sufficiently discouraging condition. Musicians as a class have always been comparatively poor men. Handel was bankrupt twice over; Mozart was laid in a pauper's grave; Wagner fought a desperate duel with starvation in his early years; Rubinstein often went without a meal, and Von Bülow pawned his watch one evening before he could obtain his supper. According to Mr. Russell Lowell, an empty pocket is one of the best sources of inspiration; but unluckily for the rank and file musician of these days, it is not inspiration that he wants so much as the necessities of existence. He has had his ambitions, but these, like Rousseau's castles in the air, have long since resolved themselves into the question of how to get a living. And a difficult question enough it proves in practice. In fact, to earn a living in the musical profession nowadays, a man in the ordinary ranks must teach all day and every day from early morning until late at night. Personally, the writer knows a large number of professors who start about seven or eight, and have hardly a moment they can call their own until ten in the evening. This drudgery is in most cases rendered absolutely necessary by the low fees at which professors are forced to teach, owing to the press of competition. The masses must be educated, and since the masses are unable or unwilling to pay more than a nominal "living wage" to the music teacher, the latter must bear the expense by sacrificing his leisure, his own study and practice, and too often his health. Fees must be reduced; cheapness becomes the rule. Some teachers, no doubt, have their round of the clock filled with pupils who pay high fees; but there need be no commiseration for the man who works beyond his strength merely to satisfy his ambition to make a big income. The professor of the rank and file slaves at his teaching simply because he must. At the best he can only hope to earn enough to enable him to dress respectably and eat three meals a day. To provide against the approach of old age is quite out of the question; and we all know how frequent are the appeals made for the distressed musician or the family he has left behind him.

Nor is it only in the teaching department of music that the wearing anxieties of income are felt. Take the orchestral musician, who differs from other classes of musicians in this respect, that he can

seldom fall back on teaching. In London alone it is calculated there are close on twelve hundred orchestral players, and of these there are probably not more than a hundred, if, indeed, the number is so great, whose income from orchestral work is over £250 a year. The ordinary pay of the player at concerts is a guinea per performance, one rehearsal being thrown in gratis, the leaders and soloists receiving extra. But no bandsman could hope to secure 250 concerts or performances a year, so that a post on a permanent day orchestra is really one of the prizes of the profession. How the fees have fallen as the result of competition, especially foreign competition, can easily be determined. At the Royal Italian Opera, for example, during Sir Michael Costa's time, the "principals" were paid from nine to twelve guineas a week, and others from four to five guineas. Now these salaries are represented in many instances by three guineas and two-and-a-half guineas respectively. The case, no doubt, is extreme, but the same process on a smaller scale is constantly going on. The orchestral player himself is explicit on the point. Here is a quotation from a statement made recently in the columns of the Orchestral Association's official *Gazette*. We read that—

"Where formerly it was possible for a player to make a fair income by adding a few concerts to his fairly paid teaching, he must now be in everything to make ends meet. This necessitates his attendance at rehearsal after rehearsal by day, and concert after concert by night, until he is worn out at an age when men in business are at their prime. He cannot at such high pressure remain at his best more than a few years. When he shows signs of decay, he is cast off like an old glove, with no more consideration than would be bestowed on a broken-down cab-horse."

These remarks are unhappily too true. Yet the orchestral player is taught by the Press to recognize the giver of cheap concerts as the benefactor of his species, because the lowering of his prices brings the divine art within the reach of the great public, and creates a demand for more (and still cheaper!) instruction; the fact, of course, being that the cheap concert-giver is merely a commercial speculator, as much concerned about his own profit as is the vendor of cheap boots.

And then the vocalist—how does he fare in this matter of income? Probably his case is the hardest of all. The established vocal favourites of the public—and the number is never over fifty—have practically a monopoly of all the better-paid engagements—festival, orchestral, and oratorio—and for an unknown singer to make his or her way to the front is, to the artist nature at least, one of the most difficult and heart-breaking tasks imaginable. There are hundreds of vocalists being turned out every year by the various musical institutions and by private teachers who find it impossible to obtain engagements even at the very lowest figures. So well

indeed is the fact recognized that many young singers who have faith in themselves and a little money in their pockets gladly pay to be *allowed* to sing, in the faint hope of thereby gaining the good-will of the public. Nay, there are even ladies of title in London who add handsomely to their incomes by exacting heavy fees from aspiring vocalists for the privilege of singing at their "At Homes." One vocalist has declared lately that she paid a hundred guineas for permission to appear at Lady So-and-So's, and another avers that she paid £75 for the same distinction! That only a very few aspirants, and these mostly Americans, are able to meet such exactions, only aggravates the situation; for undoubtedly such "At Home" appearances prove in the majority of cases a good investment, and the monopoly of engagements is thus only very slightly extended. The great body of would-be public singers are left high and dry as before. The same favoured names continue to appear at every important musical function year after year; and even those who do find engagements below that line make but a poor and precarious livelihood. Occasional concert tours at perhaps ten guineas a week; casual engagements at perhaps five guineas; civic dinners (a humiliating business at the best) at a couple of guineas or thereby; charity concerts at a nominal fee called "expenses"; and that most lamentable of all expedients, an "annual concert" in the season—these are the resources of even the fairly successful vocalist outside the favoured circle. For the rest one can only say that the singing world offers a painful spectacle of vanished illusions and struggling poverty.

There does not seem to be any remedy for all this deplorable overcrowding unless a check can be placed upon the number of those going in for music at the very outset. That is to say, if teachers and heads of musical institutions could only be prevailed upon to honestly tell an intending student that he had no natural aptitude for music, that he had no future in his voice, no "racing capacity" (the phrase is Von Bülow's) in his fingers, the output of "half-baked" musicians would be very considerably reduced and the profession, as a direct result, would suffer less from over-pressure within its ranks. But this is too much to expect. No prospective student was ever yet such a dullard that *some* music teacher would not undertake his musical "training"; and our musical schools and colleges are, as a rule, limited in nothing but the material capacities of their room-space. But the remedy is assuredly in the direction we have indicated. As Dr. Henry Hiles said not long ago, to dabble in music is unfortunately regarded as so fascinating, and to the stern point where the real hard work begins so pleasant, that the attraction is irresistible to those who fancy themselves endowed with the necessary qualifications, and

who shrink from the monotony of an apparently less exciting career. It should, therefore, be the positive duty of those who are in a position to exercise it, to enquire seriously into the prospects of those who seek advice as to the choice of a profession, and who would be only too ready with the slightest encouragement, to follow the most exacting mistress they could possibly have—one who demands unswerving and unstinted allegiance, and yet, alas! too often without giving any material recompense in exchange. If the profession and the musical colleges cannot honestly face the problem in this way, the profession must continue to suffer the penalty which makes its present burden.

J. Cuthbert Hadden.

THE MONTH IN AMERICA.

Washington, June 15th, 1897.

THE United States have at last succumbed to the universal land hunger, and are about to take unto themselves a colony. The Hawaiian Islands are to come under the folds of the American flag. The American Constitution and system of government does not provide for the government of colonies, and Hawaii must come into the Union either as a territory, and eventually a State, or else as a county of the State of California, two thousand miles of ocean separating the child from its foster-mother.

It is the first step that counts. A departure from the traditional policy of the United States, the acquisition of foreign territory, of territory lying outside of the continent, is more momentous than the world appreciates, because the world is too busy about its own affairs to care a fig whether a dot of land in the centre of the Pacific is governed by a black queen, a white president, or creeps under the wing of the great English-speaking republic. It means much, however. It means that the United States having imitated the rest of the world and extended their frontier two thousand miles to the west, will now be more resolutely determined to lay a succouring hand on the island, but a biscuit-throw from their Southern border. The annexation of Hawaii is the logical forerunner of the annexation of Cuba. And after Cuba, with the building of the Nicaragua Canal, it is easy to see that the lust of conquest, the passion for territory, will not be appeased until the United States command its approaches both in the Carribean Sea and the Pacific.

The possession of a navy demands coaling-stations and depôts, hence the necessity of the United States' requiring Hawaii. Conversely, coaling-stations are valueless unless there are vessels to be coaled. With Hawaii under the American flag, Cuba destined to be an American colony, and the Stars and Stripes flying at both ends of the Nicaragua Canal, we shall see a steady increase in the power and size of the American Navy. We shall see what many statesmen have been anticipating, the United States breaking away from their century-old policy of isolation, and becoming an active political and military factor in the "World's Concert." And when

that time arrives, if the somewhat damaged "European Concert" still exists, it will have to count as an ally or an opponent, according to the mood of the hour, the great naval Power of the Western world.

That promised wave of prosperity which was to sweep over the land immediately following the election of McKinley, which was to engulf everything in a shower of gold, which was to gild the blackened ashes of dead furnaces, and magically cast an auriferous halo over moribund trade, is still only a ripple on a becalmed ocean. It may be remembered by English readers that the slogan of the Republicans in the last campaign was "McKinley and prosperity." McKinley's election meant the immediate revival of trade, the reopening of closed factories, the employment of idle men on remunerative wages. These were the inducements held out to the grand army of the unemployed; this was the glittering bait which made so many of them vote for McKinley. In those days, in the days when Mr. McKinley was epigrammatically telling visiting delegations that it was better to open the mills than the mints, the Republican campaign managers hoisted banners bearing the legend "Ten days to prosperity," and they vaunted the man from Ohio as the alchemist whose touch was to transmute all base things into gold.

McKinley has been elected, and still prosperity lags. Worse even, distinguished Republicans, men whom the Party has honoured, are to be found boldly proclaiming the necessity of something more being done than the farce of pretending.

Two notable utterances within the past few days have attracted general attention. The American Protective Tariff League, one of whose directors is the Secretary of the Interior in the present Cabinet, has recently issued a circular in which this language is used:—

"The entire country, as you know, is suffering beyond description from the industrial invasion of goods of other countries through the Wilson-Gorman free trade tariff.

"Times are growing harder every day, and with the vast amount of foreign merchandise coming to this country, the good effects of a protective tariff are already discounted. We can have no prosperity until protection is embodied in our laws."

In November, 1896, the election of McKinley was to banish hard times; in June, 1897, the good times are still declared to be in the distant future.

But even more significant than this wailing appeal of the American Protective Tariff League is a speech recently delivered by Mr. John Wanamaker, of Philadelphia, who was Postmaster-

General in President Harrison's Cabinet, and who is one of the great merchant princes of the New World. Listen to this great Republican :—

"The country is not prosperous. . . . The tide will soon set in strongly against the Republican Party unless the depression of business is altered. Idleness and want breed a bitter discontent which will never be overcome until there are ample employments.

"The foes America has to fear . . . are our own patient and heart-tired people, our own suffering, much-promised people, who, betrayed and disheartened, no longer have faith in their party, and will turn to any leadership that offers better times, believing that worse times can never come than those now existing. . . . There are immeasurable depths of misfortune for this nation and State if the continued use of corporation and public moneys, and the dispensation of Federal and State patronage continues to be controlled in the interest of office-holders to hold office for themselves and to benefit those who desire to keep Government contracts or maintain particular protection through the money given by which elections are decided.

"There will most assuredly come a day when there will be a mighty revolt and resistance resulting in a revolution that will give birth to a new political party."

Mr. Wanamaker made this speech a few days before the President visited Philadelphia in an official capacity. With that gift for epigrams which he possesses, Mr. McKinley, in the course of his speech, said "a patriot was better than a pessimist," which was interpreted as a hit at Mr. Wanamaker and loudly applauded as the highest wisdom.

Epigrams, however, like fine words, butter no parsnips, and Mr. Wanamaker was not to be dismayed by phrases. He returned to the charge in a published interview, and among other things delivered himself of these striking sentences :—

"To keep work for the six thousand and more persons in my employ and turn away from the several hundred who apply daily and beg for the privilege of labour to keep the wolf from the door drives me into a fever, and I must speak. Any citizen has that right.

"I cannot sit on a fence, with a stiff wind blowing, and whistle for Prosperity, the vanished bird of beautiful plumage, to come back.

"She has been gone five long years. How any can live on for ever in a thunderstorm, I don't know.

"Gathering ourselves together also on the monetary question

cannot be done too soon. There is no use sending delegations to foreign nations until we have some definite proposition to make.

"Let authority be given immediately for a monetary commission to determine what the United States wants to do on the money question, and then let us go after it and get it as promptly as possible."

Some food for thought in these words.

While commercia lprosperity halters, the stock market has been enjoying a boom, just to convince the country, presumably, that there is one place which feels the vivifying influence of a Republican Administration. During the past three weeks prices on stocks have soared upwards, and Wall Street has been correspondingly happy, and gleefully sings the tune of prosperity. It has long been an axiom among professional operators that "London is a buyer when given encouragement," and the gentlemen of New York's Capel Court have spared no pains to "encourage" London. Wall Street always proceeds on the theory that when London buys American securities the home market advances, and a sustained rise is sure to entice the general public into buying the handsomely engraved certificates which are printed to sell, and in case there is a scarcity, and the public demand is still unsatisfied, their owners will generously set the presses to work turning out a new supply.

Judging from the financial reports, London has furnished a large flock of opulent and tender lambs for the Wall Street shearing. Why the British investor should buy American railroad shares—barring a few notable exceptions—beats my comprehension. Take, for instance, Louisville and Nashville, one of the favourite internationals. That stock has been selling for about $50, a rise of eight or nine dollars since the manipulated boom commenced, and yet it has not paid a dividend for years, and not even its most sanguine boomer ventures to predict when the golden era will begin. It has prospects, of course, glorious prospects, but prospects are not convertible into cash in the materialistic environs of Wall Street. There is Reading, another bait for the British widow and orphan. It sells for about $20 as the result of the boom. But like Louisville and Nashville it pays no dividends; in fact, worse than that non-dividend paying property there is an assessment of $20 a share for reorganization purposes, so that the unfortunate investor who buys Reading must pay an assessment, and will probably be a great many years older before he receives a farthing in the way of returns.

There are, of course, some solvent railroad properties in the United States, but the trouble with even the best of them is that

they are heavily over capitalized, and they are compelled to earn dividends on watered stock. The solvent roads, those conservatively managed and able in normal times to earn their fixed charges, are constantly menaced by the half-bankrupt companies whose managers find it more to their personal profit to manipulate the stock on Wall Street than to earn dividends. If it suits them they inaugurate a "rate war," they reduce transportation charges so as to create chaos in the railroad world, and in consequence of general demoralization which follows the price of their shares is affected. When their object has been obtained peace is declared and prices once more go up; but in the meantime the solvent road, against which the attack is frequently directed, has suffered enormously. My suggestion to Englishmen about to invest in the average American railroad is—Hesitate a long time before parting with any money.

The vagaries of American courts are past finding out, and even American papers feel impelled at times to utter a protest. In the June number of *The National Review* I had occasion to refer to the scandalous stories in circulation in Washington in connection with the speculations of Senators, arising out of the sugar schedule of the new Tariff Bill. It's an old story. Every Tariff Bill yields its own crop of scandals and affords an opportunity for a certain number of smart and somewhat unscrupulous Members of Congress to profit by their advance official knowledge. In 1894 when the Wilson Tariff Bill was under consideration it was charged that Senators had speculated in sugar. The Senate ordered an investigation, and the Committee summoned as witnesses a stockbroker, the president and secretary of the Sugar Trust, newspaper men, and others. The stockbroker was asked if any Senators had speculated through his firm, and declined to answer on the ground that his business was a private matter which could not be investigated by a Committee of Congress. The officials of the Sugar Trust were asked what sums they contributed to the various campaign committees of that year. They also declined to answer on the ground that it was not a proper enquiry. The newspaper correspondents refused to give the sources of their information. The Committee found itself blocked, and the Senate referred the matter to the Attorney-General for such action as he might think best. The Government's legal officer had the various witnesses indicted for contempt of the Senate, and after strenuous efforts made by all the defendants to have the indictments quashed, the Supreme Court of the United States, the court of last resort, held the indictments to be valid and ordered the defendants to trial. The first man to be tried was the stockbroker, who was

found guilty and sentenced to thirty days in jail. The president of the Sugar Trust was next placed on trial, but the case was not permitted to go to the jury. The judge granted the motion of the eminent counsel for the defendant to dismiss the case on the ground that the Senate Committee had no right to ask the questions. Naturally, the case of the secretary being on all fours with that of the president, his case was also dismissed, and both officials left the court-room "without a stain on their characters," as police magistrates so frequently remark.

The newspaper men are still to be tried. It would only be in keeping with the farcical character of the proceedings now that the great offenders—the president and secretary of the Trust—have escaped scot free, that the pressmen should be convicted because they printed what everybody with a knowledge of affairs was then discussing, and be sent to jail to keep the stockbroker company.

This very curious playing with justice has, as might be imagined, raised a great outcry. "This decision," a Conservative journal remarks, "padlocks every closet in which a corruptionist chooses to hide the evidence of his guilt, and hands to the corruptionist the key. Moreover, this decision opens to every corruptionist in the country a safe and easy way of purchasing the election of its own agents, its 'factors,' if need be, to the national councils. That way is indicated in the startling dictum that it is 'beyond the power of the United States to go behind the election of legislative members.' What open activity in 'clearing houses for boodle' does this forecast! What 'legislative member' is likely to have his election expenses met by corporate contributions who will not pledge his vote in advance to corporate candidates?"

The effect of this ruling is to legalize election corruption; to put a premium upon the "voluntary contributions" of the trusts and individuals who, the moment their Party has been returned to power, come to Congress not as supplicants asking for favours, but as creditors demanding that their debts be paid. It is now possible and legally permitted for a trust to debauch a legislature, that legislature electing a member of the United States Senate. A Senator elected by a legislature corrupted by the money of a trust is simply that trust's agent to protect its interest in the national Congress. Could there be a more dangerous ruling than that of the judge who acquitted the Sugar Trust magnates; could there be a greater menace to the Republic than this encouragement and invitation to the trusts to have their tools and agents elected to Congress?

It would seem as if Congress, and especially the Senate, had

grown so indifferent to public sentiment that it delighted to flaunt its contempt of the people. Undeterred by the scandals in connection with the framing of the Wilson Tariff Bill, it has by its course given birth to a new crop of scandals growing out of the present measure. So open have been the charges made affecting the integrity of Senators, that Senator Tillman, of South Carolina, whose participation in the Bryan campaign was such a picturesque feature, introduced a resolution to investigate senatorial dealings in sugar. It is the old scandal of 1894 over again with a change of characters. Three years ago it was the Democrats who had the framing of the Bill, and who knew in advance how the tariff would affect the market. This year the Republicans were in possession of the valuable information. Reputable newspaper correspondents in leading journals made charges in signed articles. Senator Tillman considered the allegations specific enough to call for the prosecution of their authors if they were false; if true, the Senators who were guilty were unfit to sit in the body. With that end in view he introduced his resolution, which the Senate has determined it will not adopt. No formal action has yet been taken on the resolution; it has in the usual routine been sent to a committee for report, and in the course of time will be referred back to the Senate. But the Senate, or, more properly speaking, the Republican majority, have determined there shall be no investigation, and in the face of that decision there is no appeal. The Republicans who are opposed to the investigation say it is derogatory to the dignity of the Senate to notice "vague newspaper charges"; the public draws its own conclusions, and believes that the allegations of corruption are not baseless.

The *Post* of this city, one of the leading newspapers of the country but a victim of Anglophobia to a marked degree, quotes at considerable length my article in the June number of *The National Review* on the relations between the United States and England, and declares that "to say that the Yankees cherish animosity toward 'everything English' is, as we see the matter, to indulge in riotous extravagance."

Unfortunately for the *Post* I convict it out of its own editorial columns. In my article I said: "If it is necessary to send a punitive expedition into the heart of Africa, or if it is necessary to march against the Mahdi, almost every editor feels himself entitled to represent England playing her accustomed *rôle* of hurling her mailed legions against a handful of naked savages." And now the *Post*, two days after it has demolished the idea of friction between the United States and Great Britain, in a leader discussing the chance of war with Japan growing out

of Hawaii's refusal to permit the landing of Japanese immigrants says: "England is always ready [for war]—that is, in the case of some savage tribe like the Zulus or some feeble Power like the Boer Republic." It is the same old sneer; the same old effort to hold England up as a bully and a coward, the same expression of contempt and hate which one finds in a dozen newspapers in as many different cities north and south, east and west every day. Yet the *Post* would try and create the impression that America loves England!

The silver men, Republicans and Democrats, are as full of courage and as resolute to have their cause succeed as if the campaign last year had resulted in their favour. Their enthusiasm is as great as it was during the most exciting days of Mr. Bryan's cyclonic oratory in Chicago the week before election, and there is the same determination manifested to cling to the great bimetallic issue, no matter what obstacles have to be overcome.

I talked this week with Senator Marion Butler, of North Carolina, the chairman of the Populist Party in the last campaign. In answer to my question, what the silver forces were doing to keep the party organization alive, he said: "The Silver Party is keeping itself alive; it does not need any outside help. It is stronger now than it ever was; it will be stronger yet in the next campaign. The Republicans will soon pass their Tariff Bill, and the country will see whether high taxes bring the prosperity which the Republicans promised. We do not believe it, and we believe the country will once and for all refuse to be again humbugged by tariff promises. Before the next campaign opens we shall have settled whether international bimetallism is practicable, or whether it is merely a sop thrown to catch votes. I have no faith in international bimetallism, because I do not believe England will budge an inch. Very well, then, the ground is cleared. If high tariff is merely a farce; if international bimetallism is a phrase only, a meaningless sentence without substance, there is only one issue presented to the voters of the United States—the retention of the gold standard, or the adoption of the double standard. That is precisely the issue I want to see presented, and I have no fear of the outcome of that issue."

"You mean," I said, "that the silver cause will win?"

"Precisely," he replied. "In the last campaign the tariff had as much to do with securing votes for McKinley as the promise of international bimetallism. Many of the Western farmers had been educated to believe in protection, and they were inclined to think that the Democratic Low Tariff Bill was partly responsible for their deplorable condition. In the next campaign there will be no tariff

talk; there will be no juggling with international bimetallism. It will be a fair and square fight on currency, and the issue will be so plain it cannot be clouded by sophistry, and specious promises will avail nothing."

The thoughtful Republicans and the more intelligent Republican newspapers recognize that the campaign of 1900 has already opened, although more than three years must elapse before the election is held. In Kentucky the Democrats held a convention a few days ago, and boldly declared for free silver. "A platform for free silver," says the *Star* of this city—a paper of great weight and a staunch supporter of the gold standard—"and Mr. Bryan for President again, will be the Democratic cry in 1900, as all thoughtful men will take note. It is true that the fight in Kentucky is local this year, and that yesterday's convention made reference to local issues. But the local issues brought up the rear. Placed in front, where all men might 'read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest them,' were the national issues of free silver, and the name of the man who most conspicuously represents it in this country."

And the same paper generously pays this tribute to its political opponent: "Mr. Bryan's part in the year's work is going to be delicate and difficult. It must be said of him that he is a frank man. He doesn't hide his opinions, and he responds to all of his party's demands. In last year's campaign he declared himself on the issues in the same terms in New York as he employed in Iowa or Nebraska. He is not a shuffler. He is never ashamed of himself or of his company."

The Democratic Party—not the handful of "gold Democrats" who put up Palmer and Buckner as a Republican stalking-horse, but the rank and file of the party—stands for free silver to-day fully as much as it did in Chicago last July. Representative Bailey, of Texas, the Democratic leader in the House of Representatives, has come out flat-footed for Mr. Bryan's renomination in 1900. There is peculiar significance in this declaration. Mr. Bailey until quite recently believed in the wisdom of the Democrats subordinating silver, and in 1900 making the tariff once more the leading issue. He went to Missouri to take part in a stumping tour in a bye-election—where, it may be remembered, the silver Democrat was elected—and on his return to Washington, after having felt the pulse of the Democracy of the Western States, declared himself unreservedly in favour of the renomination of Mr. Bryan. "It seems to be," he said, "the almost unanimous opinion of the Democrats with whom I have been brought in contact personally and otherwise that the Democratic Party should commit itself unreservedly to the readoption of the Chicago platform of

1896. Mr. Bryan is identified with the Chicago platform, and with the issue of 1896 indissolubly. No man can so fully represent that platform in 1900 as the candidate of the Chicago convention of last July. It is my judgment that his renomination is a foregone conclusion."

Meanwhile there is much to encourage the propagandists of the white metal crusade. The hopeful views of English bimetallists, voiced at the annual meeting of the Bimetallic League in Manchester earlier in the month, shows that America does not stand alone ; and Senator Wolcott, it is believed, is meeting with success in his mission. The silver Republicans held a conference in Chicago a few days ago. It was in no sense a convention—although delegates from thirty-two States were in attendance—but merely a meeting of representative leaders. A plan for the more thorough organization of the Party was mapped out, and every effort was made to detach voters from the Republican Party and bring them into the silver ranks. The Republican Party must be destroyed if silver is to win, say these Republicans, and they are willing to sacrifice their first-born to save the nation.

Space forbids me touching at length on what perhaps portends an entirely new Democratic economic policy. To the surprise of everyone, a Democratic Senator—Earle, of South Carolina—introduced an amendment to the Tariff Bill placing a duty of 20 per cent. on raw cotton. The Republicans were amazed by this heresy from a Democrat, but naturally supported the proposition as being in accord with their own views on protection ; and America, the greatest cotton raising country in the world, for the first time in its history finds it necessary to place a protective duty on that staple. The debates on the Tariff Bill show that protection, which a few years ago was anathema to a Southern Democrat, is regarded with much more toleration now. It perhaps presages the extinction of the tariff question as a political issue and the division of party lines on finance.

The relations of the United States with Spain arising out of Cuba still remain strained and unsettled, and liable at any time through the force of circumstances to reach a climax. Although prior to the inauguration of President McKinley the Republicans from one end of the country to the other were loud in their denunciations of the timidity and supineness of the Cleveland-Olney policy in dealing with Spain, and promised with the accession to power of the Republican Party a more vigorous foreign policy would be inaugurated, Mr. McKinley has thus far followed directly in the footsteps of his predecessor and manifests a striking de-

sire to proceed with great caution. All that he has done so far has been to send a special commissioner, Mr. W. J. Calhoun, of Illinois, to Havana, to investigate the death—it ought more properly to be called the murder—of Doctor Ruiz. It was expected at one time that Mr. Calhoun's mission would produce immediate results, but now that the special commissioner has returned and made his report to the President, the situation still remains unchanged, and it looks as if there would be another long diplomatic duel before results are reached. The country continues to clamour for vigorous action, and would welcome intervention by the United States. But opposed to this sentiment are some of the great business interests, who have persuaded the President that a war with Spain would still further postpone the promised wave of prosperity which is yet to manifest itself, and that the necessary military preparations would involve sums greater than the Treasury in its present depleted condition could conveniently stand. It has also been represented to the President by some of the Members of the Cabinet and others who are close to him that the declaration of war would cause the United States to go to a silver basis, as it would be necessary for the country to issue bonds to provide the necessary expenditures, and the silver men would not permit any more gold bonds to be issued. While it is not believed that in face of a national enemy the silver men would utilize the occasion to carry through their financial policy, these opinions have had their weight on the President, and he manifests a disposition to permit matters to take their natural course without being hurried by him. All accounts received from Cuba through the most reliable sources show that the present hostilities may be continued almost indefinitely. Keen observers say that the insurgents can fight for another ten years if necessary, while the question of Spain holding out is merely one of finance, and so long as she is willing to pour money into the Cuban sieve for the enrichment of palace officials, military and naval officers, and Government contractors, the war will not be brought to an end. I have been repeatedly assured of late by men of calm judgment and high integrity that Spanish officials on the Island of Cuba are robbing the Government right and left, and at comparatively little personal risk, making huge fortunes. So long as this state of affairs is allowed to continue it is easy enough to understand that the "war" will go on.

A humorous incident, recalling a page from mediæval times, with all the elements of the bold and gallant lover, the trusting maiden, the stern parent, and the donjon keep, is worth while recording. The *dramatis personæ* are: Mr. Swits Conde, a New

G.W.R. MECHANICS' INSTITUTION. NEW SWINDON

York millionaire ; his young and beautiful daughter, Marie ; and Mr. James Stone, an ensign in the service of the United States Navy. Mr. Stone, like all heroes of properly constructed romance, is poor, but comes of a good family, and was rash enough to fall hopelessly in love with Miss Conde, who from all accounts fully reciprocates his ardent passion. After the usual amount of philandering, Mr. Stone boldly announced his engagement to Miss Conde, whereupon that young lady's mother had the newspapers print an emphatic denial. Ensign Stone's ship was stationed at the New York Navy Yard, and to prevent the young folks from seeing one another, Miss Conde was taken to the interior of New York State, where her father has a sumptuous summer-house. But love laughs at stern parents and summer cottages. Procuring a leave of absence from his vessel, and accompanied by a brother ensign, Stone attempted an elopement, and induced the lady to steal away from her father's house and meet him in the City of Oswego. Unfortunately for the hero and heroine of this melancholy tale, their plans were frustrated by Conde *père* and his stalwart son, and the senior Conde immediately preferred charges against Ensign Stone "for conduct unbecoming an officer and gentleman." Whereupon the Secretary of the Navy summoned a court-martial to enquire into the love affairs of one of his youthful officers, and a court was convened to investigate the complaint. After several days of solemnity and grappling with the knotty problem whether to fall in love was a violation of the Naval Code, the Court exonerated the youngster, and recommended to the Secretary of the Navy that Ensign Stone be relieved from arrest and returned to his duties. In promulgating this verdict, the Secretary of the Navy approved the findings of the Court, and administered a caustic rebuke to Mr. Conde, intimating that he had caused the affairs of the family to receive entirely too much publicity, and that in future the Navy Department could not be expected to interfere in matters of the heart.

WAR, TRADE, AND FOOD SUPPLY.

In every great naval war the losses of British mercantile shipping have been severe. Nevertheless, for nearly two hundred years, with a single exception, commerce has always been increased by war. The exception—the War of American Independence, 1774-1782—was plainly due to overstrain of the national resources, which, reacting upon the Navy, enfeebled the protection of trade. The greatest increase of British commerce resulted from the war of the French Revolution and Empire (1793-1814), when that commerce more than doubled its volume, although it was made a special object of attack. After Trafalgar, the battle-ship fleet of France was practically unable to enter into the lists, and for nine years (1805-1814) the efforts of Napoleon were directed against British trade. Now that the *guerre de course* as a war policy has again been powerfully advocated in France, its failure, in days far more favourable to success than our own, deserves to be remembered. "To swoop down without pity on the weak and to flee without false shame from the strong; such is the formula" according to MM. Le Commandant Z. and Montéchant. This "formula," ruthlessly and systematically applied in the past, proved to be delusive. Warfare against commerce, attempted in the face of naval supremacy, never succeeded in sailing days. Steam has distinctly increased its difficulties, and has greatly simplified the task of a protecting navy well provided with coaling-stations on main trade routes.

The actual losses of British shipping during the three wars, 1702-14, 1739-49, 1774-82, cannot be stated with any certainty. In the wars of the French Revolution and Empire, 1793-1801, 1803-14, the total number of ships captured or destroyed by France and her allies was probably about 10,800, and Captain Mahan, after careful examination, arrives at the conclusion that the percentage of loss could not have exceeded 2½ per cent., and was probably below this figure. He does not, however, take into consideration the sham captures which at one period were frequent in the Mediterranean and North Sea. General Marbot has explained the interesting arrangement under which British ships

were sent to prearranged points in order to be captured and taken into ports controlled by Napoleon's generals. Here the cargoes were allowed to be discharged, after paying toll to the receptive general, and the ships again proceeded to sea. If captures of this description are included in the totals, as is probable, and if the scale of these illicit operations was as great as Marbot implies, a considerable reduction of the nominal loss would be justified. Although the proportion of *bonâ fide* captures must have been small, possibly not exceeding 2 per cent. of the total volume of shipping, the aggregate value of cargoes and vessels lost to the nation during the nineteen years of war was very large.* The "all but complete security" of trade which, according to Mr. Gibson Bowles, was attained "under the old system," had no real existence. How far our heavy losses were preventible cannot be stated; but it is certain that not one of the wars above referred to was begun with an adequate or even an efficient navy. Peace invariably led at once to reckless retrenchment by which naval *personnel* was quickly enfeebled, and *matériel* reduced to a state of decay. During the brief respite afforded by the Peace of Amiens, there was hardly time for the customary debilitation of the fleet; but, in spite of the plain signs of the times, the parsimonious administration of Lord St. Vincent succeeded in partially destroying the splendid fabric which had been reared between 1793 and 1801. Compared to the Army, the Navy in 1854 was an effective force; but "the whole state of the fleet proved, without doubt, that we were utterly without any means of fitting out a war-fleet in an emergency."† It is only within the last few years that the dream of maintaining in peace time an adequate fleet prepared for war has seemed capable of realization.

The wide experience of the past has taught us that loss to our sea-borne trade must be expected in a naval war; but, at the same time, we have learnt that trade can—as a whole—be effectively protected. If the percentage of loss can be kept as low as was the case between 1793 and 1814, there is little to fear. The necessary measures of protection were discovered and successfully applied by our great naval commanders. Those measures offer less difficulty in the present day. The people of this country, for the first time in their history, have determined that naval supremacy shall be maintained at any cost. It has resulted that, both absolutely and relatively to probable antagonists, the Navy has never in peace time been so strong as now.

* It is estimated at fully £200,000,000 by Mr. C. B. Norman (*The Corsairs of France*). This figure, however, appears excessive.

† Evidence of Sir B. J. Sulivan before the Royal Commission on Manning in 1858.

In these circumstances, our Cassandras are, for the most part, restrained from prophesying naval disaster, and are driven to seek elsewhere for the causes of our impending ruin. In war, it is necessarily an advantage to a State to be self-sustaining. This would be the case of few States in the present day; but many, including Austria, Russia, Italy, the United States, and some British Colonies are practically independent as regards necessary food supply. Great Britain, during the present century, has become dependent upon sea-borne products for the subsistence of her population. The total value of the food imports for 1895 was about 166¾ millions sterling. Of wheat, wheat-meal and flour, the required supply was obtained from the following sources, viz.:—

	£
United States	13,145,000
Russia	6,049,000
Argentina	3,142,378
Canada	1,033,145
Other external sources	6,840,666
Total sea-borne	30,210,189
Total home-grown	5,522,923*

From 1875 to 1895, the total imports of wheat and flour have risen from 59,546,621 cwts. to 107,261,636 cwts., and the dependence of the home population on external sources of supply must continue to increase. It is impossible to state with absolute accuracy the total amount of wheat and flour in or on passage to the United Kingdom at any given time, but the amount cannot fall greatly below the requirements of four months' consumption.

The minimum available total of *food* must always exceed a four months' supply, and meat, if stocks were consumed, would last for more than two years. It is, however, clear that in the event of war lasting for a year, large quantities of food must continue to be poured into Great Britain. Otherwise, starvation, entailing absolute national disaster, would inevitably supervene.

Here evidently are great opportunities for the prophet of evil. If we are simultaneously at war with Russia and the United States, and if both of these Powers prevent the exportation of all wheat across their frontiers or from their ports for one year, nearly two-thirds of our present bread supply would be cut off. Similarly, by a suitable combination of war and a failure of crops, the whole or any assigned portion of our means of subsistence can be removed—on paper. How, in such cases, are our forty millions of people to be kept alive? How can disaster be averted? Such

* 4,785,638 quarters at average price, 20s. 1d. This estimate of value is approximate only.

are the questions propounded by Mr. R. A. Yerburgh, M.P.,* Mr. R. B. Marston,† and other writers, who have lately shown much activity. The suggested solutions are of two kinds—the establishment and maintenance of State granaries of wheat, and the encouragement by bounties on import duties of the home-grown article.

Before dealing with these proposals, it seems necessary to point out that the hypotheses of the writers in question do not exhaust the catalogue of our national risks, and that the suggested precautions do not even approximately suffice for all possible requirements.

If all the Great Powers of Europe combine in an effective war alliance against us, the Empire will unquestionably be dismembered. We have in the past successfully faced heavy odds; but there is obviously a limit to our potential resistance. If the Navy is overpowered and reduced to the position of that of France after Trafalgar, irremediable disaster must result. If France had been an island receiving an annual food supply of the value of 166¾ millions, and depending for existence upon a sea-borne trade of the value of 1,600 millions sterling, she would have been ruined after, if not before, Trafalgar. If, during the course of a great war, the population of these islands were smitten with bubonic plague, its powers of offence and of defence would be paralysed. In the affairs of men and of nations, reasonable probabilities alone—not possibilities—can be provided against.

The writers above referred to have limited their attention to the wheat supply. Mr. Marston proposes the maintenance of a State reserve of twenty-five million quarters; while Mr. Yerburgh, more moderately, demands ten millions. Other publicists consider that, under suitable arrangements, the existing deficiency might be made good by home-grown wheat. Bread made from wheat flour, being naturally regarded as the first necessity of life, is thus dealt with to the exclusion of other commodities. Unfortunately the question is less simple. The value of our imported wheat and flour is only about 18 per cent. of our total food imports, and the percentage is really less than this, because there are other imports which go to the feeding of animals, and thus indirectly increase the food supply. Our consumption of bread per head of population is less than that of all European countries. If, however, the 82 per cent. of our food imports which do not go to bread-making were cut off or restricted, the present wheat supply would not nearly suffice for the then requirements. I am, of course, well aware that included in this 82 per cent. of food imports, having an

* *National Review*, April, 1896.

† *War, Famine, and our Food Supply*, and elsewhere.

aggregate annual value exceeding £136,000,000, are many articles of luxury with which we could easily dispense; but the important fact remains that other food imports in large quantities now take the place of bread. In other words, the twenty-five million quarters of wheat which Mr. Marston wishes to store would not—in the circumstances he seems to contemplate—even approximately suffice for a year's bare subsistence of the population. His proposal is, in fact, hopelessly inadequate to the solution even of the limited problem with which he starts.

The economic requirements of Great Britain in war are unfortunately far greater than Mr. Marston has recognized. In 1895 we imported raw materials to the value of more than £133,500,000, and this large figure does not include many articles essential to manufacture. Is a State reserve of raw materials to be also established? If not, how is manufacture, on which the purchasing power of the masses mainly depends, to be sustained? As Mr. Yerburgh points out:—

"From 1861 to 1865, Lancashire, owing to the partial stoppage of cotton imports, experienced the terrors of famine. There are many still living who witnessed the sufferings she went through. If such terrible privations can result from the stoppage of some 50 per cent. of the raw material required for one of our home industries, it does not require a powerful imagination to picture the horrors that would result if the supplies of food for the whole population were cut off."

In face of all that is implied in the above, Mr. Yerburgh's suggestion for the storage of ten million quarters of wheat seems pitiably inadequate. Here were the results only of the failure of a relatively insignificant portion of our imported supply of raw material affecting only one district, at a time when bread was cheap!

In order to feed our masses, we must not only have available wheat, but raw material to maintain the wage fund of the artisan. And, further, manufacture must not only proceed, but the export trade, by which imports are paid for, must be maintained in volume not greatly below the normal. It is natural that the imagination should fasten upon food supply as the prime necessity; but, even if it were possible to render Great Britain independent of foreign food, the conditions of subsistence, and the power of holding our own in war, would not thereby be assured. For us, alone of all nations, the continuance of sea-borne trade, in war as in peace, is, and must remain, absolutely essential. "To keep famine at bay," writes Mr. Marston, "to give ourselves time to fight and grow food enough, that is all we could hope the reserve would do." This, unfortunately, his twenty-five million quarters of wheat in fortified silos could not possibly accomplish.

Nor do I believe that the means proposed are practicable. Mr. Marston's scheme is presented in some detail, and he frankly

acknowledges the existence of important objections. The import of flour is to be interdicted, and all incoming wheat is to be impounded by the State and stored in large public granaries. Thence, by a process of barter, the importer is to be repaid by an "equivalent" value of old wheat for his impounded cargoes. The State thus steps in at the coast line between import and distribution, and the interference thus implied would, in my opinion, be fatal to the free operation of trade. Mr. Marston does not explain how the process of barter is to be arranged. Fresh wheat of varying quality is to be taken in forcible exchange for wheat deteriorated in varying degree. Who is to appraise the relative values, or in other words, to determine the equivalent? If the State arbitrarily fixes the exchange, the operations of the corn trade would be dangerously hampered. If, on the other hand, the State offers such an amount of deteriorated grain as the importer demands, it will be completely in the hands of the latter, and will inevitably be overreached in its enormous annual transactions. The result must be that the granaries will be gradually depleted unless the State continues to purchase on its own account in the foreign market.

In the event of war causing the great failure of the foreign wheat supply which Mr. Marston anticipates, the arrangement proposed for peace time will at once break down. Mr. Marston does not deal with this point; but it is clear that the State must then cease, or partially cease, the process of barter, and become a seller of wheat. It is to be assumed that the State in such a case is to sell to the dealer at peace prices, or at such prices as the wisdom of the Cabinet may direct. Is there any guarantee that the price to the consumer will thus be restricted; or have we not here the ancient fallacy that the State may control the prices of a staple commodity? It is surely necessary for Mr. Marston to show how the benefit of his vast granaries is to be applied to the consumers.

How far silos on a huge scale would be successful in this country we do not know.* The climatic and geological conditions of Malta differ from our own as widely as does the problem of feeding the town of Valetta during a blockade from that of supplying the forty million people of the United Kingdom. Science would, perhaps, enable us to overcome difficulties, but only at a large outlay and Mr. Marston's estimates appear to be far too sanguine. An expenditure of three millions a year for interest on capital and working charges would be a moderate forecast of the

* I cannot pretend to any knowledge on this point; but I note that the Agricultural Guild, in a leaflet recently forwarded to me, states that "corn loses in flavour and therefore in value from three shillings to six shillings per quarter per month after removal from the stack to the warehouse."

cost of the creation and maintenance of the immense State department which he advocates.

The proposal to render the country self-supporting in regard to its wheat supply by means of import duties is wholly beyond the scope of practical politics. Bread is little eaten by the well-to-do classes, and is the staple food only of the poorest. No Government in these days would dare to increase the cost of the food of the poor, and this must necessarily result from Protection.* The principle of bounties has natural attractions, and most persons would prefer an expenditure of three millions for the increase of home-grown wheat to the creation of Mr. Marston's impossible State department.

But would bounties avail? The acreage under wheat cultivation is steadily decreasing, the comparative figures for 1885 and 1895 being:—

Year.	Acres Wheat.
1885	2,549,335
1895	1,454,015
Diminution ...	1,095,320

During this period the yield in bushels per acre has varied from a minimum of 26·33 in 1895 to a maximum of 31·97 in 1877. There is no foundation for the statements frequently made that land on a great scale is going out of cultivation, and although there was a small loss between 1890 and 1895 the gain in the aggregate of arable and pasture land between 1875 and 1895 has been considerable. The figures for Great Britain are as follows †:—

Year.	Arable.	Pasture.	Total.
1875 ...	18,104,000 ...	13,312,000 ...	31,416,000
1895 ...	15,967,000 ...	16,611,000	32,578,000

The mean production per acre during the eleven years 1885–1895 was about 29 bushels. Taking the bushel at 60 lb. and the quarter at 480 lb., the acreage required to provide an additional twenty-five millions of quarters per annum would be nearly 7,000,000. The total acreage of Great Britain, including land and water, is 56,772,000, of which woods and plantations account for 2,726,000 acres, and mountain and heath land used for grazing amounts to 12,606,000 acres. Deducting these figures and those of arable and pasture land from the total, there remains a balance of only 8,816,000 acres, including all water, town lands, &c. How much of this land would grow wheat cannot be stated; but a large destruction of woods would injuriously affect climatic conditions.

* An increase of the price of wheat entails a certain rise in the death rate.

† *Agricultural Returns*, 1895. The latest published.

Ireland is left out of account as not suited for wheat culture.* It seems clear, therefore, that the present deficit of our wheat supply can only be home-grown by abandoning other food products of great importance, and proportionately increasing necessary imports. We should continue to be dependent on sea-borne food to an extent little, if at all, diminished, and it is exceedingly doubtful whether wheat, which can be grown in many parts of the world and lends itself well to economical stowage on board ship, is not a better subject for import than other food products. On the other hand, Canada could easily grow the required amount of wheat, and from the point of view of Imperial policy, it might perhaps be alike more effective and more economical to stimulate the development of wheat culture in our great Colony than at home.

It has been suggested that any Power contemplating war with Great Britain could, by purchasing futures in wheat, effectually cut off a portion or the whole of our American supply. In theory, this plan may appear feasible; in practice, it offers no chance of success. It is a curious fact that attempts to create a corner in staple food commodities have always failed. The purchase of futures is a speculative paper transaction between one person who does not possess wheat and another person who has no desire to receive it in kind. The actual corn producer does not enter into the matter. If a considerable speculation in certain futures were attempted prices would at once be raised against the speculator. If the process were continued, prices would mount by leaps and bounds, and the cost of attaining control of the American wheat supply for a lengthened period defies calculation. Moreover, dealing in futures appears to be confined to special kinds of wheat, and is not applied to wheat at large. It was stated in evidence before the Royal Commission on Agriculture that most of this form of speculation is devoted to a kind of wheat of which there is very little in existence. Foreign Governments would hardly spend heavily in order to obtain control of a special kind of wheat which the American speculator might not be able to produce if called upon. Given an unlimited command of money, it would doubtless be practicable to obtain possession of a large part of the annual supply; but this could only be done by going into the actual markets where real wheat is dealt with. In such a case, a rise of price would evidently be general, and, if maintained, would affect the consumers of the United States, France, and Germany† as well as those of Great Britain. Whether the rise could be maintained seems doubtful; since it would be known

* Ireland in 1895 had only 36,532 acres under wheat.

† The net annual import of Germany exceeds one-fifth that of this country, and France also is a considerable importer of wheat.

that the enormous stock of wheat tied up would eventually come on the market;* while the mere custody of the accumulated stock would offer practical difficulties. It appears inconceivable that any Government contemplating hostilities with this country, and needing to husband its resources, would devote a sum which could not be estimated to an object which could not with certainty be attained. Direct purchase in real markets is, however, the only conceivable method of operation, and the idea that we could be starved by a process of betting on the price, at a particular date, of special kinds of wheat may be dismissed as preposterous.

The risks attending dependence on an imported food supply are evident; in our case they are inevitable. They are, however, not nearly so great as our Cassandras assert. The reserve wheat held in various parts of the world must be equal to any temporary emergency. Mr. Marston states that the difference between the wheat production of the United States in 1891 and in 1893 was more than 5,750,000 tons, considerably exceeding, therefore, our total annual import. Yet the price of our bread was not perceptibly affected. Enormous fluctuations of output in various parts of the world constantly occur, but the stream of wheat flowing to the United Kingdom is not checked. The aggregate reserve must be immense; the world, as a whole, does not live from hand to mouth. War must, in any case, raise prices, and in 1812, when this country, after a struggle of many years, could easily have grown its whole wheat supply if it so desired, the price of the quartern loaf rose to one shilling and eightpence.

The vast fabric of commerce as it now exists was, however, then unknown. The enterprise, the immense organization, and the means of transport and of distribution, which are ready to-day to grapple with a deficiency, had not then sprung into being. The writers to whom I have referred fail to recognize the tremendous interests which, throughout the world, would be concentrated upon sending food into this country in war. Not only would the large foreign reserves come into play, but wheat-growing would be started in lands where the process is more rapid than here.

It seems to be assumed that an enemy would at once interdict the export of his food products to this country. If so, he must prevent all food exports; otherwise some would undoubtedly find their way to the United Kingdom. This, if he is a large producer, will entail distress on a considerable section of his own population, which with a great war on hand he is not likely to desire. In 1809, corn was sent into England from France under licence from

* In recent years, a determined attempt by an American speculator to create a corner in wheat did not raise prices in Great Britain, and entailed heavy loss upon the operator.

Napoleon, who wished to draw specie from this country, and throughout the war commerce was irregularly carried on. In 1854-55, Russian corn came into England through neutral territory and in a new Anglo-Russian war would do so more easily on account of the great development of the Continental railway systems.

The elementary principle that trade mutually benefits two countries is generally forgotten. By the destruction of trade both must suffer, and a powerful inducement at once arises to carry it on by indirect means. This is proved by the experience of the last great wars, when the difficulties were relatively great. The possession of good steam coal will confer a marked advantage in any maritime contest. Shall we prohibit the export of the excellent Welsh product to all neutral ports? If not, this coal, but for the supervision exercised by our cruisers on the sea, will unquestionably find its way into an enemy's bunkers.

Mr. Yerburgh considers that France at war with Great Britain would exercise her "right" to declare wheat contraband of war. There is, however, no question of "right," but simply one of might. Would France be prepared to confiscate United States property at sea? The answer is not doubtful; but the matter is not of great importance provided that naval supremacy is maintained, and American trade is of all the easiest to protect.

The existence of the home population and the integrity of the Empire alike depend upon the maintenance of sea communications. The question of food supply cannot be separated from that of the general protection of sea-borne trade with which it is intimately connected. An assured food supply will not save the Empire from disruption, or guarantee the masses from famine, since we cannot ration a population of 40 millions. While there are *possible* circumstances which would entail national ruin, all *probable* contingencies can, if we choose, be provided against. In all probable contingencies also we can obtain food, if we are prepared to supply the necessary means of protection. A war with the United States would be more injurious to this country than one with any probable combination of other Powers; but would not altogether keep American wheat out of Great Britain. On the other hand, the only war which could inflict a great injury upon the United States is one with Great Britain. Such a war ought on all grounds to be impossible. British statesmen, engrossed by Eastern questions, have not, however, fully realized the position occupied by the United States in relation to this country, and conversely, a portion of the American people, grossly misinformed by the travesties of history which discredit their schools, regard Great Britain as a tyrant Power trampling upon the liberties, the spread of which, by their showing,

is assumed to be the special mission of the United States. It is surely not too much to hope that these and other halucinations which are visibly retarding the progress of that great nation will in time disappear. Knowledge and truth must ultimately prevail, and just as the strong American sympathies avowed by such men as Burke and Chatham have now become universal in this country, so will the views upheld last year by the real patriots and thinkers of the United States obtain eventual acceptance. Then will war between the great English-speaking nations pass into the limbo of impossibilities. Meanwhile, from the point of view of wheat supply, an internal convulsion in the United States, by arresting production, might be more serious than a war during which American wheat would certainly find its way into British ports.

One other point remains to be considered. It has been stated that at the outset of war, when the conditions and the measure of the risks were unknown, the sudden rise of insurance rates would tend to paralyze trade. Impressed with this idea, the late Admiral Sir G. Tryon revived a proposal for the State insurance of war risks. There is no evidence that rates materially injured commerce in the last great naval war, although they rose to 8 and 12 per cent. for vessels under convoy, and 20 per cent. for voyages without protection. Large numbers of ships were uninsured. Other war experience was, however, then recent, and the general uncertainty which now appears to prevail in some quarters had not arisen. Nor had trade then shown the extreme sensitiveness which is now its marked characteristic, while the telegraph system—the great agent of scares and transmitter of incorrect information—was non-existent. In 1854 a rumour of the escape of a Russian cruiser caused a temporary rise of rates, although even if the escape had occurred the risks would have been practically unaffected. Rumours of this nature would now be constantly circulated. The *Trent* affair enabled premiums of 5 per cent. to be obtained in some cases, although this rate would have been excessive if war with the United States had actually begun. The depredations of the *Alabama* and her consorts — depredations which the northern navy, if properly directed, could have easily prevented—caused premiums on American shipping to rise to 6 per cent. for the Mediterranean and 5 per cent. for North Europe and the West Indies. For voyages to Confederate ports, 20 per cent. was demanded. In 1870–71, ½ to 1 per cent. was the usual cost of the insurance of the war risks of French vessels; but much higher premiums were obtained in individual cases.

Having regard to these facts, and to the astounding statements of the inefficiency and uncertainty of naval operations which obtain circulation, it seems evident that, at the outset of war, exaggerated

premiums will be demanded, and that trade may thus receive a serious check at a time when its continuance is extremely important. In time, rates would doubtless approximate to a just measure of the risks involved;* but meanwhile great injury might be inflicted upon the commerce of the nation. "Our greatest pinch," wrote Sir G. Tryon, "will probably be immediately after the first two months of war," and, as he justly pointed out: "No one can speak with practical experience upon the whole question; it has never been put to the test. The conditions are new." In his able and interesting life of Sir G. Tryon, Rear-Admiral Penrose Fitzgerald quotes some of the comments upon the insurance scheme. The objections, which predominate, are by no means impressive. *The Times*, in a strongly adverse article,† sums the question as follows:—

"If our corn supply is interrupted, what possible good does the nation reap from paying for the lost ships out of the taxes? If it were seriously interrupted, it would hardly matter, though the cost of the ships were ultimately recoverable from those who destroyed them. We should be vanquished all the same, and deposed from the position we now occupy."

This is quite true; but, unfortunately, it does not touch the matter at issue. Assuming ample naval force, there is still the possibility that, at the outset of war, the burden of premiums, fixed without any reference to the risks, might seriously check trade. The underwriter will have no solid data to work upon, and is at all times somewhat given to panic. He can hardly be blamed for taking a gloomy view, considering that writers of ability are able to commit themselves to such ludicrous misstatements as the following:—

"Naval strategy has peculiar difficulties. The obstacles in the way of concentration are far greater than on land. . . . A squadron of battleships is not so easily manœuvred as a division of infantry."‡

As soon as naval protection has manifested its efficiency, insurance rates will fall to a reasonable estimate of the risks; but meanwhile at a critical time the underwriter may inflict upon the nation losses which the wildest dreams of the enemy have not compassed. This was Sir G. Tryon's fear, and of his scheme a city ship-owner writes:—"Such a plan would be almost a necessity for a ship-owning company as they could not afford to run the chances of war risks and the war insurance."

Other critics, such as Sir A. Forwood and Admiral Chatfield, lay stress upon the objection that a system of State insurance

* At the present moment, the war risks of shipping can be insured at one-eighth per cent.—a rate which is evidently based upon nothing except a general impression that the outlook is peaceful.

† 5th September, 1890.

‡ *Edinburgh Review*, April, 1897.

would have the effect of a bounty upon slow and ill-found steamers. This defect is not in the least inherent in the scheme, since it is possible to fix rates of State premiums in accordance with any classification of vessels. Compliance with Admiralty regulations would in any case be a necessary condition of insurance. A vessel which selected a course in defiance of a warning issued by the Naval Commander-in-Chief on a foreign station would necessarily invalidate her policy. An arrangement which I discussed with Sir G. Tryon at Malta would be to entrust the whole working of the scheme to Lloyd's, which would charge a commission on insurances effected. The business of insurance of ordinary risks would proceed as usual. War risks would be insured at low fixed premiums on conditions laid down by the Admiralty. The issue of State policies might terminate in six months, or a year, by which time the "greatest pinch" would have passed, and the underwriter, having arrived at a just estimate of war risks, would henceforth carry on the business.

I am unable to understand how such an arrangement could be regarded as a State interference with trade. To my mind it bears the aspect of a simple measure which may be temporarily required to allay panic. The burden assumed by the State would be trifling so long as an adequate Navy was maintained, and the argument that this scheme would afford a plausible excuse for keeping down Navy estimates appears to be futile. The State would have an additional inducement to maintain an effective Navy, if any incentive, other than the duty of preserving the Empire from ruin, can possibly be required.

It is true that no such scheme as that advocated by Sir G. Tryon has ever yet been attempted; but it is equally true that the conditions of the next naval war in which this country is involved will, in certain respects, have no parallel in the past. New conditions may call for new measures, and it is to be remembered that, in the last great war, the State exacted a charge for convoy which produced £1,400,000 in the first year of its application. Between thus taxing the merchant for his protection and securing him against panic insurance rates, there is no wide gulf of principle.

Amid the prevalent chorus of disapproval which greeted Sir G. Tryon's proposals, one view stands in marked contrast. "I am of opinion," wrote Mr. T. H. Ismay, "that your scheme is an extremely valuable one, tending, as it must, to inspire confidence among the class of ship-owners whose steamers would form practically the only means of securing supplies and maintaining our commerce in war." War would, of course, create a rise in freights which would partially balance the increase of premiums. We do not know, however, what this latter increase will be at the outset of

hostilities, or whether it might not suffice to arrest a large portion of our commerce. A scheme which commended itself to a shipowner so able and experienced as Mr. Ismay, and to a naval officer so gifted and earnest as the late Sir G. Tryon is worthy of consideration.

The maintenance of the Empire and the means of existence of the population of the United Kingdom alike depend upon the power of keeping open sea-communications in war. Shipping must continue to reach and to leave British ports in volume not greatly diminished. If we are prepared to protect our communications in all reasonably probable contingencies, the problem of food-supply will resolve itself. There necessarily remain contingencies which can be imagined, but cannot be provided against. In relation to the protection of commerce, the Navy is the only possible defensive force of the Empire; but its action on the seas, to be successful, involves a sustained offensive against an enemy's armed vessels. The Army, on the other hand, is now more than ever the weapon by which effective blows can be struck. It is the first duty of every Briton to demand that both shall be fully prepared for the discharge of their certain duties in war.

G. S. Clarke.

A COLONIAL CHRONICLE.

THE COLONIES IN LONDON.

No event throughout Her Majesty's brilliant and fertile reign has been more happily inspired or has elicited more enthusiasm among the British people than the visit of the Premiers of Greater Britain to the Mother Country, and the participation of the Colonial contingents in the Jubilee celebrations. Mr. Chamberlain—the Colonial Secretary—deserves the hearty thanks of the whole Empire for his initiative in this matter, as well as her cordial congratulations for the signal and unqualified success that has marked all the arrangements for which he is responsible. Criticisms have been made by a cheap sensational Press, which has to make a living by concocting spicy paragraphs, to the effect that the reception and treatment of the Colonial troops has been wanting in warmth and tact. Nothing would have brought the Government into more well-deserved odium than the proof of such charges, because nowadays British opinion, if still ill-informed on Colonial questions, is thoroughly sensitive and suspicious of the conduct of all Government offices whose higher permanent officials form the last respectable refuge of Little Englandism. They remain untouched by the Imperial aspirations and sympathies which are infusing new life into the nation, and widening the horizon of all other ranks of the community. Had the smoke-dried and inaccessible pedants of the Treasury been given a free hand, every conceivable blunder would have been committed, and every imaginable slight would have been inflicted upon the nation's guests. We grant that freely, but we are not dominated by an oligarchy of officials, and careful enquiries show that the accusations of inhospitality and maladroitness are due more to the exceedingly lively fancies of the new race of journalists than to actual occurrences. One big blunder has been committed which may be regarded as a veritable triumph of tactlessness, but it is so glaring, and has excited such universal indignation, that it can hardly be persisted in. Nevertheless, at the time of writing, officialism remains obdurate, and refuses point blank to make the necessary arrangements to enable the Colonial troops to see the Naval

Review at Spithead, and it is positively being left to private enterprise to charter the requisite steamer. Officialism has characteristically offered to show the contingents over the fleet after the Review, but public opinion demands that they shall be present on the proper day, and witness one of the most stirring spectacles of our time—the gala day of the British Navy. It will be the greatest demonstration of maritime strength that has ever been held, but it would not be complete without the presence of our gallant defenders over sea.

COLONEL LASSETTER'S REBUKE.

Apart from that proposed blunder, which we feel persuaded will be rectified at the last moment, the accusations so freely preferred are groundless, however much they may have been exploited by hungry newspapers and self-advertising Members of Parliament. And if we give precedence to what many of our readers may regard as a trivial canard, it is because it would be most unfortunate if the idea became prevalent in the Colonies that their troops had been subjected to slights in the Old Country. They have been received with boundless enthusiasm, and whenever they show themselves in the streets of London they are the objects of unwonted popular demonstrations. The idle gossip to which we have alluded was finally set at rest to the great relief of Her Majesty's English subjects—who are still innocent enough to be imposed upon by printed matter—by the emphatic speech of Colonel Lassetter, who commands the New South Wales troops. This contingent has been in England very much longer than any other body of Jubilee troops, and is, therefore, in the best position to offer an opinion on the question. Their Colonel spoke at the dinner to Sir John Forrest on June 17th, in response to the toast of "Her Majesty's Colonial Forces," which Lord Jersey, ex-Governor of New South Wales, proposed. Lord Jersey, after expressing the hope that "the general wish of the country will find due weight with the Admiralty, and that they will understand we expect them to give an opportunity to our Colonial forces to see what we can do on the sea," added :—

"I may say this : the presence of our Colonial forces will be witnessed next week with some curiosity and great enthusiasm. There will be many who will be excited by the sight, and be anxious to cheer those of our race who come from over the seas. There will also be others who will look upon them with equal enthusiasm and pleasure, but who will draw a useful lesson. These fine men are brave soldiers, but they are something more, they are citizens who have voluntarily given up much of their time and trouble, and at their own expense, to serve their country. They are not moved merely by a desire for military pomp or glory, but they are anxious to show that they are prepared to make some sacrifice for their country, and they are determined to remain free. If, then, we recognize that we have on the other side of the sea men prepared, like ourselves, to maintain our

freedom, we may be quite sure there will be no danger to the Empire. The great force of Empire must rest upon the character of those who are prepared to defend these shores, and no character could be finer than that of men who are prepared to do so in a voluntary manner. I give you the health of the 'Colonial Forces of the Empire,' and I trust they will carry with them from this country the knowledge that their visit is much appreciated, and that they will also carry with them ties of friendship which will be amongst their happiest possessions when they reach home."

Colonel Lassetter, of the New South Wales Mounted Rifles, responded in most soldierly style:—"I am grateful for the great interest that Lord Jersey has always shown in the Colonial troops, and in all questions connected with the Colony, and I gratefully re-echo his lordship's words as to what the recollections of our visit will be. Unfortunately statements have been made in the newspapers to the effect that we have been treated badly here. There is absolutely no truth in those statements. I am sorry to say that papers which pose as being patriotic have endeavoured to spoil the good relations which have hitherto existed between ourselves and the home authorities. The statement that we were ashamed to be on the same ground as the black troops is absolutely false. We are proud to stand shoulder to shoulder with the black troops anywhere. We are all servants of the same Queen, and I hope the day will be far distant when there will be any foundation for such a statement as that which has been made on the subject." The same evening at the Queensland dinner Major Venn King, of the Queensland Mounted Infantry, spoke as follows:—"Before sitting down he desired to thank all in England for the hearty reception given to the Colonial troops. No doubt little hitches had occurred here and there, but these must not be put down to the officers themselves; very likely a good many mistakes had arisen from want of instructions before leaving home. Still, everything possible had been done for their comfort, and their reception had done more for Imperial Federation than all the talking and writing that could be put together."

THE PUBLIC CONFERENCES.

If we devote the greater part of our Chronicle to proceedings in Great Britain it is because we think that the Mother Country may fairly claim to have been the principal scene of Colonial history during the momentous month that has just elapsed. We are, of course, aware that the visiting Premiers have no authority to pledge the communities they represent. They can enter into no political understandings not subject to the ratifications of the Parliaments of whose nostrils they are the breath. Parliamentary supremacy is of the very essence of the Colonial constitutions. The immense importance of their visit, apart from the opportunity we

have had of doing them and their communities honour, lies, of course, in the interchange of ideas between British and Colonial statesmen on matters of common interest to all parts of the Empire. At the time of writing the more serious and systematic discussions have been postponed until the stress of festivities is over, when a certain number of informal conferences will be held at the Colonial Office. Some light has, however, already been thrown on these consultations by the clear and candid speeches which have been made at various gatherings by the chief political guests. It is worth recalling that the invitation to the Premiers contained the following passage: —"Should this invitation be accepted by the Premiers of the self-governing Colonies, Mr. Chamberlain says their presence in London would afford a most valuable opportunity for the discussion of many subjects of the greatest interest to the Empire, such as the commercial union, Colonial defence, representation of the Colonies, legislation with regard to immigrants from Asia and elsewhere, and other similar subjects." The Duke of Devonshire—who is one of the most typical and influential of living Englishmen, because he thoroughly understands and sympathizes with the aspirations and prejudices of his countrymen—opened the public discussion of the great questions before the Empire in a speech of remarkable grasp. He is an admirable barometer of British public opinion; and when he makes a move it may be fairly assumed that the average Englishman is making a similar move. The freshness of the Duke of Devonshire's address at Liverpool on June 12th, when he officiated as President of the British Empire League, has consequently excited unusual interest among all who believe in the possibility of strengthening the relations of the various members of the British Empire. At one time he was, to some extent, under the influence of a school of statesmanship which looked upon the Colonies as a fruit that would inevitably ripen and drop off the parent tree; and some of them hoped for a speedy riddance of such "incumbrances" as self-governing communities which they did not understand.

THE MANCHESTER SCHOOL.

It was, therefore, peculiarly auspicious that the Jubilee oratory on the part of the home statesmen should open with such a declaration as that delivered by the Duke of Devonshire at Liverpool. He declared that the object of the British Empire League was "to bring about closer connection with the Colonies by means of better commercial relations, by means of improved communications, by means of increased sympathy with each other," and, what is the most effectual of all ways, "increased knowledge of each other." In an admirable passage, the speaker dwelt on the growth of British interest in the Colonies:—

"It would be too much to say that they now occupy the attention of our statesmen to the exclusion of more purely domestic matters, or that those domestic matters do not still occupy the largest portion of the time which we devote to politics; but there is, I think, at the present time something in the air—there is something which, if I am not mistaken, is growing into a great and irresistible force—which is speaking to the minds, and, more than to the minds, to the hearts of the people, and which tells them that they are citizens of a greater State than that which is contained within these little islands off the North-West of Europe, that they have to deal with larger issues than those of the success or defeat of this or that political Party, that even their relations with the European States are of less importance than the relations which they may be able to establish or to maintain with those younger, vigorous, and prosperous States which it rests with the people of this country in a great measure to decide whether they shall grow up as portions of our Empire, or whether, by neglect or mismanagement, we shall compel them to found for themselves an independent and a separate existence."

The Duke of Devonshire recalled the day

"when men doubted both whether our Canadian and Australian Colonies would remain permanently united with us, but they also doubted—they had not made up their minds—whether it would be of advantage to us or to them. I think this temper of mind was due to a very great extent to the influence at the time of what was called the Manchester School, the leaders of which were men so distinguished as Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, and to admiration of the United States—an admiration admirable in itself but perhaps at that time somewhat exaggerated and misdirected. We were taught not only that we had lost our North American Colonies through our own mistakes and unwisdom, but that it was the best thing that could happen both to the United States and to us that we should have lost them, and, as regards our remaining Colonies, we were taught that while we should endeavour to confine the mistakes which had lost us our North American Colonies, while we should never be guilty again of the crime and the blunder of endeavouring to retain them by force, yet we might look forward with complacence to the time when, having grown up, they should peacefully, without friction, without anger on either side, cease to be connected with the Mother Country, and set up for themselves as independent republics on the model of the United States."

The speaker then made the remarkable admission—coming from him—"I continue to believe, as I have always believed, that Free Trade is the best and wisest policy of our country, but virtues were given to it which it did not possess, and results were predicted which did not follow. Its speedy universal adoption all over the world was prophesied, and that prophecy was falsified, and the thick-and-thin admirers and believers in the Manchester School seek to persuade us that, although that prophecy has not been fulfilled, it was the best thing for us that we should be the only Free Trade country in the world." The "commercial paradise" anticipated 50 years ago has not arrived, and "we have learned by painful experience that no old or new markets are being thrown open to us by the influence of Free Trade alone, and that if we want to provide for the increasing commerce which is necessary for the support of our increasing population we must find those markets for ourselves, and we must use every opportunity either

of expanding or of consolidating our Colonial position." The conversion of the nation to a policy of expansion has been greatly accelerated by obvious necessity.

A Lesson from Canada.

The Duke of Devonshire dilated on the brilliant success that had attended the great policy of Canadian federation, and gave eloquent welcome to Mr. Laurier, whose first appearance it was at an English gathering:—"We are fortunate to-day in being able to receive on our soil the Premier of Canada, representing, as he does, not one of our self-governing Colonies, but the federation of eight self-governing Colonies—a statesman whose acceptance by the whole of the Canadian people, English as well as French, Protestant as well as Catholic, is a symbol of the vitality and reality of the federation." The speaker added:—"We receive him with still greater gratification, inasmuch as the first measure which he has proposed to his Parliament has been a step, and we believe a long step, in the way of closer commercial connection with this country, a proof of the desire of the Canadian statesmen, backed by the Canadian people, to add the strength which they have gained from a wise measure of federation to our strength, and to weld the bonds which unite us together more closely, and, as we hope, more permanently." The Duke of Devonshire concluded his very thoughtful and impressive address by some suggestive reflections upon Democracy and Empire. He cited the example of the United States as showing "that democratic institutions of the most pronounced character are not incompatible with the creation and preservation of a great and powerful State. The United States have so solved the problem of co-ordinating central and local self-government, that they have established a State which is probably as powerful as any which has ever been known and which has been ruled by an autocratic power. It is true that the United States have once had to fight for their unity, but, so far as we can judge, that fight they have fought once for all. So far then, judging from the example of the United States, we can see no reason why the democratic character of our institutions, and those of our Colonies should, if rightly ordered, be a bar to the continuance and the maintenance of our unity." But our problem is more difficult than that of the United States, for we have undertaken the government of a great variety of Asiatic and African races. And to do this it is, above all, necessary that our imaginations should grasp the greatness of the task. The events of this year all contribute to bring the unity of the Empire vividly before our eyes: "For the first time in history we are going to endeavour, I hope successfully, to present to the world the spectacle of a nation, Imperial, but at the same time free; and I hope in the

time to come it may be possible for history to recall that our people have shown themselves not unequal to the enormous and unprecedented task which they have undertaken."

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S INVITATION.

If we make one more reference to a British speech it is because we feel the supreme importance of impressing upon those who lead public opinion in the great Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-French, and Anglo-Dutch communities which own a common allegiance with ourselves the real trend of home opinion with regard to our common concerns. Some divergence of opinion seems to be manifesting itself with regard to the advisability of taking practical steps to improve our commercial relations, and it may be that nothing in that direction can be attempted for the present. It is in any case essential that all concerned should appreciate each other's views. Mr. Chamberlain emphasized the Duke of Devonshire's utterance with his usual power and clearness in the notable little speech in which he welcomed the Premiers to Birmingham on Jubilee Eve. The Secretary for the Colonies declared—thus utterly scattering in a sentence the musty figments of our professorial pundits—that "the Throne is the only constitutional connecting link between the Colonies and ourselves." He alluded to one of the first remarks Mr. Laurier had made after landing in England, to the effect that while the present relations of the Colonies are of a satisfactory character they could hardly be expected to last for ever, and that either the Colonies would draw closer to us and take a larger share in the government of the Empire, or they might insensibly drift apart. Speaking for the United Kingdom, Mr. Chamberlain affirmed that the separation of any one of our Colonies "would be not only a disaster, but it would be the greatest discredit that could fall upon us." Assuming this feeling to be shared by our kindred over sea, and that they prefer to remain a valued part of the greatest Empire there has ever been, rather than establish an independent but minor State, perhaps at the mercy of some foreign Power, then surely our statesmen are capable of giving some practical form to these joint aspirations. The people of Great Britain are moved in this matter by sentiment rather than by business. Lord Rosebery, who justly carries weight throughout the great Colonies, has expressed a fervent hope that the year will not be allowed to pass without a serious effort to strengthen the bonds of our scattered Empire. We hope that we are not urging anything unwelcome in suggesting that the closing words that fell from Mr. Chamberlain—the recognized spokesman of the United Kingdom—may be well and carefully weighed in Canada, Australia, and South Africa:—

"If our self-governing Colonies desire now or at any future time to take their share in the glories and in the responsibilities of Empire they will find that we are ready to meet them more than half-way, and that we will make it our duty to establish firmly that principle of our connection—each for all and all for each—upon which alone the stability and the prosperity of the Empire can depend, and if they are wishful to draw closer the commercial relations between themselves and us, now or at any future time, again I say we will meet them and in no huckstering spirit. We will not treat this as a transaction in a ledger to be weighed in proportion to the exact balance of profit and loss. No. There is a principle, and, as I have said, a sentiment behind it which will carry all before it, because we see in such tightening of Imperial bonds a guarantee for security and for continued unity, and I do not think it will be said that in making such suggestions we are actuated by selfish interests. The United Kingdom to-day is stronger, is more powerful than it has ever been in the course of its history. For many years to come, probably, it will exceed in wealth, in population, in trade, in naval and military resources, all the Colonies put together. But it is not in our own interests alone that we speak. We think of the interest of the Colonies as much as of the interest of the Mother Country. We think of the future of our race as well as the future of our own people, and it is in this view that we raise now a discussion which may, perhaps, not yet be ripe for settlement; but this is a creative and a critical time, and upon what we do now and upon what we say now may depend this future, to which none of us can look forward without a feeling of inspiration."

THE BRITISH POSITION.

In the light of the Duke of Devonshire's funeral oration on the Manchester School and Mr. Chamberlain's affirmation of England's readiness to consider proposals for bettering inter-Imperial commercial relations, we believe the British view may be stated in a few words. Probably the majority of the British people regard Free Trade as the wisest policy for the United Kingdom. It does not stir our enthusiasm as it used to, because other countries have resolutely refused to follow our example. They remain surrounded by high walls, and heightening walls, which forbid access to the markets on the other side of them. We are told by the fanatics that these communities are crippling themselves by their craze for protection which does not protect. At any rate it prohibits our products, and, moreover, mankind shows very few signs of recovering from its "madness." Among the "mad" are not only people of our own stock in the United States, but our own fellow-subjects all over the world, though we believe at this moment New South Wales is suffering from an attack of "temporary sanity," during which she has practically thrown down the barrier of high protection. Still, the majority of us may be assumed to be Free Traders. But we doubt whether there are any Free Traders in Great Britain—outside the Cobden Club, which consists of a small range of exhausted volcanoes with a great reputation abroad, but without any influence at home—who would not welcome the opportunity of placing the trade of the British Empire on a different and better footing to that of the trade between the Empire and other nations. Any such scheme

would obviously involve a partial surrender by Great Britain of her present policy of open ports to all nations. It would necessitate that we schedule the staple commodities produced in the Empire, and impose a small duty on such articles when coming from outside the Empire. The Colonies in return should consent to give a rebate on manufactured goods coming from Great Britain similar to that now tendered by Canada. We are not dealing with details. The bargain would be a matter of careful adjustment, but neither side would meet the other in a huckstering spirit. The question is whether the Colonies are in favour of the principle of preferential trading with the Mother Country, because if they are not it is not worth while carrying the discussion any farther. If they are we hope they will say so.

THE APPROVING PREMIERS.

Some of the Premiers are clearly in favour of placing inter-Imperial trade on a favoured basis, and it would be interesting to know how far they are supported by the communities to which they belong. Others appear to be adverse to such a movement, and their utterances seem to indicate a belief that the cause of indiscriminate Free Trade is growing in their Colonies, at which an almost pathetic delight has been expressed by our Cobdenite organs. Here again it is necessary to enquire as to how far the Premiers represent the operative opinion of those who have sent them here. The general run of tariffs throughout the Colonies is so high at present that there is room both for ample abatements and for an Imperial arrangement. But if Free Trade is their goal, proposals for anything in the shape of a Zollverein would be very naturally regarded as out of date. The rest of the world would enjoy the same opportunities as ourselves, of which, as a Free Trading nation, we should have no cause to complain. Whether the nascent industries of the Colonies are yet capable of coping on equal terms with the long-settled industries of Europe is a question for purely local decision. No Englishman can or ought to form an opinion on the subject. As chroniclers we will content ourselves with tabulating the views that so far have been expressed by the Premiers. A gathering under the auspices of the United Empire Trade League, the object of which is "the furtherance of mutually advantageous trading relations on a preferential basis between all who share allegiance to Her Majesty the Queen," was attended by five important Premiers, Sir George Turner of Victoria, Sir Hugh Nelson of Queensland, Mr. Seddon of New Zealand, Mr. Kingston of South Australia, and Sir John Forrest of West Australia. The Lord Chancellor, who was among the speakers, avowed that he had always been and still was "a rank Protectionist." Sir George

Turner "believed the Colonies would be very glad indeed to give some preference, so that they might trade with Great Britain for goods which they now received from other countries. He thought the proposition should come from Great Britain, and he had no hesitation in saying that any advance from Great Britain would be received in no huckstering spirit, but with every desire to enter into a fair, reasonable, and equitable arrangement—such an arrangement as would be advantageous to all parties. The toast was now, 'The United Empire and its Trade.' Before many years were over he hoped they would be able to propose it in the form of 'The Empire, with a United Trade.'"

MR. KINGSTON'S SUGGESTION.

At the same banquet, Mr. Kingston (Premier of South Australia) related the assembling of a recent conference at Hobart, at the suggestion of Mr. Seddon. It consisted "of Australian Premiers, whose first object was to discuss the matter which was the object of that league. There was practical unanimity of opinion upon that matter. At the same time it occurred to them that it would be better for the Mother Country and her statesmen to formulate proposals for their acceptance. Any such suggestions would receive the most sympathetic considerations in the lands from which the Prime Ministers present came; for, above all, in their trade relationship, in every relationship, they would infinitely prefer that their transactions should be with their own kin, and their own flesh and blood." Mr. Seddon, in a short and effective speech, complained of existing treaties which barred the way to preferential trading, which he favours. Mr. Byrnes, the able Attorney-General of Queensland, spoke in support of the principles of the League. To summarize the position, we think it may be taken that the Premiers of the following Colonies are in favour of the principle of preferential trade—Victoria, Queensland, New Zealand, South Australia, and Western Australia.

"THE GREATEST OF ALL MISTAKES."

On the other hand, we think that Mr. Laurier, the Premier of Confederated Canada, must be regarded as having thrown the weight of his great influence into the other scale. And it is noteworthy that he is supported by the very able Premier of New South Wales, who appears still to cherish a positive enthusiasm for Free Trade. He has made a very distinct mark on British public opinion, and as Premier of the Mother Colony of Australia, he will and ought to play a powerful part on this question. Mr. Laurier in the course of a long and very interesting interview accorded to *The Daily Chronicle* (London), said that "a Zollverein means in the very nature of things Protection—a tax upon imports of some kind,

and at this moment I would not be prepared to fall in with such a proposal. . . . No, no; a Zollverein must mean Protection, and Protection is the greatest of all mistakes. Yes, I am quite convinced of that—quite convinced—Protection is the greatest of all mistakes." It must be remembered that Mr. Laurier is a pronounced Free Trader of the Cobden and Bright type, and that in the late general election in Canada which gave him his present remarkable position, he made any number of declarations of which the following is cited as a sample:—"The system of Protection," he said over and over again in so many words, "has been the bane and the curse of Canada. Those who introduce it simply for a time at last get intoxicated with the poison of their own doctrine. They are just like the man who begins to drink moderately and who becomes a slave to the habit, and then would fain impress upon himself and his friends that liquor is indispensable to his health." The following interchange of ideas between the Premier and the interviewer is interesting:—

"'But the idea of the Zollvereinist,' I said to Mr. Laurier, 'is, of course, that England should lead the way. You would not say "No" if England proposed to tax wheat and meat from the United States and Russia and the Argentine, while admitting free of all duty your Manitoba No. 1 hard wheat, your Alberta ranche beef, and your rosy apples from Annapolis Valley?'

"'Well no, perhaps not. If England were willing to give us a preference over other nations, taking our goods on exceptionally favourable terms, I would not object. It would not be for Canada to shut herself out from the advantage. It would be a great boon for the time. But how long would it last? Would it be an advantage in the long run? That is what men who think beyond the passing moment have to ask themselves. Suppose England did such a thing and abandoned her Free Trade record. She would inevitably curtail the purchasing power of her people. And do you not think we should suffer from that, we who alone have natural resources enough to feed your millions from our fertile lands. I have too great a belief in English common-sense to think they will do any such thing. What we have done in the way of tariff preferences to England we have, as I said, done out of gratitude to England, and not because we want her to enter upon the path of Protection. We know that the English people will not interfere with the policy of Free Trade, and we do not desire them to do so. We know that buying more goods from England she will buy more from us, and so develop trade, and the moment trade is developed Canada is benefited.'

"'Then, Mr. Laurier, you stand firm for a Free Trading British Empire, and have shown by your tariff proposals how it may be brought about?'

"'At one time I might, perhaps, have thought something of a Zollverein, but when I reflect—no, it is not good policy, and England will not adopt it.'"

Mr. Laurier gave a somewhat different aspect to the policy of the New Canadian tariff, which at the time of its inception was hailed with such enthusiasm by the avowedly Protectionist United Empire League. "Before bringing in our tariff we looked carefully round the world and we found England to be practically the only country which receives our products freely. We desired to show England our gratitude, and at the same

time go as far as we could at the moment in the direction of Free Trade, and we framed our preferential clause with this end in view."

NEW SOUTH WALES SAYS DITTO.

Mr. Laurier has made a very notable impression on the English people, and his views on this question will have very great weight with them—quite as much as those of their own statesmen. His statement as to the future of the Empire shows the trend of his thoughts and indicates that he approaches the great problem of Imperial consolidation from a thoroughly sympathetic point of view. This is perhaps the most noteworthy hint given us so far by the Premiers:—"I really should not be surprised if representation were found to be, after all, the wisest and simplest solution for the problem of the British Empire of that day. It is a distant future, perhaps, but why an impossible or even improbable one?" The proposal for an Imperial Zollverein has a Canadian origin, but there is a strong reaction in Canada against Protection just now. Of this movement Mr. Laurier is the mouthpiece, and it may be that the Canadian people look forward to a time when they can throw their ports freely open to the products of all nations. An entanglement in a Zollverein might consequently be disapproved of, though it should be remembered that a very small duty would be sufficient to establish the preference and the principle. Mr. Reid expressed himself on the subject in an interview reported in *The Daily News*. We have no sympathy with some of the criticisms that have been passed on that interview in Conservative papers—of our way of thinking on other questions. We feel, on the contrary, much indebted to Mr. Reid for the extreme frankness of all his utterances, and any tinge of disappointment one may feel at the discouragement thrown on fiscal union is abundantly compensated for by the immense advantage of getting into close touch with public opinion in Australia, which contains no more vigorous personality than the Premier of New South Wales. He is dead against everything in the shape of a Zollverein, and proposals for a preferential tariff would meet with his opposition. He represents our only Free Trade Colony; he believes in Free Trade, and states his objections to altering it with great force:—

"'Possibly you think the end is more likely to be attained through a Customs Union or a Zollverein, as suggested by Mr. Chamberlain?'

"'I do not see any attractiveness in that. I consider that the stress of foreign competition is liable to throw the British Government and the British people into very dangerous devices. It seems to me that foreign competition can only be met in a way to maintain the strength of Great Britain by a further development of mercantile genius or taste and ability, for which there is room in England, and by all the thousand and one devices which are well known to an enterprising English manufacturer or merchant. But the moment you are thrown into schemes of what is called Protection, you admit that the battle is going against

you, and you are practically beaten. You must meet competition by superior competition. You must meet merit by superior merit. That has been the maxim of British greatness and development up to the present time; and the new method of meeting it by strategy and by surrender and by barricades seems to me practically an admission that the time has come for the decadence of Great Britain.'

"'Then I understand that, in your opinion, Mr. Chamberlain's proposals for a Zollverein would merit the description of a Protectionist Policy?'

"'In the first place, I do not think Mr. Chamberlain's proposals are practicable; and this absolves me from the necessity of going elaborately into them. But if I did do so, I should apply the same reasoning practically. And further, as I have already said—and it has been published at home, I notice—in my opinion the British Empire is better maintained by its present policy of Free Trade, even with enemies, than it could be in any other way. The British Empire would have been an intolerable aggression upon the rights of other nations but for her marvellously magnanimous trading policy, which has given the world an equal share in the benefits of the British Empire, and which has especially tended to create enormous business interests in favour of peace with Great Britain, whatever other country is fought. I feel that any attempt on the part of England to change her policy, instead of strengthening the Empire, will supply many new motives to jealous hostile nations for hostilities.'"

THE TREATIES.

This divergence of opinion among the Premiers, if reflecting the sentiment of the communities they represent, dissipates the dream of those who hoped to see the framework of a great scheme of fiscal federation constructed in Jubilee year There is no general assent to the idea for the present, and the visit of the Colonial statesmen, apart from its splendid significance, is of the utmost value in warning Imperial Unionists of the difficulties besetting constructive programmes. The British Constitution was the slow work of ages; it was not made in a day; it was the handiwork of no single individual. Every generation has contributed something, and the edifice is, perhaps, hardly yet complete. So it may be with the Imperial Constitution. The demonstrations lately held throughout the Empire testify to the unity of the Queen's subjects. The chief work of her reign has been to found a Free Empire animated by common sentiment and common hopes. Possibly it is reserved for another reign to give practical form and purpose to those aspirations. When we have all in our different communities had leisure to grasp the full meaning of recent events and think out their lessons, we shall be in a better position to realize whether it is wise to take any further step towards one another or leave our mutual relations as they are for the present. Upon one point there appears to be a rapidly-growing demand, and from the most hostile economic schools, viz., that the Colonies should no longer be impeded by treaties in the making of which they had no voice from allowing abatements in their tariffs in favour of the goods of the Mother Country. All the Premiers, we believe, demand that the obstructive treaties shall be "denounced"—which does not mean vituperated as some timid people fear, but annulled by the

usual year's notice from either party to them. The matter is now under Lord Salisbury's consideration. He is known to view those "unlucky" treaties—as he called them—without affection, and, unless a very much stronger case can be adduced on their behalf than has yet been put forward, we may hope to see the end of them. It may be that the Canadian tariff does not contravene them, but we rather hope that it does, and that the great issue Mr. Laurier has raised may be settled on its merits. Obviously Germany would howl if her treaty is denounced, but she is never so happy as when howling, and if we don't provide her with this grievance you may be sure she will provide herself with another, Let us consider the matter from the British point of view. But Big England, not Little England, interests should determine our policy.

A Famous Banquet.

It is clearly impossible for us to attempt a chronicle of the movements or an epitome of the many excellent speeches of the Premiers. Probably no body of human beings have ever been called upon to undergo so severe, because so sustained, a term of hospitality and speech-making. Fortunately, they are men of stamina, and they have survived, though the stalwart Premier of New Zealand presented himself to one of his first audiences as not the fabled New Zealander sketching the ruins of St. Paul's, but as "the wreck of a New Zealander." Among the entertainments there was none more notable than the banquet tendered to the nation's guests by the governing body of the Imperial Institute on June 18th—"Waterloo Day," as Sir Edward Braddon, of Tasmania, happily reminded the audience. The Prince of Wales presided, and was surrounded by a really memorable company. We do not wish to boast, but we do not think that any other nation could have assembled anything comparable to the political and administrative talent there collected. Besides the Premiers—whose names and countries are so familiar to our readers that we do not repeat them—who constitute a very notable group of men, having, by sheer ability, come to the head of their various communities, there was a striking turn out of our leading men. Mr. Laurier, *e.g.*, sat between the Prince of Wales and Lord Salisbury, Mr. Reid between the Prince of Wales and the Archbishop of Canterbury. Sir George Turner's neighbours were Lord Salisbury and Mr. Chamberlain, Sir Hugh Nelson sat between Lord Herschell, an ex-Lord Chancellor, and Lord Knutsford, who has been Colonial Secretary. The Premier of Newfoundland was seated between two ex-Governor-Generals of Canada, Mr. Kingston found himself between Lord Ripon, who preceded Mr. Chamberlain at the Colonial Office, and Lord Dufferin, who has preceded everybody in all the great pro-consulates of the Empire; Sir Edward Braddon

was placed between Lord Onslow, who has exchanged the Governorship of New Zealand for the dreary drudgery of leading a minority on an English County Council, and Lord Rosebery, whose opponents, while lamenting his domestic politics, gladly recognize him as a pioneer in the great movement for Imperial unity at a time when it was "less popular and less fashionable" than it is now, to use his own words. We have no space to record even the names of the serried ranks of ex-Governors, Agents-General, and miscellaneous celebrities—a splendid group of Indian princes, *e.g.*, containing the Raja of Karparthala, the Thakur Saheb of Morvi, and Maharajah Pertab Singh—who had assembled to do honour to the Premiers. The speaking was worthy of the occasion, and in the next two pages we give our readers samples. Lord Rosebery, Lord Salisbury, and Mr. Chamberlain were in their best vein, and every speaker concurred in the apothegm delivered by the Prince of Wales that "brevity is the soul of wit." Would that there were more such wit.

MR. LAURIER'S SPEECH.

Mr. Laurier, in responding for the toast of "Our Guests, the Colonial Premiers" (proposed, with his usual tact, by the Prince of Wales, who toasted them as "Our Guests and Friends"), delivered a short speech, which can only be called beautiful when one recalls the infinite grace and distinction of the orator, and re-reads the almost incomparable felicity of the oration. By the common consent of a highly critical company, as well of those who read it the following day in the newspapers, it was a masterpiece. As it is short, and perhaps imperfectly reported in Greater Britain, we reproduce it *in extenso*, so that our Canadian readers may realize how brilliantly their representative acquitted himself; in other places it will be read with no less interest:—

"The toast which your Royal Highness has just proposed in such graceful terms is one which is important at all times, and opens a subject which at the present time, perhaps more than at any other, engrosses and absorbs the minds of all thinking men. During the few days in which my colleagues and myself have had the privilege to be in England we have had hourly evidences that the Colonies at the present moment occupy no small part in the affections of the people of England. Sir, the Colonies were born to become nations. In my own country, and perhaps also in England, it has been observed that Canada has a population which in some instances exceeds, in many others rivals, the populations of independent nations, and it has been said that perhaps the time might come when Canada might become a nation of itself. My answer is this simply, Canada is a nation. Canada is free, and freedom is its nationality. Although Canada acknowledges the suzerainty of a sovereign Power, I am here to say that independence can give us no more rights than we have at the present day. Lord Lansdowne has spoken of a day when perhaps our Empire might be in danger. England has proved at all times that she can fight her own battles, but if a day were ever to come when England was in danger, let the bugle sound, let the fires be lit on the hills, and in all parts of the Colonies, though we might not be able to do much, whatever we can do shall be done by the Colonies to help her. From all

parts of this country since I have been here, both in conversation and in letters, I have been asked if the sentiments of the French population of Canada were characterized by absolute loyalty towards the British Empire. I have been reminded that feuds of race are long, and hard to die, and that the feuds of France, the land of my ancestors, with England have lasted during many generations. Let me say at once that though it be true that the wars of France and England have their place in history it was the privilege of the men of our generation to see the banners of France and England entwined together victoriously on the banks of the Alma, on the heights of Inkerman, and on the walls of Sebastopol. It is true that during the last century and the century before, a long war, a long duel I might call it, was waged between England and France for the possession of North America, but in the last battle that took place on the plains of Abraham both the generals, the one who won and the one who failed, fell. If you go to the city of Quebec you will see a monument erected in commemoration of that battle. What is the character of that monument? Monuments to record victories are not scarce in England or in France; but such a monument as this which is in Quebec I do not think you will find in any other part of the world, for it is a monument not only to him who won, but also to him who failed. It is a monument dedicated to the memory of Wolfe and Montcalm, and the dedication, which is one of the noblest and best of the kind, not only for the sentiments which it records, but also as a literary expression, is as follows:—'Mortem virtus communem famam historia monumentum posteritas dedit.' Here is a monument to the two races, equal in fame, courage, and glory, and that equality exists at the present time in Canada. In this you have the sentiments of my countrymen—we are equal to-day with those who won on the battlefield on the plains of Abraham. It is by such acts that England has won the hearts of my fellow-countrymen; it is by such acts that she can ever claim our loyalty. Your Royal Highness, let me now thank you from the bottom of my heart for the kind words you have just spoken. Your Royal Highness has been kind enough to remind us that at one time in its earlier days you visited Canada; many changes have taken place since that time, but let me assure your Royal Highness there has been no change in the loyalty of the people of Canada."

MR. REID'S SPEECH.

Mr. Laurier was followed by Mr. Reid as the premier Premier of Australia. His speech was awaited with the keenest interest by the company, as he is known to be a robust Radical and a sturdy Democrat of pronounced views. His audience was probably mainly Conservative and Unionist in its sympathies. He came triumphantly through the ordeal prepared for him. His references to the Queen were in most perfect taste, and his allusions to Australian Radicalism were greatly appreciated. We have had nothing better in a year fruitful of eloquence than these two speeches from Canada and Australia. We have given our readers the whole of one, and we now give, without any apology, the whole of the other:—

"On behalf of the Premiers of Australia I beg to offer thanks, the most sincere, for the brilliant hospitality which has been extended to us by the governing body of the Imperial Institute and also to this great assemblage for its kindly greeting. The distinctions which are being showered upon the visiting Premiers are doubly agreeable to us when we recollect that they are really intended for the communities we represent. I suppose that the subjects of the British Crown were never more scattered over the surface of the globe than they are at the present moment, and yet this memorable demonstration is a significant proof of the fact that in spirit, in strength, and in purpose, the Empire was never more solidly united than now. In the gradual realization of that magnificent result, we owe an acknow-

ledgment to the illustrious part, often a most unobtrusive part, which has been played by our most gracious Sovereign the Queen. We indeed owe her a great debt of duty and loyalty. I think I may say this, that the love and veneration which are felt for the Queen in the whole of the Empire are chiefly inspired by the noble example which she has set in all the relations of life. In honouring our Queen, we all feel that we are honouring the purest and best ideal of womanhood that ever graced a throne. I cannot forget that when the project of this Imperial Institute was first mooted it was regarded with some suspicion and dislike in several quarters of Australia, with fear that the design was to modify the relations of the self-governing countries of the Empire with the Mother Country in a reactionary sense. But we are happy, and I am to-night most happy, to think that this great and grand institution, by the excellence of its management, by the rapid growth of its usefulness, and by a clearer perception on our part of its real aims, has entirely dispelled all those prejudices. It is especially pleasing to us who live so far from you to look upon this as an occasion when we might take leave to remember the immense personal trouble and interest which were bestowed upon this undertaking by the Prince of Wales. I think I may safely say in this company that there is no one who would desire to revert to the methods of colonial administration which prevailed before the present reign. For the past 40 or 50 years your wise and generous statesmanship has, I submit, produced splendid results. You have surrendered in many ways during that time Imperial control, but with that very surrender of Imperial control there has been a corresponding growth of Imperial power. The old tie of officialism may have been weakened, but new and stronger ties have taken its place, the ties of gratitude and affection. It may be that at some distant period the British Empire may fade from life into history, as did empires in the past. If vice became as rampant or luxury or tyranny as they did in the days of Imperial Rome, that will and ought to be our end. But so long as the bulk of the British people maintain their attachment to manly sports and manly characteristics, and so long as you have good government you need not fear for the future. In the old days the Roman conquerers used to have their processional triumphs, but the processional triumphs of the Queen of this Empire on Tuesday next will be of a widely different kind. Amongst the hosts who have come from all quarters of the globe to do her honour there will not be found one person who has not come of his own free will. You know we Australians in politics are inclined to be Radical, although at present we are under very safe guidance in London. The Australians, too, are not at all afraid of political changes or experiments, but I am glad to say that we maintain our attachment to the Empire with increasing steadiness. We are so far removed from your party conflicts that it is not so much a matter to us whether the destinies of the Empire are in the hands of that great Conservative statesman, who I am delighted to see to-night, for whose foreign administration may I, as a humble distant subject of the Queen, express my most profound admiration—at the same time, I am free to admit that, if the Empire's destinies were in the hands of my noble and distinguished friend the late Prime Minister, I should feel equally safe. This may be partly owing to the distance ; it may be partly owing to the fact that, after all, all your great parties live by the throbbing of the same heart, and are proud of the same history. But one thing which makes us in Australia so loyal, so enthusiastic in our loyalty to the Empire, is this—that we believe that wherever the British flag is planted there is equal justice and pure and honest government for men of every class and every creed. Believing that, we hail the growth of British power throughout the world as another guarantee for the peace, progress, and prosperity of mankind."

AN EXAMINATION PAPER.

Mr. Seddon, the Premier of New Zealand, in an outspoken and opportune speech recently delivered in London, complained of the inadequate attention accorded by the Press to the consideration of Colonial questions

He was too polite to point out the inevitable consequence of this neglect, which results in the majority of "well-informed" Englishmen being wofully and painfully ignorant of the most elementary facts regarding the great groups of their fellow-countrymen who have carried the Anglo-Saxon traditions and ideals over sea. We work in these pages to correct that ignorance, and by way of bringing home their parlous condition to our readers we have drawn up an exceedingly elementary examination paper, to which we invite perusal. So deficient has this side of our political education been that it would be safe to lay Lombard Street to an eggshell that not 10 per cent. of the House of Commons could secure "a pass" in this paper. How many, even of our omniscient London editors, would obtain "distinction" if they tackled it?

I. Name the Provinces of Canada and their respective Premiers. Also the Premiers of the Dominion since Confederation.

II. Give a short account of the Manitoba School question and its settlement.

III. Discuss the argument of Mr. Davis's speech.

IV. Give the principal newspapers in Canada. What do you know of Sir Richard Cartwright, Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper, Archbishop Langevin, the Laval University, *Le Drapeau Anglais*, Mgr. Merry del Val, Mr. Foster, Mr. Fielding, and Principal Grant?

V. Are Canadians unreasonable in resenting "Our Lady of the Snows"?

VI. Describe and discuss Queensland's attitude towards Australian Federation. What is the present position of the Federal movement? Will it succeed or fail? Give reasons for your opinion.

VII. Analyze the financial relations subsisting between Great Britain and Australasia. How has the fall in the general level of wholesale prices affected these Colonies? Defend, if you can, the levy by the creditor of an ever-increasing amount of commodities to discharge a debt fixed in terms of gold. How far can this process be safely carried?

VIII. What are the political "hobbies" of the different Colonies? Give the names of the late Premiers of New South Wales, Tasmania, and New Zealand. Distinguish between *The Argus* and *The Age*. Who are Mr. Deakin, Sir Samuel Griffith, Mr. Richard Baker, and Mr. Edmund Barton, Q.C.?

IX. Give a succinct account of the various efforts that have been made to federate South Africa.

X. Discuss the respective policies of the Transvaal, the Orange Free State, and Natal, towards aliens.

XI. State the terms of the London Convention. How would you deal with technical breaches of its provisions? Have there

been any serious breaches during the last five years by either party?

XII. What steps did Mr. Rhodes take to prevent Dr. Jameson from crossing the frontier?

XIII. Write an essay discussing the respective attitudes of the different groups of self-governing Colonies towards (1) Imperial Defence; (2) Preferential trade. Make any practical suggestions you can for furthering either of these objects.

THE BOND AND THE QUEEN.

If it has been a pregnant month in Great Britain it has been hardly less significant in South Africa. The Jubilee celebrations have been held on a splendid scale, and have been participated in by all classes and both races, in spite of the fearful scourge of rinderpest which has been devastating whole tracts of country. The Dutch have heaped coals of fire on the heads of their detractors, and have greatly strengthened the hands of their friends in Great Britain, among whom may be reckoned all the sober responsible people. Our readers have observed in the Rhodesian press in London for months past a systematic campaign against the Afrikander Bond, which is the great Dutch political organization in Cape Colony. When it kept Mr. Rhodes in office by its votes, it was regarded as a very loyal body, and articles approving Mr. Hofmeyr's great services to the Empire were not unknown in *The Times*. Since Mr. Rhodes was disclosed as the prime plotter against a neighbouring Dutch Republic, the Bond fell away from him, and a series of bye-elections in Cape Colony showed that it had not thereby lost its power, its candidates being uniformly successful. Forthwith, Mr. Rhodes' partisans in the Press—who always appear to us to be willing to subordinate the honour and welfare of the Empire to the personal interests of their idol—raised a hue and cry against the Bond for its "disloyalty," and an absurd "plot" to overthrow British supremacy in South Africa and establish a Republic at the Cape was fathered on the Bond. Rhodesianism has no sense of the ridiculous, so Sir Henry de Villiers, the Chief Justice of Cape Colony, was ultimately accused by *The Times* of being in this plot. That killed the plot. The Bond has since buried it, for, instead of following the example of the Irish Nationalists, and getting up an anti-Jubilee demonstration such as might have been expected from a "disloyal" body aiming at ejecting the Queen's mild supremacy from South Africa we learn by the cable:—

"The following address, congratulating the Queen on her sixty years' reign, has been presented to Sir Alfred Milner, the Governor, by Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, Advocate Malan, Mr. De Plessis, M.L.A., and Mr. Theron, M.L.A., on behalf of the Afrikander Bond:—

"'To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty.

"'May it please your Majesty—We, the undersigned, unanimously deputed thereto by the Congress of the Afrikander Bond, lately assembled at Malmesbury, representing many thousands of your Majesty's subjects in Cape Colony, mostly of Dutch extraction, beg to offer your Majesty the most cordial congratulations of the members of our association on the completion of the sixtieth year of your Majesty's benign reign, recognizing the material progress experienced by the Cape Colony as part of the British Empire under your Majesty's wise rule, and the world-wide ennobling influence exercised by your Majesty, not only in the exalted position of Queen, but also in those of mother and woman. The members of the Afrikander Bond beg to assure your Majesty of their feelings of loyalty to your Majesty's Throne, and of attachment to your Majesty's person. Praying that it may please Providence to prolong your Majesty's reign, and bestow the priceless blessing of peace and prosperity on your Majesty's people, we remain your Majesty's humble and obedient subjects.'"

Mr. Hofmeyr and the members of the Afrikander Bond may rest assured that among the thousands of congratulations presented to the Queen during the past month, none has been more valued by Her Majesty, and none has been more welcome to her British subjects.

THE CAPE AND THE NAVY.

The Bond's "disloyalty" and "plot" to oust British supremacy from South Africa went very much beyond this really eloquent tribute to the Queen. On June 3rd, Great Britain was electrified by the news that the following motion had been carried in the Cape Assembly with *only one dissentient*:—"That, in the opinion of this House, the time has arrived when steps should be taken to arrange some contribution by this colony towards the Imperial Navy, and that the Prime Minister be requested to enter into provisional and tentative negotiations in this matter with Her Majesty's Government, and report the matter to Parliament next Session." Since the promulgation of the new Canadian Tariff giving an immediate preference to the goods of the Mother Country, we have had nothing to kindle us or to bring home the unity of the British Empire like the passing of this motion by the Cape Parliament. What made the Canadian proposals doubly attractive was that they were the handiwork of the first French Premier of the Dominion. What makes the Cape motion doubly attractive is that it is the spontaneous offer of an Assembly representing a community the majority of whose inhabitants are of Dutch extraction. Recent divisions show that the Afrikander Bond controls at least half the seventy-two seats in the Cape Assembly—indeed, in the decisive division on Mr. Du Toit's motion it had a majority of ten. When, however, the question of contributing to the Imperial Navy is raised practically the whole Dutch vote is cast in the affirmative, and a crushing rebuke is administered to their traducers. We trust the latter will profit by the lesson, and that we have heard

the last of the "disloyalty" of our Dutch fellow-subjects. Their leader, Mr. Hofmeyr, has consistently shown himself to be one of the most thoughtful and strenuous friends of Imperial unity. The English people are not going to fritter away such friendship as his and his followers in order to back a capitalist conspiracy to grab the Rand.

MR. BRYAN IN CANADA.

A remarkable meeting was held in Toronto, Canada, on June 4, to hear a lecture from Mr. Bryan, the hitherto defeated candidate for the American Presidency. The Mayor presided, and warmly welcomed the brilliant guest:—"We are honoured to-night in having with us one of the most distinguished of American citizens, a gentleman who by his high moral character and sympathy with the masses has secured a foremost place in the great nation to the south of us. A Toronto audience always greets a distinguished American with enthusiasm, and no one has ever been more enthusiastically received than Mr. Bryan. We in this country are working out our own destiny, and it appears to be on the line of closer union with the Mother Country, but while that is the case we want to live upon the most friendly terms with our American neighbours, and I know of no better way of accomplishing that than for audiences on both sides of the line to be given opportunities of listening to representative speakers from the neighbouring country." The Mayor concluded by saying that he was informed "Mr. Bryan will be the next President of the United States." Mr. Bryan was splendidly received and affirmed "I could not be more kindly treated by any audience even in my own city in the State of Nebraska than you here in this foreign land have greeted me." We mention these mutual amenities because we fancy our English readers will be more inclined to take the testimony of Toronto—which is practically a part of England—to the character and position of Mr. Bryan than that of the American gentlemen who earn their livelihood by disparaging him and his great movement in London papers. Mr. Bryan's argument on the Monetary Question was as clear and cogent as ever. If any Canadians are of opinion that the system of gold monometallism, which is killing the farmer wherever it prevails, is not to their detriment, we hope they will do us the honour of reading the contribution to this number by Mr. Faraday, who is one of the ablest economic writers in England. We hope also that Mr. Bryan will realize from his reception in Canada that British public opinion on the great question he has made his own is not reflected in the Press, and that in no nation would he receive a warmer welcome than in the Mother Country.

THE EARTHQUAKE IN INDIA.

India continues to be visited by calamities, famine, plague, and earthquake. The latter took place on June 12th, and committed great devastation in Bengal and Assam. Six thousand people were reported to have lost their lives in the latter province. Considerable damage was done to public and private buildings at Calcutta. A portion of the cathedral spire fell, and some other church towers and spires collapsed. The Town Hall, the High Court, and other public buildings were badly damaged. The earthquake occurred just before the usual evening drive. People rushed from their houses *en masse*. Few houses escaped damage of some sort, and many were reduced to ruins. A cable from Calcutta stated:—"Almost the whole of Assam has been completely devastated by the earthquake, and the ruin is appalling. The courts, treasuries, gaols, and hospitals have collapsed. The loss of food supplies is enormous, the crops have been to a large extent ruined, and great scarcity is expected. Transit, moreover, is difficult, numbers of roads having been completely demolished." Shillong and Sylhet were levelled to the ground. Mr. McNabe, Inspector-General of Police, was killed at the former town. The earthquake started from the Bay of Bengal, and after committing great havoc on the coast (at Chittagong the Post Office was swallowed up), it travelled up the valley of the Ganges and Brahmaputra, and spent its final disastrous shocks in Assam. It was, however, severely felt at Simla, Agra, Bombay, Manipur, and places far down in the Central Provinces. Considerable damage was done at Hughli, Burdwon, Dacca, and Patna. At Darjiling many houses were destroyed. The news of this catastrophe arrived sadly in the midst of our Jubilee, and we felt that there could be no share of our festivity in India. The authorities there have decided so likewise, and the money which was to have been devoted to Jubilee celebration is to be applied to the relief of the sufferers from earthquake.

THE FAMINE IN INDIA.

This dreadful calamity still afflicts India, and the strain on relief work increases. The numbers on relief were 4,240,337 in June, as against 3,481,480 in the previous month, agricultural operations having been suspended for want of rain. Relief was therefore more eagerly sought than ever. In Bombay there was a decrease, partly on account of cholera. Monsoon, after advancing feebly in Southern India, had been delayed, great heat prevailed, and there was an outbreak of cholera and smallpox to increase the general misery. Some of the higher classes and castes were noticed to be gathering in to relief works. The famine fund, which amounts now to £540,000, was being actively distributed for the purchase of seed and cattle. It is a terrible time of tribulation in our great Dependency, and there is nothing to relieve the immediate outlook.

THE WAZIRI ATTACK ON A BRITISH FORCE.

A treacherous attack was made on June 10th upon an escort of Mr. Gee, Political Officer in the Tochi Valley near the Afghan frontier. He was proceeding from the advanced post of Datta-khel to visit Sherani, twelve miles farther up the valley, with an escort of 300 native infantry, two mountain guns, and a small escort of cavalry, the object of the expedition being to fix a site for a new outpost and to recover a fine which had been imposed on the local tribesmen. At about 2 p.m., while resting under some trees at Maizar, where the party had lunched, a heavy fire was suddenly opened from the walls of the small towers which surround the village. The range was so short that six officers were shot down at once. Colonel Bunny, 1st Sikhs, Captain Browne, R.A., and Lieutenant H. A. Cruikshank were killed on the spot; and Lieutenant Higginson, 1st Sikhs, Lieutenant Seton Browne, 1st Punjab Infantry, and Surgeon-Captain Cassidy were wounded. Over thirty were killed and wounded in the native ranks. In a few moments the troops were enclosed in a circle of fire, some five hundred of the tribesmen, who had been awaiting the signal, joining in the attack. The troops were so situated that no defensive position could be taken up. A retirement towards Sherani took place, the tribesmen being reinforced on the way until about 1,000 were engaged in harassing the party encumbered with dead and wounded. A despatch from *The Times* Correspondent at Simla describing the affair said:—

"For a distance of four miles to Sherani sharp fighting took place. Beyond that village more tribesmen were seen coming over the hills to the north of the Tochi river with the intention of cutting off the retreat, but they retired when the reinforcements sent by Captain Cooper from Datta-khel appeared. The troops did not reach the latter post till eleven at night, nine hours after the first attack was made. Most of our losses occurred at Maizar, when the tribesmen had all the advantage of a surprise on their side, and fired into clusters of men. The Waziris are said to have lost fifty killed and a large number wounded, including four mullahs or priests, who were present exciting the fanatic tribesmen."

Mr. Gee's visit had been pre-arranged, and two maliks were sent ahead by him to Maizar; one of them returned with food for the British officers and Mahommedan sepoys in the escort. This hospitality threw the party off their guard, as the people of the Waziri district usually respect the lives of men who are their guests. Two brigades have been formed as a punitive force, and sent into the Tochi Valley. Major-General Corrie Bird is in command of the 6,000 men composing the force. The tribesmen guilty of the attack will probably disperse and take refuge in Afghanistan.

SOME READABLE BOOKS.

Believing that a monthly table of selected books may be of aid to the readers of *The National Review*, we have drawn up the appended list which comprises a few recently published volumes of interest.

A Great Agricultural Estate.—By the Duke of Bedford (John Murray, London. Price 6s.). This is perhaps the most remarkable contribution ever made to the English Land Question. The author, who is one of our greatest and best landlords, shows clearly that none but a generous millionaire can own land in this country. Agriculture has indeed come to a pretty pass when such a man as the Duke of Bedford is compelled to confess that many landlords "would positively gain by casting off the burden of heavily taxed agricultural property, and by giving up a possession which not only involves the owner, who does his duty, in a considerable annual loss, but exposes him to the odium and anxieties attaching to ownership of land."

The Crowd.—By Gustave Le Bon (T. Fisher Unwin, London. Price 6s.). This most ingenious French writer—who is fortunate in his translator—has made a special study of crowds as other men study criminals or cats, and has evolved a psychology of crowds which is extremely original and suggestive and highly appropriate to the Jubilee year. That man in the mass acts differently to what he does as a unit is the lesson of the book which the author converts into a truism.

The Choir Invisible.—By James Lane Allen (Macmillan & Co., London. Price 6s.). This is a beautiful novel by an American writer of established fame in his own country, who is as yet unknown to the British public. All that such admirable literature needs, however, is "a send off." Every person of taste and perception will do the rest. We owe the "discovery" of Mr. Allen to that judicious appreciator of letters, *The Dial* (Chicago).

Macchiavelli.—By John Morley (Macmillan & Co., London. Price 2s. 6d.). This is Mr. Morley's recently delivered "Romanes Lecture." It is a clear and brilliant exposition of the famous Florentine's doctrines, but as a criticism it is half-hearted. The highly significant moral of which is that no conscientious Party leader feels himself able to throw stones at the author of *The Prince*.

Imperial Defence.—By Sir Charles W. Dilke, M.P., and Spenser Wilkinson (Archibald Constable & Co., London. Price 2s. 6d.). This is a reissue and revision of a celebrated and pregnant brochure which will be studiously re-read by all interested in the great question handled by these masters.

Paul's Stepmother.—By Lady Troubridge (Grant Richards, London. Price 6s.). It is a positive pleasure to recommend a story-teller who has given one so much enjoyment.

South Africa.—By George M. Theal (T. Fisher Unwin, London. Price 6s.). The distinguished historian of South Africa has brought his admirable monograph in *The Story of the Nations Series* up to date at a most opportune moment. We strongly recommend our readers to acquaint them-

selves with this volume and also with that of Dr. J. G. Bourinot on Canada in the same series.

Cromwell's Place in History.—By Samuel Rawson Gardiner, D.C.L. (Longman, Green & Co., London. Price 3s. 6d.). This compact little volume contains what the author can recall of six lectures delivered last year without notes. They are marked by all the thoroughness and thoughtfulness which have earned his high reputation for Dr. Gardiner. Briefly, he views Cromwell as being in the world of action what Shakespeare was in the world of thought, that is to say, as "the greatest, because the most typical Englishman of all time." It is unnecessary to say that this is a conclusion from which many readers of this review will dissent, but they will do well to read Dr. Gardiner's plea.

Labour in the Longest Reign.—By Sidney Webb (Grant Richards, London. Price 1s.). This is a Fabian tract designed to show that the supposed improvement in the lot of the working-classes since the Queen came to the Throne while substantial is not so great or general as is usually assumed.

The Battle of the Bays.—By Owen Seaman (John Lane, London. Price 3s. 6d.). At a time when our poetry is becoming dull and obscure, Mr. Seaman's delightful and sparkling parodies can only be compared to champagne. As no man is allowed by the critics to stand entirely on his own merits he has been christened the new Calverly—he is certainly as witty and clever as need be.

The Monetary Situation in 1897.—By G. M. Boissevain (Macmillan & Co., London. Price 2s.) This is a careful and instructive *résume* of the monetary history of the last six months, followed by a dispassionate appreciation of the present position. The author sat as a delegate in the Brussels Conference and writes with authority.

Pacific Tales.—By Louis Becke (T. Fisher Unwin, London. Price 6s.). The author may eventually exhaust the extraordinary fund of experience he has acquired in his wanderings in the South Seas, but there is very little falling off from *By Reef and Palm*—which the late Lord Pembroke discovered—in the present collection of stories. While full of human nature they are a little less "strong" than their predecessors, which is an advantage.

Industries and Wealth of Nations.—By Michael G. Mulhall (Longmans, Green & Co., London. Price 8s. 6d.). This is a valuable and compendious volume, but the author with all his laboriousness lacks the first requisite of a statistician, *impartiality*. Being a rabid "gold bug," he, *e.g.*, fails to bring out the manner in which an appreciating measure of value eats the heart out of an agricultural nation such as Ireland, although as a Home Ruler he is full of Ireland's political woes, which are trifling.

Craiktree.—By Watson Dyke (T. Fisher Unwin, London. Price 6s.). A charming country story, fresh, simple, and pathetic, without any pretensions to "greatness."

The Secret of Saint Florel.—By John Berwick (Macmillan & Co., London. Price 6s.). This is an exciting romance of the old-fashioned type, for which it is satisfactory to note that the demand is increasing.

CHANCERY LANE SAFEGUARD LIBRARY

THE NATIONAL REVIEW.

No. 174.—AUGUST, 1897.

EPISODES OF THE MONTH.

THE QUEEN'S LETTER.

The Jubilee Celebrations closed with one of those inimitably simple, dignified, and heartfelt letters from the Queen to the whole British Empire, such as her People are wont to look forward to when they have shared some great joy or sorrow with their Sovereign:—

"*Windsor Castle, July 15th, 1897.*

"I have frequently expressed my personal feelings to my people, and though on this memorable occasion there have been many official expressions of my deep sense of the unbounded loyalty evinced I cannot rest satisfied without personally giving utterance to these sentiments.

"It is difficult for me on this occasion to say how truly touched and grateful I am for the spontaneous and universal outburst of loyal attachment and real affection which I have experienced on the completion of the Sixtieth year of my Reign.

"During my progress through London on the 22nd of June this great enthusiasm was shown in the most striking manner, and can never be effaced from my heart.

"It is indeed deeply gratifying, after so many years of labour and anxiety for the good of my beloved country, to find that my exertions have been appreciated throughout my vast Empire.

formidable foes. It hurts, therefore, doubly the dignity of the Turkish people to be confused with their enemy, and to be condemned for unpardonable faults committed by that enemy. In England we are accused of religious fanaticism, and yet not very long ago the English Prime Minister publicly declared that 'a Christian territory cannot be allowed to pass into the hands of Turkey.' Such unguarded declarations merely serve the Russian purpose by creating hostility between the two nations (England and Turkey), who are, by mutual interest, destined to be friends. In the Crimean War we have been aided by the valour of English arms against a Christian foe. We cannot suppose that since then fanaticism in England has so much increased as to form a *political basis*. 'With your present Administration, we cannot place in your hands more subjects to be tyrannized. Accept a constitutional form of Government. Bind yourself to treat your subjects with equity and justice. Then your claims as a conqueror may be taken into consideration.' Such should have been the declarations of the Earl of Salisbury. I believe that the English interest lies in the regeneration of the Turkish Government. But the Turkish Government cannot be regenerated independently of the Turkish people. Europe may insist upon reforms. The Sultan might cede; but the result shall always be null. The basis of the English policy must be to aim at improving the Turkish Administration not directly, but *through the medium of the Turkish people*. The first step to be taken by the British Government is, therefore, to shew a friendly disposition towards these people, to gain, as in the past, their prestige and their confidence and to work with them for the fall of a system of Government inaugurated by a Sovereign who is subject to the terrible malady—terrible for his subjects—known as HOMICIDE."

THE WOLCOTT NEGOTIATIONS.

While daily bulletins have kept the world posted in the dilatory and dreary negotiations at Constantinople, another negotiation has been unobtrusively proceeding in London of incomparably greater importance, and with infinitely better prospects. The parties thereto consist of France, the United States, and Great Britain; the first and the last of these Powers are represented by their respective Governments or Ambassadors, while the United States is represented by three Special Envoys, to whom the duty of effecting an agreement on the monetary question has been delegated by President McKinley, in pursuance of the very categorical pledge to promote International Bimetallism on which he was elected last November. Our readers are aware that these Envoys are Senator E. O. Wolcott, of Colorado, General C. F. Paine, of

Massachusetts, and the Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois. They come from the West, East, and Middle of the United States respectively; as, moreover, the two former are members of the Republican Party, while the latter is a Democrat, and was Vice-President under Mr. Cleveland, it is within the mark to say that no more representative commission ever issued from the United States. This fact has been fully recognized by the European Governments with which they have so far transacted business, and in part accounts for their remarkable reception at the hands of the leading statesmen of France and Great Britain. We referred last month at some length to the memorable Bimetallic speech which M. Méline, the French Premier, took the opportunity of delivering in the presence of Senator Wolcott and his colleagues shortly after their arrival in Paris. Without affecting any preternatural acuteness, we pointed out that such a speech, coming from such a quarter, could only admit of the interpretation that the French Government had decided to associate itself with the American effort to restore Bimetallism, and that the two nations would jointly approach Great Britain, and demand her material and moral assistance in terminating the disastrous monetary experiment which was so thoughtlessly initiated in 1873 when the French and American Mints were closed to silver. The effect of that action was to break the par of exchange between silver-using and gold-using countries, and to throw upon one metal a demand which had from time immemorial been borne by two. The metal thus selected and protected was gold, which was consequently increased greatly in value to the detriment of all other forms of property which have become correspondingly depreciated. Or, as M. Méline said in his speech: "From the moment the ratio was ruptured in 1873 trouble began everywhere, trade became more difficult, and it would not be too strong to say that the world fell into a state of commercial anarchy." What is even more pertinent is that M. Méline made it manifest that the reign of "commercial anarchy" has converted the French mind to Bimetallism, and has inspired France with a desire to reverse the disastrous crusade against silver to which she was a party nearly a generation ago. So far as we can observe, the same process of conversion has been going on among all Englishmen who are not too supine or bigoted to look into this great question. M. Méline finally declared the policy of his Government in these highly significant terms which we quoted last month and repeat now so that recent developments may be intelligible to the reader:—"To-day the situation is radically changed. The Government of a great nation takes the initiative by making a decisive overture towards the great Powers of Europe. It sends us as Ambassadors the statesmen most likely to assure the success of

their cause; for they combine with incontestable competence and great authority a very precise idea of the difficulties to be encountered in such negotiations. They did everything to obviate these difficulties before coming here, and our special thanks are due to Senator Wolcott for the conciliatory disposition he showed on his former visit. I am convinced that our gratitude will be augmented during his stay among us. *Our concurrence will not be wanting for the triumph of the great cause which we are ready to join him in defending.*"

A Franco-American Alliance.

When they had concluded their labours in Paris, the success of which was foreshadowed by the French Premier's speech, Senator Wolcott and his colleagues came to London to negotiate with the British Government. But they now occupied a very different position to when they first arrived in Europe and opened relations with the French Ministry. Then they represented the United States, it is true, but their departure from America had been accompanied by a running fire of irrelevant abuse and heavy chaff, in which, needless to say, the unconscionable Mr. Smalley—*Times* correspondent in the United States at New York—took the lead, and we used to be informed by costly cablegrams from day to day that the Commission was nothing but an electioneering stratagem to get the tariff through the Senate; that it would waste its eloquence in preaching to the "heathen" in France, which was too intelligent a country to countenance such rubbish as Bimetallism, and so forth. Since then (unfortunately for the American people), the preposterous Dingley Bill has passed, so there is no need to electioneer for it, and as to the French "heathen," it can truly be said that Senator Wolcott found himself preaching to a converted audience when he met the French Ministers. So heartily, indeed, have they seconded his efforts that the Commission already partook of an international character when—after presenting credentials to the Queen—it opened negotiations with Lord Salisbury's Cabinet. For in truth, with the aid of the very distinguished French Ambassador in London, Baron de Courcel, who like all the chief public men in France, is a keen Bimetallist, Senator Wolcott and his colleagues have presented the views of France and their own country. It will be necessary, of course, for the truth of this statement to be denied by Smalley & Co., like every other statement of fact in reference to this question; but it is an open secret in London, and denotes both a most gratifying and unexpected success for the Commission and an immense stride towards the accomplishment of International Bimetallism. Incidentally this great devolopment in the situation is an ample vindication of the wisdom of

President McKinley in his sustained effort to fulfil the principal pledge in his programme. Realize the advance that has been made. For the first time since the perpetration of the blunder of 1873, two of the three nations which blundered—Germany was the third, and the most responsible—declare their desire, through their authorized mouthpieces, to retrace their steps and repair that calamity. There has been no more pregnant episode during the last quarter of a century, and a heavy load of responsibility now devolves upon the British Government, to whom this Franco-American declaration has been presented coupled with a demand for British assistance. The omens in this country are happily favourable to the prospects of the negotiations which are proceeding in a promising manner. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach (Chancellor of the Exchequer) finds himself in precisely the position he anticipated in his important, but too little known, speech of the 17th March last year, when he dwelt on the evils of low silver, and practically invited other nations to open negotiations on the monetary question with Great Britain.

Sir Michael Hicks-Beach's Opportunity.

In issuing that invitation the British Chancellor of the Exchequer incurred a very proper responsibility, as it would be most humiliating for the greatest silver-using Empire in the world to have the monetary question settled without her aid and voice. At the same time it was a real and serious responsibility. It would be, *e.g.*, a very grave and tremendous blunder if our Government's attitude permitted any fair-minded person to say "Great Britain invited us to negotiate and pledged her co-operation, but when we arrived on the strength of her invitation, she looked the other way." That is apparently what a handful of New York gold bugs demand, but they have no more control over the situation than the three tailors of Tooley Street. Their argument appears to be "Sir Michael Hicks-Beach is a gold bug and one of us, therefore he must desire the failure of these negotiations, and may be relied on to ensure it"; but there are gold bugs and gold bugs, and the British variety is about twenty years ahead of his New York cousin, and declines to bury his head in the sand like an ostrich. If Sir Michael Hicks-Beach were an autocrat and had no colleagues whose opinions must be consulted or Lancashire constituencies to consider, we believe he would still be anxious to promote a settlement of this vital question, in which Great Britain has so large a stake. Any British statesman looking round the horizon with a decent pair of eyes must appreciate the frightful complications in which this money question is liable to involve us if it remains open much longer. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, though he has never

actually "found salvation," is sufficiently a statesman to lend his sincere co-operation to the great reform which France and the United States desire to undertake. He will, at any rate, act in the spirit and carry out the mandate of the House of Commons' resolution of 17th March, 1896—which was passed *nemine contradicente*—"That this House is of opinion that the instability of the relative value of gold and silver, since the action of the Latin Union in 1873, has proved injurious to the best interests of this country, and urges upon the Government the advisability of doing all in their power to secure by international monetary agreement a stable monetary par of exchange between gold and silver." He may be relied on to adhere to the position defined in the speech he made during the debate on that resolution :—"What is the policy, which, as a Government, we intend to pursue? As I have said, we are willing, we are anxious, seeing that there are evils in the present low value of silver, and in the fluctuations in the value of the two metals, to enter into a conference, or into negotiations, which certainly I believe at the present stage would be much better than a conference, with other countries upon this subject, but we are not prepared to abandon the Gold Standard in the United Kingdom. If it be possible for other nations to be joined in a bimetallic league, or in an agreement on this matter which seemed good to themselves, I have little doubt but that the Indian Government would be prepared to agree with us in reopening the Indian Mints to the free coinage of silver, and that we might endeavour by other minor means to promote the increase of silver in coinage to aid in an international agreement on this great question. . . . We cannot, therefore, alter the Gold Standard of the United Kingdom; *but with that reservation, we are prepared, in the words of the resolution, to do all in our power to secure by international agreement a stable monetary par of exchange between gold and silver.*"

Our Contributions.

It is now generally recognized—except by the ostriches—that Great Britain's chief contribution to an international settlement of the Silver Question will be the reopening of the Indian Mints, which all who appreciate this question regard as a splendid subscription to the common pool. Their closure in 1893 permanently depreciated silver by 20%, increased the already formidable barrier against exports from gold-using to silver-using countries, and raised the premium on exports from non-gold-using countries. This huge blunder so disgusted one supporter of the Government which perpetrated it, that, to his eternal credit, he resigned his seat—Mr. W. H. Grenfell, M.P. for Hereford. He belongs to the opposite political party to

ourselves; but we are glad to recognize that his wisdom and patriotism have alike been vindicated. This further demonetization of silver caused a further purely artificial fall in the general level of wholesale prices. It has hardly reached retail prices, so has not benefited the producer in his capacity of consumer, while it is ruinous to the consumer in his capacity of producer. Against this general depression man vainly fights with such self-destructive weapons as the Dingley Tariff Bill, which many of our leading economists regard as the direct offspring of closed mints in India. The reopening of these mints is consequently an essential and vital part of any scheme of International Bimetallism, but they will not be reopened except as part of such a scheme. Isolated action by India would afford no guarantee against the continuance of the almost heart-breaking fluctuations of exchange, and it would not promote but retard a final settlement. So the British Cabinet have wisely set their face against it, which accounts for the answers that have been given in the House of Commons to the rather naïve question:—"Do the Government propose to reopen the Indian Mints?" The answer is "Yes, as part of an International Settlement," comprising the reopening of other mints and offering a prospect of steadiness and permanence," but "No," in the absence of such action elsewhere. Beyond the reopening of the Indian Mints—the closing of which is the only British blow struck at silver during the Queen's reign—the present Government are favourable to, and prepared to propose, a more extended use of silver in Great Britain by making it the basis for notes, raising its legal tender, making it a part of the bank reserve, &c.

THE HUSKISSON PLAN.

One of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's predecessors and a distinguished Tory, Mr. Huskisson, wrote a valuable paper on the currency in 1826, containing some proposals which seem singularly opportune just now: "If I have established that for the sake of our internal circulation, for the steadiness of our foreign exchanges, and for the interests of our trade, it is desirable to introduce the use of silver in the monetary system of this country, it remains to be considered how we can reconcile that introduction with our present *token* currency of the like metal, and with the gold coinage." Then follows a proposal to enable the Mint to receive silver for deposit. "The outlines of the plan," he adds, "will be shortly these:—

"1. That the Mint should receive the deposits of silver bullion tendered for that purpose, and should give a receipt or receipts according to a prescribed form for the same. Each receipt to specify in ounces the quantity of silver of standard fineness which

it represents and its equivalent value in our money at the fixed rate of* per ounce.

"2. No deposit to be received of less than 200 ounces, and no receipt to be given for less than £50 sterling.

"3. The quantity of silver specified in the receipt to be delivered by weight to the bearer thereof whenever he might call for the same, and in no other manner and on no other account whatsoever.

"4. These receipts to circulate as money in all transactions."

We trust the Government will consider the feasibility of reviving this scheme of Mr. Huskisson's—or some modification of it—which has the enormous advantage of not touching the daily habits of the people, which all politicians have a wholesome dread of disturbing. In the second place, with open mints offering vastly superior attractions in the United States, France, and India there would be no alarming "dumping down" of the white metal in London that bankers affect to fear. Thirdly, business would not be interfered with, but would be carried on by paper as at present. The difficulty of fixing the deposit rate of silver could be obviated in the precise manner proposed by Mr. Huskisson who was prepared to accept the French Mint rate. *Ex hypothesi* the French Mint could be open and would determine the deposit rate of silver bullion at the British Mint. Who would be injured by the adoption of this proposal? Are there any objections to it?

MR. BALFOUR'S DECLARATION.

Two years ago, in the course of a remarkable speech he delivered in the City of London, Mr. Balfour disposed of the objections of those who might be inclined to argue in favour of leaving monetary matters alone. In the interval his criticisms have gathered irresistible force from the deplorable effects produced by Sir William Harcourt's famous operations of 1893, when he tampered with the currency of three hundred millions of the Queen's subjects by closing the Indian Mints against the Indian people. The sufferings of this unhappy nation during the terrible famine have been substantially increased by cutting them off from their natural resource in times of distress—the conversion of bangles into rupees. Again, it is now more palpable than when Mr. Balfour spoke, that gold monometallism, by artificially lowering prices, has arrested the development of the great productive and debtor communities of Greater Britain—notably Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Can that process be carried on indefinitely? Can it even be carried much farther? Productive enterprise is already to some extent paralysed in several of our Colonies.

* Blank in the original manuscript.

Their purchasing power is steadily declining. Shall we watch with equanimity while the margin between their resources and their debts reaches the vanishing point? Can we as creditors afford to do so? Mr. Balfour's speech breathed the Imperialism that takes thought for the morrow, and to-day his wise and searching sentences are infinitely more cogent than when they were originally spoken. The address was delivered at the Mansion House on April 3rd, 1895, when he was Leader of the Opposition. He is now Leader of the House of Commons and First Lord of the Treasury, and is fortunately in an incomparably more powerful position to give effect to the views contained in the following declaration:—

"People talk of leaving well alone, and they talk of the excellence of the British system of currency. What is the British system of currency? We are an empire, as we are proud to think, with interests and possessions in every part of the world. I concentrate my attention, not upon the self-governing colonies, which, for the purpose of the currency, may be described as independent of us,* but I fix my attention on those parts of our great empire which are practically under the rule of the British Parliament, and what is the system of currency? You go to Hongkong and the Straits Settlement, and you find obligations are measured and debts are paid in silver; you go to England and you find that obligations are measured and debts are paid in gold; you stop half way, in India, and you find that obligations are measured and debts are paid in something which is neither gold nor silver—the strangest product of monometallist ingenuity which the world has ever seen—a currency which is as arbitrary as any forced paper currency which the world has ever heard of, and which is as expensive as any metallic currency that the world has ever faced, and which, unhappily, combines in itself all the disadvantages of every currency which human beings have ever tried to form. That, gentlemen, is what we call the British system of currency, and we are expected to carry on to the best advantage—I will not say foreign trade, but trade with our own colonies and with our own dependencies with a standard—with three standards, two varying according to the accidents of natural production, the other varying according to the arbitrary will of the Secretary of State for India. Now, it is absurd to say that this is a system which cannot be improved. It is a ridiculous system, and, therefore, if we concentrate our attention upon ourselves alone—upon the British Empire, that part of it which is practically governed from Westminster—I say that some alteration is imperatively required."

A PORTRAIT OF THE QUEEN.

Some of our readers may be inclined to say, "At any rate Gold Monometallism has been a splendid thing for England. Look how prosperous we are. Read the leading articles in *The Times*." We think *The Times* should be judged by what it does rather than by what

* We desire most respectfully to demur to the view that the self-governing colonies are "independent" for "the purpose of the currency," though obviously they ought to be. As it is, currency appears to be "Reserved" for Imperial approval. This adds to the responsibility of British statesmen and demands that they shall consider the question from an Imperial and not an insular standpoint. We hope that our Australian and New Zealand friends will urge upon their respective Governments to look up their currency rights under their constitutions and see what they can do for silver.

it says, and it has lately given its readers a dramatic proof of the perilous position of British trade. Like many other loyal newspapers, it celebrated the Jubilee by issuing a sumptuous though inartistic coloured portrait of Her Majesty the Queen, which its equally loyal readers made instant preparation to frame, and suspend in a conspicuous part of their houses. Judge of their dismay on discovering that this commemorative portrait of their Sovereign bore the fatal words "MADE IN GERMANY." You could hardly have a more glaring advertisement of British "prosperity" than *The Times* has cynically afforded by commissioning a German firm to undertake such a work on such an occasion. German workmen submit to longer hours, and accept lower wages than ours, and have a lower standard of living. So for the time being Germany can undertake work for *The Times* which Great Britain can't, but if the present system of falling prices is perpetuated, she in her turn will be cut out by some nation lower again in the scale of civilization, and *The Times'* next Jubilee portrait may be executed in China. *The Times* in the meanwhile will probably have to reduce its own price from threepence to a farthing.

OUR DECLINING EXPORTS.

If anyone thinks that this surprising behaviour of *The Times* inspires us to take an over gloomy view of the commercial outlook, we strongly recommend him to read a book recently written by Mr. William S. H. Gastrell,* the British Commercial Attaché in Berlin. It contains no mention of Bimetallism, and so far as we can gather the author is wholly guiltless of any knowledge of the question, and does not appear to realize even its existence. His "avowed object in this book is merely to lay before the British public a clear, unvarnished statement of facts, so far as they can be gathered from official sources. I leave the public to judge for themselves, after reading the facts here elaborated, whether there is not—in spite of all that optimists may persistently urge to the contrary—serious cause for apprehending that our foreign trade is by no manner of means in such a satisfactory condition as we are led to believe in many quarters." We take one single passage from this valuable book, and we invite all who care for the real and not the spurious prosperity of the country to take it to heart, and join with those who are working to remove the blighting influence which is paralyzing our trade:—

"But what concerns us more nearly are the exports of our own

* *Our Trade in the World.* By William S. H. Gastrell, Commercial Attache to Her Majesty's Embassy at Berlin. (Chapman & Hall, London.)

produce or manufactures, scheduled separately, in the Custom's Returns, from Foreign and Colonial goods imported and re-exported. These exports of British origin increased steadily from £97,000,000 in 1854 to £256,000,000 in 1872, from which date they yearly diminished till 1880, when a rise again took place; but the figures of 1872 have never but once been equalled or exceeded. That took place in 1890, when they reached £263,000,000. Since then the decline continued to 1894 with £215,824,000 to rise to £225,890,000 in 1895 *So that our export of British manufactures and products has by no means progressed as it should, our exports of British origin being in 1895 £30,000,000 less than in the year 1872—twenty-four years ago. This is indeed sad reading for a nation which, in that same period, has increased its population by some seven millions.*" *The Times* would endeavour to answer the passage we have italicized by pointing to our woollen imports as a sign of prosperity. Quite so. *The Times* swells our imports by obtaining portraits of the Queen from Germany, and then points to these imports as a proof of our prosperity! Mr. Gastrell is surely a sounder guide, and he has struck a warning note to which no Government dare be deaf.

THE TRUE POSITION IN THE UNITED STATES.

As Englishmen are so rarely brought into touch with representative American opinion we venture to make a few extracts from a private letter that has just reached us from a very prominent American, who is in an excellent position to gauge the political and economic prospects of his country:—"While the crop prospects are at this time very flattering indeed in all sections of the country, the business and financial situation seems to me to be worse than it has ever been, a great deal worse. True, the New York papers are constantly asserting that there has been a great revival of business, that great prosperity has just set in, &c., &c. A recent issue of *Bradstreets*, 27th of June, I think, devotes a page to the castigation of these papers and the exposure of these wicked falsehoods. I confess that, considering the fact that *Bradstreets* is the organ of what are called the business interests of New York, this strong but honest paper astonished me very much. Very few people now pretend to believe that the signature of the President to the Tariff Bill will have any material effect on the business situation. The coal-miners have recently gone out in very large numbers, and the chances seem to me that there will be a general strike amongst this class of labourers. If so, serious troubles must necessarily follow. I haven't seen the President for a month past, but my last conversation with him satisfies me that he is very earnest in his desire for the accomplishment of bimetallism. I believe he is ready to break with any gold-bug, Republican or

Democrat, who will undertake to prevent the accomplishment of this purpose. There is no division of sentiment in this country. The most pronounced and ultra anti-silver men freely admit that if there is not something done in the direction of bimetallism, that independent action will become absolutely irresistible in this country. I have been surprised by expressions from individuals in this line, very frequently in the last month or two. Some men who I supposed could not be induced to admit the possibility of the success of silver, have frankly stated to me that it was absolutely unavoidable, except by the accomplishment of international agreement. There are a few blind men of prominence in financial circles of New York who know that the silver cause is dead and buried, and practically forgotten, and will never be resurrected again. But they are few in number, have no influence, and have absolutely no knowledge of the conditions existing over the country."

SHOULD THE SULTAN REMAIN RECALCITRANT?

It was satisfactory to hear from Mr. Curzon, in a recent debate on foreign affairs, that during the two months' negotiations with the Sultan, the European Concert had justified its title. We know that during the Armenian Question the so-called Concert was a mere Discord, the Powers under the influence of Prince Lobanoff being in entire disagreement with Great Britain, who alone proposed to apply coercion. They were not only disagreed, but, according to Lord Rosebery, who was Foreign Minister at the time, they—the dissenting Great Powers—had determined to resist by force any single-handed intervention by England. The term Concert got into disrepute very properly, but it to some extent recovered its character on the Cretan Question, and has maintained it over the negotiations for peace. Mr. Curzon informs us there has not upon "any occasion" been "any disagreement at all" during these lengthy negotiations. All the Sultan's evasions and prevarications had been met with a united front. If this be so—why has not peace been definitely concluded? The reason is obvious to all reasonable people. The Great Powers have not yet despaired of obtaining compliance with their demands without resorting to coercion. There is not a particle of doubt but what the Concert will apply coercion if the Sultan's submission is not to be obtained in any other way. We believe ourselves that it would be far better for Europe and for the people of the East if the Sultan were to remain recalcitrant and continued to defy Europe. The difficulty of coercing Turkey by United Europe has been ridiculously exaggerated. The Bosphorous and the Dardanelles could be blockaded, Smyrna occupied, and the Turkish army in Thessaly could be cut off from

its base by the occupation of Salonica and the Vardar Valley. A *corps d'armée* of the allied troops could protect Athens. The terms of peace after coercion would be reversed and the Sultan, so far from receiving an indemnity, would have to contribute one, and possibly the abdication of Abdul Hamid might be made a condition of peace. He is a dangerous potentate and a standing menace to the peace of the world, and to the prosperity of his own country.

HUSSEIN EL AKAD.

A tribute to British work in Egypt has come from a most unexpected quarter. Hussein, son of Moussa el Akad, a well known and active participant in Arabi Pasha's revolt against the Khedival Government sixteen years ago, has written a rather remarkable letter to the *Mokattam*, an Arabic journal, in reply to recent attacks upon the British occupation appearing in another Arabic journal, the *Ahram*. A translation of Hussein's letter appears in a recent *Times*. The writer points out that before the British occupation the State used to exact taxes amounting to nearly £5 an acre, while now the taxes are under 31s. "The Mamours could insult, flog, and imprison the Omdehs with impunity." To-day corporal punishment is abolished and the highest Government official cannot molest the simplest labourer. Again, whereas general plunder was the order of the day, now the Khedive himself cannot take an acre of land unless he buys it with the owner's consent and pays for it in full. Formerly the officials and their friends monopolized the Nile water to irrigate their own lands while the unfortunate fellaheen suffered from drought. To-day, "the poorest fellah enjoys the same right of water as does the highest State dignitary." Then the lives of men were at the mercy of the "authorities," who killed and exiled at their pleasure; now all are amenable to the law. The writer enumerates other forms of tyranny which used to prevail before the occupation and have since been swept away; *e.g.* :—"The Khedive, public functionaries, and their friends compelled the fellaheen to work *en corvée* on their lands, forcing them to dig canals, to construct embankments and roads for the benefit of large properties, to the prejudice of small holdings, which thus suffered from a deficiency of hands. As to the administrative forced labour, it existed all the year round. To-day it is enforced only in cases of public danger. The growth of cotton, which was limited, has doubled under the ægis of justice and equality before the law." Hussein el Akad concludes with the following remarks:—"Such are the benefits of the British occupation, and I do not understand how the pretended patriots who run counter to the existing *régime* can deny their existence, seeing that they shine as the sun at noonday. The pretended patriots would do

better by keeping silence and leaving the occupiers of the country to complete their humanitarian work." We believe that the civilizing work accomplished in Egypt by the handful of men to whom the British Government has given a free hand is one of the best achievements in our history as a nation, and it is gratifying to find it receiving native recognition. There are two pressing needs in Egypt, one being a good English newspaper to counteract the calumnies of the local French Press, and the other is a good Arabic newspaper to counteract the treacherous twaddle continually instilled into the native mind by the "pretended patriots" as Hussein el Akad stigmatizes them. A distinguished Anglo-Egyptian now in England affirms that the want of a competent newspaper giving the British point of view may become very serious. It is to be hoped that the superabundant journalistic talent of Great Britain may be turned on to supply this void in Egypt.

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Mr. Chamberlain recently took advantage of an audience comprising Lord Salisbury and all the Colonial Premiers by pronouncing an almost fulsome panegyric on the House of Commons, which he exhibited as the embodiment of all the political virtues, and inferentially as a greatly superior assembly to "the other place" across Westminster Hall. The Colonial Secretary has always held the House of Commons in high veneration, and his eulogy was sincere and spontaneous, but we think that even its blindest admirer must have had his eyes partially opened during the past month to its extraordinary want of *savoire faire* and dignity. For a moment we say nothing of the monumental ineptitude of the South African Committee, or of the ridiculous fiasco at Buckingham Palace which the House was so injudicious as to wish to turn into a constitutional question. Take its treatment of Woman Suffrage this Session, which, while aiming at indefinitely shelving the Political Rights of Women, has afforded a vivid object lesson in the political foolishness of men. Our readers will recall the debate on the Second Reading of Mr. Faithfull Begg's Bill (to extend the Parliamentary franchise to propertied widows and propertied spinsters, but whether it included propertied wives was problematical) which was carried after a most frivolous debate on February 3rd by a majority of seventy-one (228 to 157). This victory, which was the result of assiduous wire-pulling on the part of the women, fairly frightened members, many of whom had voted for a measure they disapproved of in order to appease a handful of aggressive lady constituents, and without any expectation of its being passed. They were full of contrition for their

conduct as they had no desire to promote a revolution, and the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women, however innocently it may be advocated, or jocularly resisted, is a revolutionary proposal of a portentous character. As Sir William Harcourt pointed out in the only adequate speech delivered during the debate of February 3rd, the Bill "is intended to assert ultimately the identical rights of women to exercise the electoral franchise with men," and as there are 1,200,000 more women than men in this country, its adoption must inevitably result in placing the constitution of the country on "an Amazonian basis." This is perfectly true, and the thanks of the community are due to Sir William Harcourt for frankly exposing the disingenuous and insidious propaganda of the Woman Suffrage Societies, whose ultimate object is the capture of the Government of the British Empire, and the substitution of a female for the present male domination. Admittedly the men are not always a brilliant success, but we cannot as a nation afford to ascertain whether the women would manage better.

In Extremis.

We believe that the immense majority of British men and women have no desire to effect such a revolution, and their caution is shared by the bulk of their representatives in the House of Commons. As soon, therefore, as that Assembly realized what a huge blunder had been committed by acceding to the Second Reading of Mr. Faithfull Begg's Bill, members should surely have taken their courage in both hands and boldly declared that the joke—as it was to most of them—had gone far enough, and that they were not prepared to support the Bill in Committee. This they steadily refused to do, and resolved instead to talk against time on the day allotted for the reconsideration of the Begg Bill, so as to prevent its being reached. It was a pitiful subterfuge which naturally excited the indignation of the Bill's friends, some of whom entrusted Mr. Leonard Courtney with a remonstrance which enraged the House by stating that the petitioners "view with indignation and alarm the existing procedure of the House of Commons, which reduces legislation to a mere game of chance, and permits the repeated and insulting postponement of the just claims of women to citizenship." The following day (Wednesday, July 7th) the precincts of Parliament were thronged by eager and sanguine ladies, who imagined that their emancipation would be at any rate discussed. But the afternoon was deliberately devoted to the consideration of two trumpery measures, "The Verminous Persons Bill" and "The Plumbers Bill." Thus our chicken-hearted legislators shirked the quandary in which their previous capitulation to the

Woman Suffrage Societies had involved them. It was a thoroughly contemptible solution of the difficulty, but it should help to teach the supporters of the movement that their prospect of capturing Parliament is receding. Many Members of the House are saying privately, "I have given my last vote for Woman Suffrage." It may be hoped that they will have the pluck to say so publicly, both for the peace of mind of the country and the credit of their Assembly. Some of the smaller Western States of America, where there is a marked preponderance of men, have experimentalized in Woman Suffrage, and a lady in Utah recently managed to defeat her husband for a local Senatorship. Throughout the great Eastern States, however, the woman suffrage movement, which was growing formidable a few years ago, is now practically defunct. The British "movement" will share the same fate, for it has no great backing from either sex, and the large majority of us are not prepared to risk the proposed leap in the dark. On international grounds alone it is out of the question.

THE WORKMEN'S BILL.

That extremely important measure the Workmen's Compensation Bill has passed its Third Reading in the House of Commons without a division; at the time of writing its fate is in the hands of the House of Lords, which has ever shown itself the friend of social reform, and is extremely unlikely to accept the advice of those who urge that the Bill be rejected or destroyed. The final discussion in the House of Commons revealed the Opposition in the humiliating attitude of being willing to wound and yet afraid to strike. Mr. Asquith, as the author of an abortive Employers' Liability Bill, or "Lawyers' Employment Bill," as it has been termed, was extremely frigid in his commendation of the present Bill, which, from the point of view of the working-classes, of whom Mr. Asquith is the professed friend, marks a signal advance on anything that has ever been proposed by a British Government. We can thoroughly sympathize with the apprehensions of certain employers who foresee an additional burden thrown on their industries at a time of general depression, but we cannot understand Mr. Asquith's attitude, except upon the supposition that he objects to seeing a good measure passed by his opponents. He affected to be its sincere friend, but he pronounced it to be "momentous and novel" in the hope that sincere friends might be wanting for it elsewhere, and he contrived to fill the air with a vague and mysterious dread which ought to have upset the nerves of the more conservative part of his audience. He in fact used many arguments of which he is extremely contemptuous when they proceed from other people, and Mr. Chamberlain was justified in saying "I confess I trace beneath

the benevolence which my right hon. friend assumes with this stage of the Bill, a failing which might have led him to an opposition of the Bill had he not felt that such opposition would not be supported by public opinion." Mr. Chamberlain reiterated the two main principles of the Bill: (1) Every workman in the specified trades will be entitled, without litigation, to moderate and reasonable compensation for all accidents that may happen to him in the course of his employment, unless those accidents are caused by his own gross and wilful default. (2) The compensation is a charge upon the business in which the accident occurs. Mr. Chamberlain, who has always shown a keen concern in the prosperity of trades and considerable knowledge of their details, made the reassuring statement that "It is perfectly well-known to everyone who has enquired into this matter, and to all those employers in the House who have taken the trouble to take out the accidents in their own business, that it is possible to find what the burden placed upon them by this Bill would be, and that, except in one or two exceptional trades, the charge will be a very small one indeed." The successful passage of the Bill through the House of Commons has been principally due to the generous support of Conservative employers, and the dexterous and conciliatory management of Mr. Chamberlain; and it is satisfactory to note his formal declaration:—"Let there be a fair understanding on this point. We do nothing to stop contracting out. All that we have done is to make it perfectly clear that no workman shall lose by contracting out. . . . Because most certainly we hold to the principle of contracting out, and we hold above all to the importance of encouraging voluntary schemes as between employer and workmen."

SIR EDWARD CLARKE'S SPEECH.

Sir Edward Clarke, as an independent Conservative of great weight, supported the Bill in one of the most brilliant speeches made this Session. That a man of his conspicuous parliamentary talents should remain outside a Ministry which is overflowing with nonentities is one of those political mysteries the plain man cannot pretend to fathom. He spoke with peculiar authority on this question because as a lawyer he might have been expected to follow Mr. Asquith's lead and damn with faint praise. But "he thoroughly believed in this Bill; he believed it to be a sound Bill, and he did not believe it had in it any of the elements of danger in the future which had been suggested by the right hon. member for East Fife (Mr. Asquith)." Sir Edward Clarke made an exceedingly lucid contribution to the controversy with regard to contracting out, and distinguished with admirable acumen between the working of the

present Employers' Liability Act and the machinery set up by this Bill:—

"It had been clear to all those who had been acquainted with the working of the Employers' Liability Act as he had been during these 17 years that the advantages the workmen had got from that Act had not been commensurate either with the advantage Parliament desired to give them or with the burden the Act threw on the employer. The great trouble and reproach of the administration of that Act had been that the employer had to pay far more than the workman got, that the money disappeared in various quarters, and that while the burden on the employer was heavy the advantage to the workman was small. He had during all these 17 years been constantly feeling how cruel it was that when the workman was struck down by an accident and carried away and laid, it might be, for weeks upon a bed of sickness and suffering, that they should then put upon him the obligation of bringing an action against his employer, with all its risks and chances, and the representatives of the employer or insurance company, as the case might be, without any imputation or blame being thrown upon them, made use of the helplessness of the workman for the purpose of diminishing the amount he would get in compensation. There was no way of dealing with that except by insurance. Directly the Government had the courage—and he believed they had done a great public service in carrying, as they would, this Bill—to substitute a system of insurance for the system of employers' liability, away went nine-tenths of all those technicalities which disappointed the just hopes of the injured workman or of those who by his death had been left suddenly to helplessness and poverty."

Sir Edward Clarke maintained that the burdens of the Bill would be fairly distributed in these directions (1) the employer, (2) the consumer, (3) the workman. He pooh-poohed the chimera of industrial ruin which Mr. Asquith had conjured up, and proudly claimed the Bill as worthy of the traditions of the Tory Party.

THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT.

A dead set is being made by numerous influential newspapers against the alleged intention of the Government to appoint the Duke of Connaught to the office of Adjutant-General which is shortly to be vacated by Sir Redvers Buller. It is one of the chief administrative posts in the army, and as such should be reserved for first-class soldiers. We cannot, as a nation, permit any favouritism in allotting it as our future may depend upon the efficiency and mobility of our army, quite as much as upon the supremacy of our squadrons. If the Duke of Connaught is unfit to succeed Sir Redvers Buller, or if there is some manifestly superior candidate, the Queen's son would undoubtedly stand aside. Several journalists have convinced themselves on *à priori* grounds that the appointment would be a bad one, and those who do not question the Duke of Connaught's fitness regard his promotion as a stage in the evolution of another Royal Commander-in-Chief which they regard as a national peril. No doubt the Duke of Cambridge reigned so long as to become an obstructionist to necessary reforms, and a similar tenancy would,

from its very length, be most undesirable, but the Command-in-Chief is now under severe regulations and is held for a term of five years. A second Cambridge reign being out of the question, one may surely be allowed to consider a Connaught appointment on its merits. But here we are met with the view that no member of the Royal Family should, under any circumstances, even if he combined the genius of Wellington with that of Marlborough, be placed at the head of the army, because if he blundered it would be necessary to screen him in the interests of the Throne. That seems to us to be a very hard, and at the same time timid, view. Powerful persons will always be, more or less, screened, but we believe the nation would find it at all times much easier to obtain redress from the Duke of Connaught than from a Lord Rothschild or even Mr. Beit or Mr. Rhodes. On the other hand, to intimate to the members of the Royal Family that, no matter how conspicuously, laboriously, and faithfully they may serve their country, they will never receive their legitimate promotion, is to our mind an infinitely more mischievous policy than to run the imaginary risks that have been conjured up. According to all accounts the Duke of Connaught is not only a man of very high character, but he is a keen and most competent soldier, fully equal to any position. Is he to be told after the apprenticeship he has served that the nation has no further use for him? We do not affect to know whether the appointment is contemplated, but we cannot believe that any Government would penalize so excellent a public servant as the Duke of Connaught simply because he happens to be a son of the Queen.

THE SHERMAN DESPATCH.

American Secretaries of State transact international business with a bluntness to which Europe has not yet got accustomed. Mr. Sherman, the present occupant of that office, has written, or rather signed, a despatch, on the Protection of Seals in Behring Sea, which has given considerable offence in Great Britain. It is infelicitous in tone and singularly inopportune in time. So much so that President McKinley decided to restrain its appearance, which is solely due to journalistic "enterprise." Mr. Sherman was not appointed to his present office owing to any special aptitude for foreign affairs, but in order that room might be made in the Senate for Mr. Hanna, the Carnot of the Republican Party, "the organizer of victory" last November, and when the Sherman appointment was foreseen it was stated that Mr. Sherman would not be up to the work of his Department, which would consequently be farmed out to different people. This sealing question has been delegated to a former incumbent of Mr. Sherman's office, General Foster, who has been storming about the States for some time

making ridiculous charges against the British Government, which he is convinced is in a conspiracy to exterminate the seals in spite of the fact that their extermination would ruin an appreciable number of British subjects. Having fired off this famous despatch over Mr. Sherman's name from Washington at the British Government, General Foster seems to have obtained a commission from the President to negotiate a settlement of the sealing question in Europe, and it was on the opening of the negotiations with the British Government in London that his truculent despatch obtained publicity in New York. *Le Journal des Débats*, the great French paper, intervened in the newspaper war which broke out in both Anglo-Saxon countries, with some wise words which fairly summarize the situation produced by the Foster-Sherman despatch:—"We cannot pretend to decide on its merits the question of interest which has just arisen between England and the United States. But as regards the incident which has led to the controversy now taking place, it is difficult not to acknowledge that the English have some right to feel hurt at the publication in an American journal of a diplomatic despatch so little flattering to their *amour propre*. The proceeding is extremely incorrect. It can only be accounted for by the deliberate pretension affected by American diplomacy to disregard international proprieties which are commonly observed by every other country. On the other hand, we cannot help thinking that some organs of the British Press take the situation too much *au tragique* when they talk of an Anglo-American war, but we think it would be well for the Press on both sides to be prudent and circumspect."

THAT BLESSED WORD ARBITRATION.

We do not propose to weary or aggravate the reader by chronicling the childish insults heaped upon the British Government by the bellicose General to whom this sealing business has been entrusted. They have been repeated *ad nauseam* in the newspapers, and it should be remembered that only the "tit-bits" taken from an isolated despatch in a considerable correspondence have so far reached the public. The bulk of the correspondence remains unpublished, and the question in dispute is actually being negotiated between the American and British Governments. Unfortunately a large proportion of the American people rejoice whenever an offensive document is directed against their British cousins, and it would be wrong to assume that the Sherman-Foster broadside has aroused any widespread resentment in the States. The moderate American line seems to be "We have a very good case on the seals from which we will not be diverted by reflec-

tions on the style of our State-Department," while the immoderate Americans pronounce the despatch to be "manly and patriotic." The British Government is clearly entitled to reply, "We decline to consider your case on the seals when presented in a series of insults." Fortunately, in spite of the Foster-cum-Sherman combination, there is a good deal of tact in both Governments, and President McKinley has taken the necessary steps to prevent the negotiation being broken off. The despatch was discharged more than two months ago, and it would probably have been to the ultimate interest of both nations had Lord Salisbury peremptorily returned it for revision. Americans would not submit to be made a cock-shy of by any offensive Britisher who happened to capture the Foreign Office pen, and Great Britain should disabuse the Secretary of State in Washington of the idea that he may delegate his literary work to any passer-by with strong feelings and a trenchant style. The Philistine cannot refrain from noting the peculiar amount of exasperation awakened in the human breast by every step in the blessed process of arbitration. The Alabama Award, *e.g.*, which was levied on Great Britain was clearly in excess of fair compensation, seeing the extraordinary difficulty there has been for a quarter of a century in distributing it to the injured parties, and it must be recognized that we were guilty of a great blunder in going into court with our hands tied by the preliminary rules. Again, the United States admittedly regret having ever gone to arbitration over the Behring Sea Question, and have consistently viewed the decision with disgust, while trivial objections—as it seems to us—have been offered to the payment of the paltry sum agreed upon by the American Secretary of State and the British Ambassador as compensation to the sealers who, under the terms of the Paris Award, had been improperly seized; and we believe that this money (only £80,000) has not yet been paid. Further, the American Government is now seeking to set aside the regulations drawn up under the Paris Award, though they have only another year to run. Arbitration would in truth seem to be a synonym and not a substitute for friction. One recalls that only eighteen months ago a fearful and even dangerous amount of ill-will was engendered by the Venezuela-British Guiana arbitration controversy; while this year the mere discussion of a proposal to transfer international difficulties arising between the United States and Great Britain to an arbitration tribunal provoked a furious outburst of wrath in the American Senate, where Lord Salisbury was held up to general obloquy as the evil genius of the Western Hemisphere. Is "arbitration" an insidious device "made in Pandemonium" to set Anglo-Saxon nations by the ears?

A Great American Interest!

While the abusive attitude of Mr. Foster would seem to indicate that he has a very weak case it is advisable to examine the facts, though, if every American assumption could be proved up to the hilt, one's bewilderment at the heat imported into the discussion would hardly be lessened. The suggestion has been freely made that a small gang of rich and unscrupulous wire-pullers, not without Press influence and connection, have been able to work up a purely factitious agitation against Great Britain by deluding their countrymen into the belief that "a great American interest" is threatened; whereas, in truth, the real grievance is that shares in the North American Commercial Company are less valuable than they were. If this be "the true inwardness" of the "crisis," would it not be as well before coming to blows that a list of the shareholders in this company be published, so that the American people may know exactly whose battle they are fighting. The "short facts," as lawyers say, seem to be as follows: The Paris Award of 1893 decided all the principal points of law and fact in Great Britain's favour, and rejected America's claim to a privileged position in Behring Sea, where she was declared to have neither exclusive jurisdiction nor exclusive rights; further, it was decided that she had no property in the seals frequenting the Pribyloff Islands, save when they are on the islands or within the three-mile limit. Beyond that they would be at the mercy of the casual sealers in the absence of regulations agreed to by Great Britain. Both nations however, have an obvious interest in preventing the sealing industry from being destroyed, and regulations were drawn up to that end under the Award. The ninth article declares that these regulations "shall remain in force until they have been in whole or in part abolished or modified by common agreement," and "they shall be submitted every five years to a new examination, so as to enable both interested Governments to consider whether in the light of past experience there is occasion for any modification thereof." The first period of five years only ends in August, 1898; until then one would have imagined it to be practically impossible to reopen the subject. Unfortunately, the company leasing the Pribyloff Islands from the Washington Government—a list of whose shareholders we should much like to see—has political influence and has consistently kicked against the Paris Award. They contend that pelagic sealing—which means the killing of seals on the water—is annihilating the whole herd and must be stopped; or, as the Canadians put it, that the Canadian sealing industry must be suppressed so that the American company may pay a dividend.

THE EXPERTS.

Last year scientific experts representing the two Governments visited the Pribyloff Islands to investigate the question, and the American Dr. Starr Jordan declared in his report that "no final settlement is possible except on the basis of the amicable surrender of the right to kill fur-seals at sea," and tells us the Paris decision "is only an episode and not a settlement"—which is a bad look out for the future of arbitration. "So long as pelagic sealing exists," adds Dr. Jordan, "the relations between the owners of the Pribyloff Islands and the nations whose ships have the right to destroy its herd must be in some degree strained." The Sherman despatch goes so far as to say that "the commercial extermination of the fur-seal" is "practically accomplished." The British expert, Professor d'Arcy Thompson, summarizes his conclusions as follows:—"In the foregoing account I have merely set forth my observations of the herd and its past history in so far as both together show that the alarming statements to which utterance has been given in recent years, the accounts of the herd's immense decrease and the prophecies of its approaching extinction, are overdrawn and untenable. But it is my duty to state to your Lordship that there is still abundant need for care and for prudent measures of conservation in the interests of all. A birth-rate which we estimate at 143,000 per annum is not great in comparison with the drain upon the stock. From one cause or another, a loss of over 20,000 is experienced among the pups ere they emigrate to sea; and though the dangers they there encounter are unknown to us, we may take it for certain that the risks they run are great and the loss they endure considerable. When to the measured loss in infancy and to the unmeasured loss in youth and age we add the toll taken on the islands and the toll taken in the sea, it is not difficult to believe that the margin of safety is a narrow one, if it be not already in some measure over-stepped. We may hope for a perpetuation of the present numbers; we cannot count upon an increase. And it is my earnest hope that a recognition of mutual interests and a regard for the common advantage may suggest measures of prudence which shall keep the pursuit and slaughter of the animal within due and definite bounds." We feel sure that there will be general concurrence that all necessary steps should be taken to preserve the seals, and if their extinction is threatened the Governments of the United States and Great Britain should establish a close time for seals, for say five years, during which all sealing operations should be suspended, and it should be a penal offence to kill a seal either on or off the Pribyloff Islands. Equity would demand that some compensation be paid to the sealers (though *ex hypothesi* the

industry is dwindling). According to Mr. Sherman, "the commercial extermination of the fur-seal" is "practically accomplished," so neither the sealers on or off the islands would be foregoing much in abandoning its unprofitable operations for a few years.

A Drive.

We have never been able to ascertain the true inwardness of this Foster agitation, which is not inspired solely by a naturalist's love of seals, for the "drives" on the islands afford very cruel reading. Here is one described by Professor d'Arcy Thompson, not an unfriendly observer, because he says, "I could not detect in the whole process either intentional or accidental cruelty." But is not the following account calculated to make ladies give up wearing seal-skins, which after all would be one way out of this international complication? Professor Thompson says: "The men employed were clean, skilful, and vigorous. A single blow, or two at most, despatched each seal, and I saw no failure of aim, even in the confused mass of seals tumbled pell-mell over one another. Though two killings (of 578 and 333 respectively) had already taken place from this rookery this season, I saw no seal bearing marks of previous injury. They showed no signs of terror; the survivors of each batch made quickly for the water, and were already swimming homeward as the next batch were being slain. Of the nineteen men, two drove down the batches of seals and two did the work of killing; two younger lads went round plunging a knife into the heart of any seal that still breathed, five (rippers) proceeded to slit the skins down the belly and around the neck and paws, after which the rest flayed the carcases. The work of skinning nearly kept pace with that of killing." Later on Professor Thompson says:— "This drive completed the season's catch of 23,842 for St. Paul Island!" Surely with such figures confronting us it is impossible to ascribe all the mischief to the pelagic sealers who have no islands on which to club their prey in thousands.

The Arbitration Craze.

There is a strange rumour in the United States to the effect that President McKinley has deputed a distinguished member of his Party to draft yet another Anglo-American Arbitration Treaty. We cannot credit this imputation on the President's sagacity. We do not believe him to be so unstatesman-like as to court a second and gratuitous rebuff even in so sanctified a cause. There is no serious demand for such a document in the United States, while British sentiment would certainly be dead against digging up the corpse which was so lately laid to rest. Misled by the post-prandial emotionalism of Mr. Bayard (who did great mischief between the two

nations by his ill-considered and unceasing oratory), Lord Salisbury, as Foreign Secretary, was induced to go out of his way to gratify what he believed to be an American aspiration. That is the true origin of the abortive Treaty which was not constructed in furtherance of any British end but simply as a concession to the United States which has preached the doctrine of arbitration for at least two generations. The reception of the Treaty showed, however, that the great bulk of the American people had no sympathy with this propaganda and were not prepared to accept its principles. The Treaty, indeed, received very little public support either in its original or emasculated form, and its ultimate rejection by the Senate was unquestionably consonant with American public opinion. The most absurd feature about the whole controversy was that Lord Salisbury's well-meant effort to meet American sentiment was represented as a machiavelian design upon American interests, and impassioned American orators implored excited audiences not to enter into "bondage to England." Under the circumstances we decline to believe that President McKinley meditates raking up this disagreeable subject again. Indeed, as he shares the Treaty-making power with the Senate, and the latter body has clearly manifested its aversion to the creation of an arbitral tribunal, we maintain that the President has no warrant to worry a foreign Government with any further negotiations on the subject. In any case the British Ministry should decline to gratify the American Executive simply to be humiliated by the American Legislature. The arbitration craze must be allowed to die a decent death, and the sooner the better, for its mere discussion seems to excite an amazing amount of ill-feeling considering how Christian is its purpose. Mr. Sherman has very little more constitutional right to pledge his country to an Arbitration Treaty than the present writer has to pledge Great Britain, and we trust any overtures he may make will be duly discounted.

AN UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN RUSSIA AND GREAT BRITAIN.

"Bear in mind that the commerce of India is the commerce of the world, and he who can exclusively control it is the Dictator of Europe."

WHETHER or not Peter the Great penned these words as a legacy to his successors is immaterial. He, during his lifetime, was guided by them; and his successors have made them, with some modification, their gospel. At present this gospel would read, "He who can seriously menace the English in India is the Dictator of Europe."

Peter the Great in 1717 sent an expedition to move on Khiva and to get into communication with India, but it came to grief. He also annexed the southern shores of the Caspian. During the remainder of the century his successors were able to do little more than endeavour, in a desultory way, to establish relations with the Central Asian Khanates, and to spy out the land. Catherine II., however, contemplated an invasion of India.

At the beginning of the present century Napoleon cajoled the Emperor Paul into actually starting a force of 22,000 men towards India, but the death of the latter put an end to the project. Again, in 1807, Napoleon invited the Emperor Alexander to join in an expedition to India, but we drove him from Egypt and checkmated his design. In 1833 the Russians instigated the Persians to attack Herat. They did so again in 1837, when the Russian Minister of Teheran directed operations in the field and assisted with a regiment of Russians. At the same time a Russian officer was despatched on a mission to Kabul, and succeeded in inducing Dost Muhammed to join the alliance. We then sent a force to the Persian Gulf and brought the Shah to his senses.

In 1847 the Russians arrived at the mouth of the Syr Daria, and in 1853 at Perovski. In 1854 the Crimean War occurred, and schemes for the invasion of India were considered, but came to nothing. In 1864 Tchernaieff commenced in earnest the subjugation of Turkestan, and Gortchakoff issued his famous Circular to the Powers explaining how the Russians had been forced by the

unruly tribes to advance against their will to Chimkent, but that they intended to move no further. Notwithstanding this, Tashkent was taken in 1865. In 1866 Tchernaieff was recalled because he attacked Bokhara contrary to the Emperor's orders—and failed. Romanoffsky soon retrieved the check, and in 1867 Turkestan became a Russian Province, with Kauffmann established at Tashkent as Governor-General. He annexed Samarkand, and in 1868 got a treaty from the Bokharans, placing them absolutely at the mercy of Russia.

In 1869 the Russians occupied Krasnovodsk, on the eastern shores of the Caspian, and then commenced (for us) the first really serious chapter in the Central Asian question. We became slightly alarmed, but our fears were allayed by the assurance that their object was commercial, and that they had no intention of moving on Khiva. The truth is that the force in Turkestan was far from secure, and the Russians feared we might dislodge them. The Afghan Ruler was our friend, and paid a visit to India that year. With his assistance, and with that of the Khivans, Turkomans, and the inhabitants of the territory the Russians had just conquered, we could have ejected them with ease. Kauffmann's small force was 1,000 miles from Orenburg, and 1,700 from Moscow; the line of communication was bad and precarious, and troops could only be moved up in small parties, the journey taking months to perform. So the Russians decided to try and find a shorter route to Turkestan, and to place it in touch with the Caucasus by annexing Khiva. They hoped, too, to improve commerce, and eventually to conquer the Turkomans, and to approach nearer to India. Foreseeing danger, we suggested a neutral zone to the Russian Government. They replied that they considered Afghanistan outside the sphere of their influence. Negotiations followed, and at last, in 1873, desiring to advance at once on Khiva, they suddenly agreed to everything we had proposed, *i.e.*, that the Upper Oxus should become the northern boundary of Afghanistan, and the districts of Andkui, Maimena, and Herat, from Khwajah Saleh on the Oxus to Sarrakhs, should form the north-western boundary.

In 1870 the Russians had marched from Krasnovodsk into the Turkoman country as far as Kizil Arvat, and Skobeleff had made a reconnaissance towards Khiva. In 1871 Chikishliar, a port further south, on the Caspian, had been occupied. In 1873, after the above agreement had been concluded, they took Khiva. In 1876 they again advanced to Kizil Arvat against the Tekke Turkomans, but were glad to beat a hasty retreat.

Serious trouble was now brewing in Europe, and I must carry the reader with me there for a short space. In 1854 England and

France had joined Turkey in a war against Russia, because the Emperor Nicholas had insisted on his own sole right to protect the Christian subjects of the Sultan. The monks of the Greek and Latin Churches quarrelled over their separate rights in connection with the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. The Sultan tried to adjust the difference, but the Emperor would accept no compromise, and invaded Turkey. After the war all the Great Powers engaged to respect the integrity of the Turkish Empire, and the Sultan on his part gave solemn assurances that he would govern his subjects with justice and without distinction as to religion. The Russo-Turkish war was brought about by very different circumstances, and the policy our Government was unwise enough to adopt did not at the time prevent the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire, and has since forced the Turk to take refuge in the arms of Russia. It is thus in a very great measure responsible for all the troubles of recent years. The Sultan did not keep his promise. The misgovernment in Turkey continued and increased till in the summer of 1875 the Christians of Herzegovina, groaning under gross oppression, broke into rebellion. Our Government at once advised the Sultan to suppress the rebellion, but he was unable to do so, and it soon spread to Bosnia, Servia, and Montenegro. In December the Austrian Government issued the celebrated Andrassy Note, insisting that the Powers were justified in interfering, and our Government acquiesced, but took care to prevent any effective action being taken by the Powers. In May, 1876, the Bulgarian massacres were reported without details, and then followed the murder of the French and German Consuls at Salonica. With the consent of the Great Powers we sent a squadron to Besika Bay; and Russia, Germany, and Austria proposed an armistice and basis of peace. We objected to the proposals and showed the Turks their weak points. Full details regarding the Bulgarian atrocities now came to light and horrified the nation, and at the end of August our Ambassador at Constantinople was informed that the feeling against Turkey was so strong that even if Russia declared war we should be unable to interfere. The Government did then, forced by public opinion, endeavour to move the Sultan to alter his ways, but without avail. They had led him to believe we were as much interested as himself in keeping Russia out of Turkey, and that whatever might happen we would support him. Negotiations between the Powers followed, until in October, when Servia was about to be crushed, Russia stepped forward alone and demanded that within forty-eight hours an armistice should be granted. The Sultan gave in and a Conference took place at Constantinople in December, 1876. For five weeks the

Powers endeavoured to arrive at a settlement, and they might have done so with little difficulty, but they found the Turk both defiant and utterly impracticable. He would agree to nothing, and has since confessed that he relied on England fighting by his side. On the 24th April the Russians crossed the Pruth and the war commenced. From the summer of 1875 up to the time the nation expressed their horror at the atrocities, Disraeli, though obliged to admit that the rebellion was justified, declined to interfere between the Porte and its subjects, rejected all proposals put forward by the Powers, and advised the Sultan to do the same. His object was to prevent Russia from gaining any advantage in Turkey. All the Powers were with him absolutely in that desire, and if at the very commencement of the trouble we had rated the Sultan soundly, and warned him that we should join them in coercing him, he would have been bound to amend his ways. And if he had not done so a combination of the Powers, led by England, could soon have settled matters without making any concessions to Russia. She did not at first desire to act alone, and in company with all the other Powers besought us to take joint action. But when we showed ourselves as obstinate and unreasonable as Nicholas had been in 1853, the other Powers became disgusted, and, before the Conference met, Germany declared that if war ensued she would take no part in it.

The result of the war was a foregone conclusion. The Turks did very well for a time, but Plevna fell at last, and in January, 1878, the Russians occupied Adrianople. We considered they had then advanced far enough, Parliament voted six millions, and a portion of our fleet was sent to Constantinople. On the 3rd March the preliminary treaty of peace was signed at St. Stefano, and the Berlin Congress followed. Russia got her old Danubian Frontier and Batum, Kars, and Ardahan, Turkey was dismembered, and Disraeli told the nation he had brought them Peace with Honour.

I will now return to the Central Asian story, and I must first bring Afghanistan up to date. In 1839 we drove Dost Muhammed from the country, and placed Shah Shujah on the throne. Then trouble followed, our small army of occupation was massacred as it retired from Kabul, and Dost Muhammed again became Amir, and remained true to us till his death in 1863. He was succeeded by his son, Sher Ali, who at first appeared fairly well disposed towards us, and in 1869 came down to India to visit Lord Mayo. He then complained that the Treaty of 1855 we had made with his father was all in our favour, and he asked that his kingdom should be guaranteed to himself and his heirs. This request was not granted, but he returned home apparently fairly well satisfied. He was not

in the least troubled about the Russian advance, but he learnt that we were, and Kauffmann at this time began to address letters to him from Turkestan. Then his own importance dawned on him. A little later we were unwise enough to offer to arbitrate between him and the Shah regarding the Sistán boundary, and angered him because we gave a just decision, and did not favour him. In 1873 Lord Northbrook, the new Viceroy, asked him to receive a British officer to explain this matter, as well as the agreement we had just entered into with the Russians regarding his northern boundary. But by this time he had become quite impossible. He declined to receive the officer, and sent down his own agent with absurd demands. This man pretended his master had become seriously alarmed at the Russian advance. Lord Northbrook then asked the Amir to let a British officer examine his frontiers, and see him afterwards, but he would not agree, and the whole matter dropped. In 1874 we foolishly reproached him for treacherously inveigling his son to Kabul and then imprisoning him. We were pledged not to interfere in the internal affairs of his country, and he had only employed what Orientals consider to be a perfectly legitimate artifice. Kauffmann meanwhile sent him soothing letters. Then the Government in England was dissolved, and the Conservatives took office, and very wisely decided to adopt measures to check Russian intrigues in Kabul, and the Russian advance towards India. Sher Ali was bound by treaty to consider our friends and enemies as his own. We had given him arms and money, and had with some difficulty arranged the limit of his frontiers with the Russians. They were close at hand, and evidently meant mischief. Lord Salisbury, who was then at the India Office, foreseeing trouble in Europe, therefore desired the Viceroy, in January, 1875, to arrange with as much expedition as possible for British officers being posted at Herat and Kandahar. Lord Northbrook replied that it would be inexpedient to take the initiative in this matter with the Amir. Then Lord Salisbury told him to find an ostensible reason for sending a temporary mission to Kabul, and to press its reception upon the Amir. The Viceroy thought that if a mission was to be sent it would be better to state frankly and fully to the Amir its real purpose, and he objected for other reasons to carry out his instructions. He had made up his mind to resign, and was no doubt right in leaving the distasteful measure to his successor to carry out.

In May, 1876, Lord Lytton wrote to the Amir that he would send Sir Lewis Pelly to him to announce his own accession and Her Majesty's assumption of the title of Empress of India. Sher Ali refused to receive the Envoy and replied with some asperity that he would send down an agent to whom the Viceroy could communicate

his designs. In July Lord Lytton pressed the matter more strongly, and the Amir sent down his agent with ridiculous demands. He asked for an offensive and defensive alliance, and a permanent subsidy. But he would allow no British officers on his frontier. Lord Lytton strove, without success, to bring him to reason, and at last, in March, 1877, gave in and told him that so long as he remained true to his engagements we should not interfere with him. Nor did we until it was discovered some fifteen months later that a Russian Mission was actually in Kabul.

In January, 1877, *i.e.*, after the Conference at Constantinople, and while the Russians were preparing to attack Turkey, Skobeleff brought forward a scheme for the invasion of India. Briefly it was as follows: The Amir Sher Ali to be won over and promised Peshawur. If not, the refugee Abdur Rahman to be set up as a Pretender. A force of 18,000 Russians to move rapidly on Kabul from Turkestan, and another of 30,000 to march from the southern shores of the Caspian, *viâ* Asterabad to Herat. The disaffected natives of India were to be tampered with and another mutiny set on foot. Lastly, large hordes of Asiatic horsemen were to be organized and launched on India, as the vanguard, with a cry of blood and plunder. This looks like a mad project, because the people of the Punjab were not likely to remain quiet while their country was looted and their women ravished, even supposing they were anxious to get rid of us. But we must give it fair weight, seeing that it was deliberately suggested by the most brilliant soldier and perhaps the greatest military genius Russia has yet produced. I think it is Archibald Forbes who says he was worth an Army Corps to Russia during the war with Turkey. It must be borne in mind, too, that he was well versed in Oriental politics and in Oriental warfare. His plan was not a mere paper one to frighten us, because it was kept secret at the time, and we shall see presently that the Russians commenced to put it in force. The truth, I think, is that Skobeleff hoped to get the command, and trusted to his genius and luck to pull him through.

In April, 1877, simultaneously with the crossing of the Pruth by the Russian Army in Europe, Lomakin advanced from Chikishliar on the Caspian, and again occupied Kizil Arvat, but his force had soon to bury their guns in the sand and to retire in great disorder to Krasnovodsk. The Tekkes then sat down before the place, but could do nothing more, and after a few weeks withdrew. In 1878 war with England seemed imminent, and, by June, the Russians had mobilized a force of 15,500 men and 54 guns in Turkestan for an advance on India. They had also sent an important mission to Kabul which had been received with open arms. At the same time

troops had been pushed across the Caspian to Krasnovodsk and Chikishliar, and in July 6,000 men and 24 guns again marched to Kizil Arvat. The war scare however passed over. But it had been intended that this force should protect the right flank of the advancing army by keeping the Turkomans engaged. Another force would have landed near Asterabad and marched on Herat. Lomakin in any case was destined to fresh disaster. He had again to retire in haste from Kizil Arvat, pursued by the Tekkes, and just managed to reach Chikishliar and take refuge on the shipping.

Meantime Lord Lytton, on hearing that the Russian Mission was in Kabul, requested Sher Ali to receive Sir Neville Chamberlain. He declined to do so, and the Afghan War commenced, in November, 1878. The Russian Envoy (Stolietoff) had left Kabul in August, but a portion of his Mission remained behind. Soon after Ali Masjid fell they and Sher Ali fled from the capital. They deserted him on the frontier, and he died broken-hearted. He had lost his favourite son, his kingdom, and his Russian friends all within a few weeks. At this time our prestige in Asia stood very high; and if we had then helped the Turkomans with money and arms, and the services of one or two officers to teach them European warfare, we should have prevented the Russian advance for a long time. The Tekkes were wretchedly and sparingly armed, and had very little powder. In their desert home, well-armed, they could have defeated the largest Russian force it was possible to put in the field. But the opportunity was allowed to go by. In 1879 Luzareff was given command of a fresh expedition of 18,000 men, but died at the front, and once more Lomakin had the chance to retrieve his misfortunes. But he laid siege to Geok Teppe—the stronghold of the Akhal Tekkes—with only a portion of his force, and then attempted to take it by storm. He failed, and was compelled to retire, and most of the troops were sent back to Russia. In March, 1880, Skobeleff was given the command, and in January, 1881, Geok Teppe fell, and the Akhal Tekkes were crushed. Meanwhile O'Donovan, the intrepid correspondent of *The Daily News*, had thrown himself into Merve, had been welcomed by the Tekkes there and, because they believed he had come from our Government, had been made one of the triumvirate of Khans who ruled their Republic. They were most anxious for our help, and got O'Donovan to write on their behalf. But our Government would not listen to a private individual. Even our own officers, unless expressly deputed by Government, were discouraged from attempting to serve their country in obtaining information. Valentine Baker went, at his own expense, in 1873, to this very frontier to see how the wind was blowing. So did MacGregor in 1875. But each was summarily

ordered to return. And yet it is a moral certainty that if the whole British Empire had been searched two men better qualified in every respect for such a task could not have been found. Burnaby also was recalled from Khiva in 1876. When our Indian Government want intelligence they select one of the Simla Band of Hope to obtain it. The fortunate officer, who may or may not be qualified for the duty, does his best, no doubt; but his first object in life is his own advancement; and he knows he cannot further that if he takes an alarmist view of the situation. So he sends in a *couleur de rose* report which satisfies the Government, and the question is then shelved for another decade or so.

In Afghanistan the new Amir (Yakub Khan) surrendered in May, 1879, and made peace with us; then followed the massacre of Cavagnari's Mission, and the despatch of our avenging army, which reached Kabul in October. Yakub Khan was sent to India, and the Conservative Government then decided to permanently retain Kandahar under a native ruler. I think I shall show that if they had remained in office the frontiers of Afghanistan would have been safe from the Russians at this moment. Kandahar was given to a near relative of the late Amir's, who consented to be guided by a British Resident, and to allow the railway to be extended to his capital. But unfortunately on the 28th of April Parliament was dissolved and the Liberals took office. They decided to get out of the country as soon as possible. On the 22nd of July Sir Lepel Griffin announced in open durbar at Kabul that Abdul Rahman had become Amir of Afghanistan, and that we recognized him as such. Abdul Rahman had been a refugee in Russian territory ever since 1868, but had come forward, and was then waiting in the vicinity of Kabul. He was allowed to dictate his own terms, and no treaty was extracted from him. Nor would he allow British officers in his dominions. On the 27th of July Burroughs was defeated by Ayub Khan (Sher Ali's son) at Maiwand. This caused no alteration in the decision of Government. General Roberts was sent to repair the disaster; General Stewart marched from Kabul with his force to India, and Abdul Rahman entered his capital. Lord Ripon had succeeded Lord Lytton at the end of May, and in November he got orders to stop the railway and to withdraw from Kandahar. The Government considered the new Amir too weak to hold the place, and they left it to the Viceroy to assign it to any strong native ruler. Ayub had beaten us near Kandahar, and had in his turn been beaten. He was, however, still ready to try conclusions with any native opponent if we vacated Kandahar. The old Wali we had appointed was unfit to hold the place without our help. At last Abdul Rahman, with the assistance of the money

and arms we had given him, moved out, encountered Ayub, and just managed to beat him. We then gave him Kandahar, and it once more became an integral part of the Amir's dominions. And we withdrew from this great strategic position, leaving those who had thrown in their lot with us to utter ruin. The Government said that the contingency of Russia being able to harm us was so remote that it was not worth considering. We shall see that they very soon bitterly regretted their action.

In 1882 the Russians formed their newly-acquired territory in Transcaspia into a Province, with headquarters at Askabad. During Skobeleff's campaign the railway had been commenced from the Caspian, and reached Kizil Arvat in December, 1881.

The cause of our Afghan War, viz., the despatch of a Russian Mission to Kabul, had exposed the Russian game quite clearly, and had seriously alarmed most Englishmen conversant with Central Asian politics. They realized that if the Russians once got to Merve and connected it by steam with Russia Proper, India would become so seriously menaced that we should be compelled to disburse vast sums in fortifying our frontiers and in maintaining a very large English army there. This would cause additional taxation and much discontent. They, therefore, urged Government to adopt a fearless policy, to spend at once a fractional sum, and to render our position perfectly secure for the future. The strategic value of Merve could not be exaggerated. It was a firm stepping-stone in the desert between Askabad and the great river Oxus, and the possession of it by Russia would put the Transcaspian and Turkestan forces in touch with each other. From it an army advancing on Afghanistan could march down a river to Panjdeh, the commencement of fertility, and from there command both Herat and Maimena. But the fears of our wise and far-seeing experts were ridiculed and laughed to scorn by the Duke of Argyll and others as "Mervousness." This greatly assisted the Russian tactics. I have not had space to enumerate the many occasions on which our Government mildly protested against the Russian advance in Central Asia. They invariably got the same reply, viz., a solemn assurance that Russia would go no further, followed immediately by a good step forward. The Duke of Argyll has said something about a European Concert practising the goose-step and never moving forward. But in the second exercise of that step you not only advance a pace, but you keep one foot off the ground ready for the word to move forward again. That is exactly the step the Russians practised until they reached Merve and got the word to stand at ease. And it's a pity the Duke did not assist in keeping them at the first exercise. In

1882, when they had made up their minds to move on Merve, it was necessary to throw dust in our eyes, so they denied that they had any such intention, and then invited us to delimit with an exact line the Afghan frontier between Sarrakhs and the Oxus as agreed to by them in 1873. But we were in no hurry. Besides, when any Central Asian question is on the *tapis* it invariably entails a sort of protracted triangular duel between the Indian Government, the India Office, and the Foreign Office, with many references to their seconds in the Embassy at St. Petersburg and the Legation at Teheran. The Russians knew that it would take us a year or two to make up our minds, if we ever did so, which was doubtful, and in 1884 they quietly annexed Merve. There is no party government in Russia, and no unwieldy procedure to be followed in Foreign Affairs. The Emperor and his Chancellor can decide what is to be done in five minutes. If we had taken the Russians promptly at their word in 1882 they would still have got to Merve, no doubt, but the Panjdeh affair would not have occurred, and Afghanistan would have got a safer and better boundary. Directly they annexed Merve we begged them in hot haste to delimit the frontier at once. Lord Ripon saw that his party had done wrong, and he sought to repair the error if possible. He said he was not one to sniff danger from afar, but the time had come for us to draw a line and to say to the Russians, "Thus far shalt thou go and no farther." They had gained their point in getting to Merve, and wanted a little breathing-time to settle down, and they saw, too, that the Commission would bring them some rich pickings and us some humiliation, so they cheerfully consented to do what we asked, and named the 13th October as the date on which the two Commissioners should meet at Sarrakhs. We begged them to defer the meeting till the 7th November, as our party from India had to travel a long distance, and we then started the party off. The Russians now produced a new staff-map, which they had specially manufactured, showing the commencement of the Afghan frontier some distance below Sarrakhs; and later on they told us their Commissioner could not arrive by November 7th, and the meeting must be deferred till the 27th January, 1885. They casually remarked, too, that Sarrakhs seemed too far north for the Afghan frontier, and that it ought to end at Pul-i-Khatun. Sir Peter Lumsden, our Commissioner, had started from London and reached Persian Sarrakhs on the 8th November, only to find that Afghan Sarrakhs and Pul-i-Khatun had been annexed by the Russians.

The inhabitants of Merve were Tekke Turkomans. Thirty miles south of Merve was Yulatan, occupied by a section of Sarik Turkomans; and about 100 miles south of that place was Panjdeh, occu-

pied by another distinct section of Sariks. The Sariks had no connection with the Tekkes, were their hereditary enemies, and had been driven by them from Merve only thirty years before. The second section had then obtained the consent of the Afghans to their occupying Panjdeh. And they had from that date paid tribute except, perhaps, when the Afghans through internal disturbances were unable to enforce its payment. They had generally an Afghan agent residing among them. In March, 1884, Lessar was sent by the Russians to win over the Sariks. Those at Yulatan saw it was useless to resist, and submitted. But the section at Panjdeh would have nothing to say to him, and declared themselves Afghan subjects. The Afghan agent was away at Herat at the time, and they begged he might be sent back. Directly the Russians occupied Merve the Amir, who became seriously alarmed, increased his garrisons at Maimena and Bala Murghâb. They then, professing to dread an attack from him, moved a force to within striking distance of Panjdeh. The Amir responded (in June) by placing a force in Panjdeh. Sir Peter Lumsden visited the place in the winter, and was welcomed by both Afghans and Sariks. Meanwhile the negotiations proceeded in Europe. The Russians proposed that the labours of the Commission should be confined to a certain zone, and they suggested one clearly showing that they meant to have Panjdeh. We objected, and they then declared it would be useless to send their Commissioner. In January, 1885, they plainly asked for Panjdeh, and on the 27th March wrote that no Commissioner could be sent unless we agreed. On the 30th March they picked a quarrel with the Afghans, slaughtered 500 of them, and took the place. All this time our Commission had been virtually prisoners in the hands of the suspicious Amir, and on account of Russian intrigues their position was far from secure. When the fight occurred they were at Gulran, and beat a hasty retreat to the vicinity of Herat, losing many followers on the road in an unexpected snowstorm.

I have had to repeat this unhappy tale of our own humiliation and of Russian duplicity to show how utterly wrong the Government was in relinquishing Kandahar. If we had held on to the place and brought our railway there in 1880, and before putting an Amir on the throne had insisted that British officers should be posted at Herat (the inhabitants are peaceful and no massacre need have been feared), and that the defences of the town should be strengthened, it is certain that there never would have been the slightest difficulty over the delimitation of the Afghan frontier. The Agreement of 1873 laid down that it extended from Sarrakhs to Khwajah Saleh on the Oxus, and included the districts of Andkui

Maimena, and Herat, *i.e.*, all the cultivable land to the desert. Moreover, there was proof that the Sariks were Afghan subjects, and if there was not, they elected to become so. The two frontiers would thus have been divided by a zone of desert 100 miles wide. With Herat fortified and our army in touch with it at Kandahar, the Russians would not have dared to dispute our right, for they were (in 1885) separated from their railway by 400 miles of desert. As it was, we should not have hesitated to fight them. The Afghans were roused and would have been with us, and the Turkomans, then discontented and not subdued, would have turned on them, and we might have with ease driven them out of Transcaspia. But the Prime Minister made an impressive speech instead. Government would be calm and in no hurry; they would listen to all the Russians had to say, &c. Parliament voted £5,000,000 for frontier defences, of which £2,000,000 were to be expended in taking up again the relinquished work on the railway. We did not fight, and Sir Peter Lumsden resigned in disgust. It was little more than four years before these events that the Liberal Government had said danger from Russia was too remote to contemplate. The victory of the Russians was a terrible blow to our prestige all over Asia, and they took good care to improve the occasion by declaring that it was an English force they had beaten—and they were believed. I have seen the monument at Askabad, with the captured English guns at the base, to commemorate the victory over the English. I have been told by Russian officers in Transcaspia that English red-coats were among the Afghans (of course these were Afghans in old British tunics bought for sixpence apiece at Peshawur). And on board a Russian steamer on the Caspian I have seen Komaroff pointed out to admiring spectators as the general who defeated the English.

The Russians had got all they wanted—at all events for a time—and therefore commenced the farce of delimiting the frontier. But they gave us much trouble, protracted the negotiations as long as possible, and at last agreed to a line which has been cleverly defined as length without strength. The moment Panjdeh had been won they threw off the mask and pushed forward their railway with the utmost rapidity. It reached Askabad in December of the same year (1885), Merve in July, 1886, the Oxus a few months later, and Samarkand in 1888. Transcaspia had joined hands with Turkestan, and the latter province, which had formerly taken several months to reach, was now within a week's steam communication of Russia Proper.

Since then the development of Central Asia has been advancing with rapid strides. Indeed, the work the Russians have performed

there in extending civilization and in improving commerce is second only to what we have ourselves done in India. Transcaspia can no longer be described as a howling wilderness, because, though the desert still exists, the oases have been so improved and linked together by the railway that one hardly notices it. The Caspian has now a very large fleet of excellent steamers plying on it, and Krasnovodsk, the new port which has superseded Ozanada, and which I saw last December, with its magnificent natural deep-sea harbour, has enormous traffic. The Turkomans have been not only thoroughly subdued, they have been transformed into contented and loyal subjects. Their wonderful raw-boned, hideous, but incomparable breed of horses has almost disappeared, and these savage nomad Centaurs have been converted into peaceful, law-abiding cultivators of the soil. A few hundred of them have been enlisted. Until the Russians conquered the Tekkes the whole of Khorasan was continually being devastated by Turkoman raids. No village, no party of travellers, was safe from these incursions. But they put a stop to them absolutely. When they landed in Transcaspia in 1869, they hoped to reach Afghanistan some day. But they had little money to spare, and might still have been kept at bay by the Turkomans had not the policy we a few years later pursued in Europe driven them to strain every nerve to obtain the dictatorship there by threatening us seriously in India. Without a railway they knew they should never succeed, and so they constructed one, and are now securely established at the gates of India.

And what is the present result of the dog-in-the-manger policy one Government adopted in Europe in 1875, followed by the *laissez-aller* policy the other had recourse to in Asia in 1880 ?

First of all we have brought about the very evil we wished to prevent and have changed places with Russia. She leads Europe, and the Turk is now our bitter enemy and her sworn friend. He will never forgive us for what he considers our perfidy in leading him on to resist Russia and then leaving him in the lurch to fight her alone. Not only this. Our action during the 'seventies disgusted all the Powers, and Russia has since so managed to play her cards that we cannot say one of them is really on our side at the present moment. If we had attempted to coerce the Turk over the Armenian or Cretan troubles, Russia would have resisted us in Europe and struck at us in Asia. France would have been with her, and Germany certainly not against her. And Austria and Italy would not have embroiled themselves when their own dominions were not menaced. It is claimed that we have influence over the Concert of Europe—as it is called—but that is only

because we are still a Great Power and very much in earnest, and the others fear they may, *nolens volens*, be dragged by us into a general war. But Russia is the choir-master, and none dare oppose her wishes with regard to the Eastern Question. If she had not been able to threaten India, the Armenian troubles might have been quickly settled by the appearance of our fleet at Constantinople, but we dared not send it there after Russia had said she would permit no interference with Turkey. Russia might easily herself have stopped the massacres, but for various reasons she refrained from doing so. Her object for years past has been to acquire a friendly ascendency over the Turk and to make him feel the necessity of leaning on her and on her alone. Therefore she protected him. In the 'seventies we thwarted her in an exactly similar case when she was anxious to protect the Christians of Turkey, and it must have been a satisfaction to her to repel us on this occasion with the arguments we then used; more especially when by so doing she was winning the genuine gratitude of the Turk and proving to him how base we were. Besides, it would not be convenient for Russia if the Turkish Armenians were to become perfectly happy. She has a large population of her own Armenians on the other side of the Border who not long ago were becoming too powerful, and she had to slightly suppress them. This has made them somewhat discontented. Russia, therefore, does not wish them to see that their brethren in Turkey are better off, perhaps, than themselves. Crete might have been handed over to Greece without any bother, but Russia again won the gratitude of the Turk by preventing it. The Emperor of Germany was only against it because he was bidding for the favour of Russia. The Russian diplomatists, by the way, are by no means pleased at the turn events have recently taken. They never meant the Sick Man to get on his legs again, and they perceive now that they made a mistake in according him too much support. If he is not checked he may perhaps soon be in a position to attempt to walk alone, and that would never do. The present time is therefore particularly appropriate for the remedy I shall presently suggest.

Russia is now in a position which seriously menaces India, but it is nonsense to suppose, as some do, that she is anxious or seeking a pretext to go there. She knows very well there would be frightful risk in doing so, and besides does not want the country, and probably would not take it at the present moment as a gift if we offered it to her. She desires to thoroughly consolidate the territory she already possesses. That will take her a long time, and a big war would seriously impede her progress. If she took India, where could she find ready-made officials to control it? and

she would have at first to place and to keep there an exceedingly large army. That would weaken her position in Europe. She would very much like to get possession of the fertile regions in Persia and Afghanistan which fringe her desert, and having got them would no doubt nibble on until she reached the Indian frontier. Of course, if we came to blows in Europe she would at once attack us in India, and the result can be foretold by no living man, for it would depend upon many contingencies. She would have to approach us through that hornet's nest, Afghanistan, and if the Afghans to a man were with us there would be no cause for perturbation. If she did so during the lifetime of the present Amir, and advanced into his country against his will, he most certainly would resist her (unless perhaps in one of his periodical sulks), but very likely not in the manner we might desire. He would hate to have Russians there, but he would not give us a perfectly free hand in controlling his troops, directing operations, and taking up any position we liked; and we should thus be severely handicapped. Moreover, though he is feared he is hated by a large section of his people, and Russian intrigue might succeed in setting up a popular Pretender. Still we should keep them back, I believe. But when this Amir dies, and his life is far from a good one, it is more than doubtful whether his son will be able to retain his position, or, in the event of a Russian invasion, be of much assistance to us even if well disposed. Afghanistan is not inhabited by one united homogeneous race, but by many quite distinct tribes, most of them exceedingly truculent and hostile to each other. They are all more or less treacherous and accustomed in the internecine conflicts of the past to sell their services to the highest bidder, and then, very often on the eve of a battle, to decamp in a body to the opposite side. The inhabitants of North-western Afghanistan would probably join the Russians as soon as their country was occupied, not on account of love, but on account of those much more potent factors, fear and self-interest. They have seen with their own eyes Russia's strength and our weakness on that very frontier. It must be borne in mind, too, that in our wars against the Afghans numbers of leading families were ruined for espousing our cause, and others suffered in fighting against us. The present Amir has killed and confiscated the property of every man of influence who was in Afghanistan when we set him on the throne, and the first to suffer were those who had served us in any way. Even those who showed themselves well disposed to us during the Delimitation of the Frontier were mercilessly treated, and some suffered death for it. It is foolish, therefore, to suppose that the Afghans love us, and think us perfect, and the Russians the

reverse. We broke faith with and left in the lurch many a great family when we scuttled out of the country in 1880, and at other times. And any Afghan you meet will tell you so, if you talk to him in his own language and win his confidence. If not he will tell you he is longing to fight by the side of his dear English brother against the hated Russian. The truth is that the Afghans (most bigoted of Mahommedans) dislike both English and Russians, and classify them together as unclean Christian dogs. And they believe quite correctly that we shall each act exactly in accordance with our own interests. I am not sure that the Afghans didn't put down to craven fear any humanity we showed during the last war. We used to take prisoners and then give them each a blanket and rupee and set them free. That was Christian charity, but it was not understood as such. It was believed to be a bribe for adhesion to our cause. We fooled about in this manner for a couple of years, scattering our gold broadcast all the time, in a manner to shock even the Jubilee Plunger, met with two or three reverses, relinquished the territory we had annexed, and left the country more embittered against us than ever. The war had cost the tax-payer more than £20,000,000. And on retiring we loaded these treacherous savages with arms and money to turn against us, and we boasted that we had secured a friendly and united Afghanistan as a buffer between us and Russia. The Russians know how terrible war is, and when they decide upon it they have a well-defined purpose in front of them, and they prosecute the war mercilessly until that purpose is attained, and the enemy crushed. Then they treat him with much kindness. If the Russians had been in our place in 1878 they would have entered Kabul within three weeks, and would then have taken efficient measures to control the country thenceforward. It is our want of thoroughness and steadfastness of purpose which is so fatal to us. We are for ever embarking on undertakings and dropping them when the goal is in sight, or attempting a patchwork remedy on an old coat. We never seem to prove our metal until we are driven into a corner and there is no escape.

We can depend pretty well on the natives of India, I think. They know that the Russians would treat them no better, and might treat them worse. But in that vast dominion, populated by many races, there are numbers of discontented men of influence and adventurers, and intrigue is to all Orientals as the breath of their nostrils. Many have grievances, and many, too, would welcome a change, in the hope that it would benefit them as individuals. The Russian Emperor is now posing as the Protector of the Head of the Mahommedan religion against us, because we wish to prevent him

cutting the throats of Christians. This would be a potent factor in Russia's favour with many Mahommedans, especially with our own ignorant soldiery. But after all she would not go to India yet. She would occupy Northern Afghanistan, and we should then come to terms and propose a fresh Boundary Commission. She is now extending her railway to the Afghan frontier, and could with ease put 200,000 Russians there within a very short time. She would at once occupy the Herat Valley, Maimena, and Balkh, and place her reserves at Askabad, Merve, and on the Oxus. Supplies would be abundant, and if she wished to advance could find transport animals in sufficient numbers in her own territory, Persia, and Afghanistan.

Is there no remedy for the mutually disadvantageous position in which Great Britain and Russia find themselves? Is not a *rapprochement* desirable in the interests of both? We are fortunately not pledged to the Triple Alliance, and the Germans, who dislike us, have behaved atrociously to us and deserve to be thrown over. What Russia has been aiming at all along is not, I think, the occupation of Constantinople so much as control over the Sultan, so that no other Power may gain advantages in Turkey in Europe, and a free passage for her ships of war through the Dardanelles. I should be inclined to give her a perfectly free hand in Turkey in Europe, and I would ask her to stop the trouble in Armenia as well. She would not, I believe, make any effort to annex another foot of territory, but would be quite content to have us out of the way and the Turk under her thumb. All the nations of Europe, Germany included, have such large commercial relations with Constantinople that Russia could not occupy the place without drawing on herself the anger of them all—perhaps of France. We might even stipulate that she should not.

With regard to Central Asia, the first most necessary step would be to stop absolutely the Rulers of Afghanistan and Persia from playing us off against each other as they do now. Until that happens there can be no reconciliation between Russia and England. The Amir takes our gold, and if we ask him for the slightest petty concession in return refuses it abruptly and sulks, *i.e.*, threatens to throw us over, as did Shere Ali. At Teheran the Shah sends one emissary to our Legation with startling details of Russian demands and threats, and another to the Russian Legation with some plausible tale about our own designs. And we are told what we say about each other—with exaggerations. Is there any wonder, then, that political ill-feeling is so great between the two Powers? I would tell the Russian Government I was sick of all this nauseous intriguing, and proposed now that it

should cease and that we should so arrange matters that our interests should not clash, and that we might even mutually assist each other in future. Perhaps Russia, conciliated by our action with regard to Turkey in Europe, would be disposed to withdraw from Panjdeh and Sheikh Juneid (the outpost overlooking Herat), and then a strip of desert 100 miles wide would separate Afghanistan on the north-west from Russia. I would then leave Northern Khorasan to her entirely. This would completely satisfy her. Of course from that side she can command Herat. But she does so already from Merve (where her railway is), and if she intended to advance would do so in the manner I have already described. The point of my suggestion is to remove friction and to give her no cause to desire to advance or to fear our doing the same. She has a regiment at Sarrakhs and a handful of Cossacks at Pul-i-Khatun. The country about there is almost desert, and they do no harm. There should, however, be no Russian post in the close vicinity of Afghan cultivation or of an Afghan post, because then at any time a conflict might arise about a trifle. These details, adjusted in consultation with Russia, there would be no further difficulty. Nature has placed a vast desert in the centre of Persia, and a line might be drawn on the map leaving within our sphere Hashtadan, Tabbas, Yezd, Isfahan, and Muhammarah. The Persian Gulf would then be secure. I cannot give an authoritative opinion as to what should happen in Turkey in Asia, but I should think that if Russia did not interfere with Bussorah and Baghdad and the coast to the north and to the east of Cyprus, we should want nothing more.

If we do not come to some such arrangement as that I have endeavoured to roughly sketch, Russia will soon perhaps reach the frontiers of India, and push down to the Persian Gulf as well, and then we shall each have to maintain bloated and costly armaments, both sides of the frontier will be seething with intrigue, uncertainty and restlessness will prevail, and it must all end in a very big fight. Russia does not want this to happen; she fears us every bit as much as we fear her. We are both terribly afraid of each other, and therein lies the danger.

It may be asked what trust we can place in a Power which makes the Official Lie the basis of her diplomacy, and says besides that treaties are made only to be torn up. My reply is that if we cease to thwart Russia and take up a position which furthers instead of clashes with her interests, she will be glad to meet us halfway, and neither official lies nor treaties will be needed. The Official Lie is with her a legitimate factor in diplomacy. We say that all is fair in love and war. The Russians go a step further and say

that all is fair in love, war, and diplomacy. *Voilà tout.* I know the Russians very well, and that they make bad enemies but good friends. They do not dislike us, but, on the contrary, look up to and respect us. We might have kept them back long ago with the greatest of ease, but we did not do so, and it is useless lamenting over what might have been. This miserable Eastern Question impedes progress both in Europe and in Asia, and our wrangles in connection with it are scornfully cited by Oriental diplomatists to prove how thin our veneering of Christianity and civilization really is. An *entente cordiale*, free from every suspicion and reservation, between Russia and England would put an end to all this, and the Eastern potentates would then have to reform their ways and cease their barbarities.

GOLDEN RHODESIA—A REVELATION.

THE object of the present article is to describe Rhodesia as the writer has seen it. The English people, so far as he can make out, seem to be totally ignorant of the nature of that country—of facts that are patent to the roughest observer at the first glance. They are ignorant of the fact that the gold is all pocket gold, and will not pay for mining; that the land is practically desert, and, owing to lack of water, can never be anything else; and they are ignorant also of some other matters on which they should be enlightened, namely, the way the natives have been treated out there, and the causes of the late rebellion. This last is, however, as Kipling says, "another story," and I shall confine myself for the present to an effort to protect the "Innocents," as the British investing public are termed in Rhodesia, from future plunder. Since the publication of portions of the eye-opening report of Sir Richard Martin—a gallant, and impartial Imperial officer—the native question has become less pressing.

The gold belt of Rhodesia starts at Tati and runs in a north-easterly direction towards Salisbury and the Hartley Hills. The Sebukwe district which is situated about half-way between Buluwayo and Fort Charter in this range is the richest of all, and here the chief group of mines lies. The gold among the Hartley Hills and north of Salisbury is in very small patches, but often rich. Besides this regular belt there are several detached and isolated districts where gold has been found. Some mining operations have been carried on near Victoria and traces of gold have been discovered at Umtali and in Gazaland. Now the main characteristic of all the gold-bearing reefs found in Rhodesia is this, that they none of them carry gold to any depth. The gold is surface gold, or what is called pocket formation. There are a great many signs all over the country of old diggings having been carried on here, and it is usually in continuation of these old works that shafts are being sunk to-day. All these old works are shallow; none of them I should say ever went to a depth of a hundred feet. The usual depth was twenty to thirty feet; while this seems to show that the gold is everywhere all near the surface it has been

explained by supposing that these old workers did not know how to sink shafts and carry on work at a depth. What the difficulty may have been I do not know, since all they had to do was to go on digging. The ignorance of past ages is always a safe card to play, but I will not readily believe that a people who knew how to use and spend gold did not know how to mine for it. The true explanation of all these shallow workings is in fact the simple and obvious one, carefully as it is being concealed, viz., that the gold never extends to any considerable depth but "pinches out" as it is called within a hundred feet of the surface. This being so the country never can amount to much as a gold-producing district. It might pay some individual miners to work the pockets with a pick and shovel, but it will never pay to erect permanent machinery, for the gold-bearing quartz will certainly be finished up long before the cost of the machinery is defrayed. It is not impossible, of course, that a permanent reef may be discovered, but there have been no signs of any so far. I wish myself that the English people would call for a definite report on this particular point by a skilled and independent expert. Two mining engineers of repute have issued reports on the Rhodesian mines and neither of these were published. I may say I know (in fact, it is very generally known out there) that both these reports were of the most unfavourable description. So far as I am aware the only report officially issued is that of Mr. John Hays Hammond.

The first mines I visited were those around Fort Victoria. These are the well-known Cotopaxi, Dickens, Cambrian, Standard, and Victoria group. My visit was in the month of March, 1895. At that time the Cotopaxi mill was still running. The little Victoria five stamp mill had been burnt some time before. There used to be a question asked in Johannesburg, "If there is gold in Rhodesia, in really payable quantities, how is it that the men who are running Rhodesia (millionaires to whom money is nothing) do not send up a battery at whatever cost, on mule back if need be, without waiting for the railroad?" The question whether reliable gold reefs were to be found in Rhodesia was a burning one. In fact, the future of the country in a large measure depended upon it. People felt that if it really contained gold, the lack of a railroad was after all no great obstacle to proving its existence. There were scores of men, and among them practical prospectors, who had been in the country, and expert mining engineers, who held the opinion that the introduction of batteries would prove fatal to the Rhodesian gold-fields, because they would expose the fact that there was not enough ore to feed them with, and that, people said, was why the batteries had never been introduced. This is a common criticism in South Africa. Well, then, as time goes on

some few very small batteries are introduced into the country, and located on what seem to be the most favourable workings. Taking the case of Victoria what happens to the two batteries sent there? One closes down and the other is burnt.

All along this reef I made several pannings, but never found gold except close to a shaft mouth. All the rest of the reef appears to be barren quartz. Of course, I soon realized the fact that the gold lay in pockets, and that all these pockets had been appropriated. These were my first personal observations. The pockets, I should say, lie ordinarily about half a mile to a mile apart. Sometimes there is a cluster of little tiny ones close together. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred they have been worked before, and all that remains to be done now is to clean up the leavings. No one has started to do this yet with pick and shovel (that will come when the London market is played out), and the success of batteries has not led anyone to introduce more of them. As far as mining enterprise is concerned, in fact, this district is abandoned. I may mention that the total crushings of one of the chief mills yielded about eight thousand pounds sterling, or something less than half the mill had cost when ready to begin work. Meantime a lot of pegging out goes on. The miners and prospectors laugh at it and treat the matter as a joke. The claims are sold to syndicates, parcelled up and floated at the expense of the English public. Often in Rhodesia it pays one to sell what it does not pay to work. I shall have occasion by-and-by to discuss the question of syndicates more at length; at present I pass to the main chain of the mining belt, drawn from Tati to Salisbury, of which, as I have said, Sebukwe is the central and most important district.

When I left the neighbourhood of Victoria, after a stay of about four weeks, I first struck northward to Charter, making for Salisbury and the Hartley Hills. From accounts received *en route* of the health of the town where fever was at that time raging, I changed my plans and turned south-west to Sebukwe. The Sebukwe Group consists of the Bonsor, Dunraven, Tebokwe, and Moonie mines. These are the four that have the best standing, and the names of which are at all known. There are thousands of claims pegged here with, as usual, the beginnings of shafts sunk in the old workings. The Bonsor is, I should judge, the most important and best known mine in Rhodesia. It is an extremely rich pocket and considerably the deepest yet discovered. I took a panning of the reef close to the shaft which gave a good tail of gold, and I am quite prepared to believe that the assays given in the reports which run up to several ounces are correct. The reef has, however, been repeatedly described as a true fissure vein. In a true fissure vein, I need hardly say, the

slab of gold-bearing quartz held in the surrounding (or "country") rock, like a thin slice of meat in a sandwich, runs on indefinitely, both along the outcrop and in a downward direction. But does the Bonsor vein run for any distance along the outcrop? I panned on the reef to within fifty or sixty feet of the shaft without finding a trace of gold. My experience leads me to think, therefore, that the Bonsor is charterized by the usual Rhodesian formation. While pocketty, it is certainly deeper than most, or perhaps, than any yet discovered. The old workings, I was told, went down from sixty to a hundred feet, and they have been continued, so it is alleged, to a depth of two hundred. No one is allowed down the mine except the miners and mine officials. I met a young Englishman, a mining engineer, who had come up on a flying visit from Johannesburg to make a special report for an English journal. The report he had drawn up was a most glowing one and foretold a great future for the mine. He was perfectly innocent and honest, and when I questioned him about his impressions he told me at once that he had not been able to go down the mine himself, as it was against the regulations, but he was convinced nevertheless that it was all right as he had his information from the most reliable sources, namely, from the mine officials themselves, who were constantly down in it and must of course know all about it. I too picked up a little information. Common miners, the men who do the work, very seldom lie because it is not worth their while. The manager and chief officials get big salaries, have a place to loose, and are, more or less, marked men. They talk as they are told. The miner is a free-lance. He has nothing to fear, for he can always get a job. If a man wants reliable information about Rhodesia or any mines he cannot do better than have a chat with the ordinary miners. They will blurt out more of the truth to him in five minutes than he will get out of the mine manager in a month.

By-and-by, when that precious railroad to Buluwayo is finished, we shall probably hear more about the crushing batteries that Rhodesian mines have been waiting for so patiently. They will play their part in a concerted and general movement. There will be crushing and milling then, and glowing reports and a last big boom, and after that the deluge. There will be a great deal of buying and selling and getting from under; and when it is all over and the storm subsides the English people will find themselves the absolute and sole possessors of a row of extinct volcanoes. Of the Dunraven and other mines here it is not necessary to speak; they are all exactly similar to the Bonsor in character, but on a much smaller scale. Also they are scarcely ever heard of. The Bonsor is the figure-head of the whole district.

If one comes to think of it, the old workings ought to convey a true impression to any fairly intelligent man of the way in which gold is distributed over the country. If it lay in veins the workings would naturally take the form of long trenches. But, as a matter of fact, they are always mere holes, and in the great majority of cases these holes are quite empty. The whole gold country, in fact, is exactly like a big plum-pudding with the plums pulled out, and only the holes left. Here and there the remains of a plum are found sticking at the bottom, but that is all. From the Selukwe, after being there three weeks, I moved more south-west, into the adjoining Belingwe and Filibusi districts. There are no mines of any prominence here, though of course numbers of claims pegged. I was panning all along as I went, wherever I struck a quartz reef, but all my observations only tended to make me more certain than ever that the gold lay solely in pockets. I held on from here westward into the Inseza and Gwanda country. There are only two mines in these districts worth speaking of, namely, the Nellie and Pioneer Mines, in the Inseza district. The Nellie I should say was the richest pocket yet discovered. Both these belong to the Consolidated Gold Field, and rank simply among the assets of the Company. They will not therefore be used in any new flotation, and the public have nothing to fear from them. The same is not the case with the claims in the Gwanda district. Lately these have been attracting a good deal of attention in England, though out there they would rank below any of the districts hitherto named. No considerable pocket has been found there. I may say that all this gold belt, from Tati to Salisbury, has been so thoroughly well prospected by this time, that the existence of any gold formation, other than the pockets spoken of, is almost out of the question. I said that there was a possibility of a true fissure vein being discovered in Rhodesia; but when I remember how vigilantly all the gold region has been examined I must say I think that possibility is very remote.

I had now prospected down the richest half of the gold belt, from about the middle down to within seventy miles of Buluwayo. I did not come to the country prepared to be disappointed. At the start, of course, I believed in the gold or I never should have come there ; but after six solid months of personal examination, talking to miners and consulting with here and there a friend whom I felt I could trust, the conviction grew in my mind that there was not and could not be a paying mine in the whole belt, and I never pegged a single claim myself. About the beginning of October I got to Buluwayo.

It was while I lived in Buluwayo that the real purpose of all these claims that I had seen pegged out first struck me; at least it

was there that I first got an idea of the completeness of the system. I will describe that system briefly, but first these one or two points may be mentioned which helped in the success of the scheme, and without which it must have come to nothing. It was an immense advantage to the Rhodesian boom that it came immediately after that of the Transvaal. That is the sort of advantage which people value most who best know what the public is, and what markets are. The moment is usually in these matters of much more importance than the thing. It would be much easier I mean to sell desert sand for gold reef when a Johannesburg had cleared the way and roused the enthusiasm than to dispose of a Golconda in cold blood and to an uninterested public. Another advantage was that Rhodesia is an out-of-the-way place—six thousand miles away by sea, and that is only half, and the easiest half of the journey. This condition also was essential to success as things turned out. It was one of the few places left in the world where a secret could be kept. And a third advantage was that the country was governed and controlled by a body of men who are directly and pecuniarily interested in making it out to be a wealthy country. By this means true reports are suppressed, and reports which are not true are published. *The Chartered Company take a half share in the vendors' scrip of every syndicate floated.* In other words the Government of the country get half of anything that speculators can make out of the country. What happens, of course, from this arrangement is that the Government and the company promoters hunt together, and could more favourable conditions be desired? There was enthusiasm on the side of the public. There was enough gold to keep up appearances, and there was perfect secrecy secured, and also perfect harmony of interests between everyone concerned in the business on the Rhodesian side. It was a wonderful combination of circumstances, and as luck would have it, it fell into hands that could do it justice.

Granting these conditions, the rest is all very simple. I said that with enthusiasm to back one it is easier to sell sand than gold without the enthusiasm. So, in fact, it has proved. The Rand mines started the enthusiasm, secrecy and co-operation kept it going, and the sand and barren rock that has meantime been sold to the public for gold reefs is something astonishing. As a rule, a syndicate will start on about two or three hundred claims. These claims are sold by the prospectors in Buluwayo who have pegged them out. The price of a claim—it never varied all the time I was out there—was one pound. It will be asked how a claim could have a fixed price seeing that its value of course depended on the amount and richness of ore it held. But these claims were sold to syndicates for the purpose of flotation on the English market and

with no idea of ever being worked at all. And so little idea was there of future development that the mere accident of its containing or not containing gold made no difference at all to the value of the claim.

The country round Buluwayo is almost flat. The ground is scattered with quartz, stones, and rocks, and there are some small ledges of quartz but no gold has yet been discovered in it. There are a lot of small watercourses intersecting the country, which for the greater part of the year are dried up. These are favourable places for panning, and sometimes a trace of gold is discovered in these. I panned for the greater part of a day once with another man, and between us we were lucky enough to find one single trace of gold. Scarcely a trace in the streams and nothing at all in the quartz is a poor outlook, yet all the land round Buluwayo is pegged out for many miles, excepting to the west where there are some farms. There is a regular class of men, the prospectors, who make it their business to go about pegging claims. These are registered in Buluwayo and bought by syndicates or associations of men with the object ostensibly of forming a company to supply capital for working them. Often a syndicate employs its own prospectors to go out to peg its claims. A sufficient number of claims having been secured and the total property christened by some hopeful and encouraging name, the next thing to do is to get a prospectus. Here I should like to draw a parallel: when a house agent is going to sell a property he often rather overdoes the description, and no one credits all the wonderful beauties of the house and grounds which appear in his report. And yet he knows all the time that the purchaser will go and find out for himself and look into every particular. If a man exaggerates to that extent, who knows that what he says will be tested, and for the sake of a small percentage in the sale money, to what extent may a man be expected to lie who has nothing to fear from personal inspection and a 50 per cent. profit to gain? The answer is about to the extent of a Rhodesian prospectus. A high assay is the first thing necessary. For this purpose if there happens to be a small pocket or two on the property the richest samples from these are selected and panned, and in writing the report the impression is conveyed that these lots are taken from a fissure vein instead of from isolated and soon exhausted pockets. But this method of sampling would not answer long, because more and more as time went on syndicates began to take up ground on which there was no sign of gold, and no hope of ever obtaining any. But the property of a syndicate is never compact. They may own five claims in one part of the country, ten in another, twenty in a third, and so on. On one of these they must take care to possess a trace

or pocket of gold-bearing rock for prospectus purposes. The claims figure all under one name. The result of the single assay is duly given. The unsuspecting reader takes it as belonging to the whole property, when in reality ninety-nine hundredths of the property may be fifty miles away. Such mining necessaries as wood and water are also mentioned and declared to be plentiful. The wood is a low bushy scrub, and the trunks as a rule very crooked, nevertheless it might probably be made to do for timbering. The water is only plentiful in the rainy season, for four months in the year, during the remaining eight months the country is burnt up to a cinder. In some of the prospectuses some farms are thrown in as an extra attraction, though these consist merely for the most part of arid tracts of land totally unwatered save for the thunderstorms of the short wet season and growing only a stunted thorny scrub. The prospectus is now complete. Of course all that glowing language can do for it is done, and it is drawn up in splendid copperplate style on a parchment three feet by two. Some two or three names, known more or less to the public, have to be included in the list of directors as guarantees that it is all above board. There is probably no difficulty here. To help a poor relation and a coming country and at the same time put a round sum of money into their own pockets one or two prominent men, titled if possible, are induced to put their names down. It is so perfectly simple. I knew one man in Buluwayo who had floated four such companies and was then gathering material for a fifth. I should say that almost all the brains, energy, and enterprise in Rhodesia are engaged more or less deeply in this syndicate business. In Buluwayo, a town of 2,500 inhabitants, there were between sixty and seventy syndicates when I was there. There is a certain deadly fascination in the game. It is so big, so thorough: half a dozen acres of desert land at one end and two hundred thousand pounds of English money at the other. There is nothing petty about a business like that. It has a sort of grandeur of its own. These speculators have the greatest faith in being forgiven everything if once they have made their money. The day of exposure must come, of course, some time or other; it will be bad, perhaps, then for people who are *in it*, but it will be all right for those who have made their pile and cleared out. The end will justify the means, and no one will dare to ask the owner of half a million how he came by his money. That is what they say, and they encourage each other to make the utmost of the golden opportunity. Round the bars of the Maxim or Charter they drink to their friends at home and swear to show them that they "are not out here for their health."

What strikes me with most astonishment in the business is the innocence of the British Public. They are as yet so totally

inexperienced in gold. Probably a parallel would be found in my country at the time of the great California boom and the rush of 1849. We learnt a lesson then in the matter of bogus companies that the English are learning now. The aggregate subscribed capital of the Matabele Land Companies is somewhere about sixteen millions. The English people, to the best of my belief, will never get a penny of that money back. Mashonaland meantime is playing exactly the same game, and the tactics of Salisbury are from all accounts the tactics of Buluwayo. I have never been in Salisbury myself, nor have I personally prospected the Hartley Hill and Lo Magondi fields in that neighbourhood. They are confessedly, however, of exactly the same formation as those farther south of the belt, except that these have been found in pockets to compare in size with the Cotopaxi and Bonsor on the Matabele side. This, of course, does not matter one way or other, because such gold as is found is only used for bait.

The Mashonaland flotations would be a trifling matter, probably, compared to the Matabele venture. Farther north too in the Shangani district, and east and west to the Sebukwe and Bembezi there has been a great deal of pegging done. All that country I know well. There have been surface scratchings worked in it at some time or other. The greater part of the claims are pegged on common earth, showing no trace of quartz even, let alone gold.

I have now told what I know about Rhodesian gold. It is without a doubt the biggest hoax ever played on the English public, yet it is strictly accounted for and naturally explained by the circumstances under which it arose, and to which I have already drawn attention. It looks now as if every effort was going to be made to work up a last boom in Rhodesian stock. We all know the part that the Mafeking-Buluwayo railroad is going to play in that boom. In the month of July, 1896, I struck this railroad at Gaberones and followed it south, a hundred miles to Mafeking. It is a narrow-gauge track, laid on the sand banked up about a foot or fifteen inches. The country is flat with small hills and slopes, which the railroad, to avoid the labour of cutting, always runs round instead of through. This crooked, wandering, flimsy-looking structure was a perpetual joke to us as we marched south, nevertheless an acute observer might see in it a true index of the policy of the Government and the future fate of the country. It is not laid down as a permanent way at all. When it has helped the boom it will have done all it was ever meant to do.

I will lastly say a few words on the farming question. I know nothing or very little about the subject, but there are some facts written across that country in a way that no man can misunderstand. In the first place, I will give the line of my route in order

that the reader may be able to trace on a map, if he chooses, the country that came under my eyes. Of course I cannot give all the side marches and wanderings. Sometimes I went straight, sometimes I explored a certain district thoroughly. Also we get a great deal of information from other prospecting parties as to the nature of various parts of the country one does not personally visit.

This was my route:—Tuli, February, '95; thence to Victoria; from there east across the Gazaland border and back by Mount Wedza; then to Charter and south-west to Gwelo and down the main belt as already described, reaching Buluwayo about the end of September. From there, the end of October I set out northward through the Bembezi, Shangani, and Sebukwe districts, thence still north into the Ma Fungi Busi district, and struck the Zambesi the end of the year '95. Then marched east to the Sangati River and right up that south-east and up the Umniati to where the Sebukwe runs into it; thence turning south-west to Buluwayo again, which I reached on March 20th. I was three months in Buluwayo and then went to Tati and right down to Mafeking, which I reached near the end of July, '96. I have *read* a great deal about the fruitfulness of all these lands, but what I *saw* was this:—From Tati to Victoria entirely uninhabited except by the most impoverished niggers; the ground low and wet; very unhealthy, fever abounding. It is all overgrown with dense, low scrub, which it would be a matter of long toil to clear away. From Victoria to Gazaland, I went a ten days' journey up the Sabi Valley, which is probably the most fertile portion of Rhodesia. As is always the case, though wherever there is moisture the fever rages. Not a single European was to be found in the country, and sickness is very prevalent among the natives. The locusts are here in swarms. Coming to the head of the Sabi, the bush stops, and thence on to Charter the country is open and the soil deep sand. Nothing could be made of this without abundance of water, and that is not forthcoming. This sandy and parched country leads us down to Gwelo, and from there to Buluwayo becomes more mountainous. The hills are stony and rocky, studded or covered with bush; the vegetation is entirely confined to this tough, dried-up looking bush, which is the only thing that seems to be able to stand the long drought. The country all round Buluwayo is practically unwatered through the dry season. There are about two little rivers that have running water all the year round. The rest dry up. Nothing can look more desolate than that country when the great drought settles down on it. Getting away from the hills near Buluwayo all the country north towards the Shangani is flat or only studded with a few small kopjes or hillocks. The scrub is mostly very thick, so much so that it is difficult often to get

through it. There are numbers of rivers appearing in this country on the maps, but it must be understood that these only carry water during the wet season, during the rest of the year they are mere dried up channels. Some of them have pools at intervals remaining through the dry season where the holes in their beds are deep, but not a single river that I crossed on my journey from Buluwayo to the Zambesi was a running stream all the year round; this will show how drained of all moisture the country becomes. No one who has lived only in Europe can conceive what a country looks like which is exposed for seven or eight consecutive months to the blazing sun of Africa without a drop of rain falling on it. Tracts of hot, sandy soil, of black, thorny bushes which look as if they never could sprout again, and for leagues and leagues not a sign of water; then at last a stagnant and stinking pool.

The Zambesi Valley is low, densely and almost impracticably crowded with bush, and very swampy and damp. Here, as usual, the fever rages, and the country is totally uninhabitable. About half-way between Buluwayo and the Zambesi begins what is known as the fly belt; a tract of fly-infested country running east and west, stretching throughout Rhodesia, and reaching as far north as the Zambesi, and perhaps farther. It may roughly be described as a border margin to the course of the river, varying in width, but averaging about a hundred miles. The fly, called the tsetse fly, is no bigger than a house fly, has white stripes across its body, and rather long wings crossed in a peculiar manner across its back. Its bite is fatal to horses, donkeys, mules, cattle, dogs—in fact, all domesticated animals, with the sole exception of the goat. It is a disputed point whether a great number of bites, or only one or two, are enough to cause death; but it is certain that wherever the fly is found no tame animals can live. I had three donkeys with me on my trip. These were all killed by fly bites and I also lost the only dog I had in the same way. A more widespread pest is the locust. These come in flights that literally darken the sky for miles, and where they settle the ground is simply a crawling mass of them. The natives protect their mealie patches by rushing out when a cloud of these creatures (they are like enormous grasshoppers) appears and beating tin kettles and tom-toms and yelling at the top of their voices to make them continue their flight. Where they settle not a green leaf is left after an hour or two. As for the country all along the Umniati, coming now south by west in the direction of Charter, it is so utterly desolate and burnt up that it is impossible to quit the course of the river. There is no water elsewhere. Along the river course there are plenty of water-holes but none elsewhere. The region is uninhabited by whites or blacks. There a few niggers

along the river bank north of where the Umfuli runs into it, between that and the Zambesi, otherwise the whole country was an empty desert. The niggers were the Mashangua tribe and were, poor creatures, when I was there, in a state of almost absolute starvation, quantities dying every day from eating roots; this was owing to the locusts having made a clean sweep of their crops. When I got near Charter I struck south-west towards Buluwayo, this line taking me not far north of my first exploration down the gold belt. There is no change in the country; this sort of country is not liable to changes, it stretches on just the same for marches of weeks and months, parched and dried up, studded with scrub that is dwarfed and shrunken itself for lack of any moisture.

As I said before, I know nothing of farming, when it comes to distinguishing between various soils and a real knowledge of agriculture, but there is no man so simple in these matters but what he can tell that a desert is not a good farming country. Here and there on a river course there may be a patch or two that will yield crops, but these may be compared with the isolated oases of the great northern deserts. As I look back, passing in review all my experience and months of marching, I see nothing to break the monotony of that endless, sun-scorched, scrub-studded desert, except at long intervals a low-lying river course with dense bushes and deadly malaria hanging over it that it is impossible to escape. As for our march down to Mafeking, we lost on the way forty mules out of sixty that we started with, owing to the absence of any kind of forage that they could pick on the way, and our being unable to carry enough to last out. Water we took with us in barrels. There are a few holes in some of the rivers' beds, but they are often many miles apart.

In five years from now Rhodesia will be abandoned by the whites. It may remain under a British protectorate as the connecting link between the colony, the big line of lakes, and the Nile Valley, but it will be abandoned as far as colonizing and settling are concerned. It must be, nothing can galvanize any life into it. For the question is, after all, what has the country got, what is there? and no amount of railways and prospectuses and booming arrangements can keep a country going for long that has nothing of its own. Whatever the intermediate howling may be, they will have to come down to this in the long-run. What can this country produce? Now I know, barring utterly unlooked for discoveries, I think I may say I know positively, that it cannot produce gold; and I think I know that it cannot produce any crops to speak of, for, allowing something for irrigation, the water supply is so limited, and the dry season so long, that this could only be applied suc-

cessfully in a very few and very limited areas. With these cancelled, there is nothing else to fall back on. I give the country five years to be found out.

Finally, as I have made some serious charges and have every wish to fire my shot in the open, I should like to say of myself, that I am an American Citizen, of the State of Texas, born in 1856, that I graduated at the Military Academy, West Point, and was assigned to the Sixth Regiment of Cavalry; that I was an officer for nine years, in the U.S. Army, and have a number of friends, men of honour, whose good opinion I would not risk by an untrue or slanderous publication. In short, if Rhodesia and the Chartered Co. have a character to lose, why, so have I. I have had some experience of prospecting and mining. I have never had any dealings of any sort with the Chartered Co., and have no personal motive for praising or dispraising it, and now I will ask the English people to think over what I have told them.

J. Y. F. Blake.

THE USES OF HUMOUR.

To suggest that humour has its uses may well seem a gratuitous paradox. Serious persons, such as parents and schoolmasters who have to wage continual war against the frivolity and wastefulness of mirth, will probably scout any such suggestion as opposed to eternal distinctions of thought. On the other hand, the laughter-loving themselves may not unnaturally ridicule the supposition as seeming to imply that humorous enjoyment stands in need of a justification.

Yet we cannot escape from the conditions of our age, and it is the scientific fashion to explain things by demonstrating their utility. Since, moreover, the humorous are known to be a good-natured easy people, they may as well, perhaps, fall in with the vogue, so far at least as to allow, by way of an *argumentum ad hominem*, that their favourite recreation might, *if it chose*, defend itself on the ground of its beneficial results. Supposing, as has been suggested more than once of late, that laughter is on the decline, that solemnity or "intensity" grows apace and threatens to muffle our mirth, could we put in a plea for liberty by arguing that humour has its uses, and is likely to grow more serviceable as poor humanity goes shambling along the road which it thinks is leading to perfectibility.

I do not propose to enter here on the perplexing question of the origin of human laughter. It may be enough to say that if we study its ruder primitive forms in the child and the savage it seems to be commonly excited by the following—(*a*) what is odd and opposed to custom, as unconventional dress, foreign spirit, and so forth; (*b*) by what is undignified, even when it involves pain, as a deformity, a fall, a chastisement; and (*c*) by anything which relieves from a constrained attitude, more especially when this includes fear. Laughter over a conquered foe who has set the heart beating is one of the oldest and simplest varieties of mirth. It forms the root of the special tendency to laugh during solemn ceremonies.

Now, what seems common to these elementary forms of jocosity is relief from mental tension. Sometimes the tension thus relaxed is intellectual, the focusing of attention and expectation, as in

seeing through make-believe, and less obviously in encountering something odd and opposed to rule. Sometimes, again, it seems rather to be a moral strain which is relieved, as in all liberation from the attitude of fear and deferential self-compression. To this it may be added that in most cases a certain malignant edge seems to be given to laughter by a sense of personal elation at the spectacle of another's indignity.

We may now enquire whether it is possible to make out any utility in these simple and primitive types of laughter. The first and most obvious effect of laughter is the reflex influence on the person who indulges in it. Common language suggests that laughter is good for the laugher. All enjoyment when not carried to foolish excess seems to quicken the pulse of life, and to promote at once the vigorous action of body and of mind. It has been suggested, too, that there is some special effect in the muscular movements of laughter in accelerating the general circulation and correcting anything like cerebral congestion which is the accompaniment of mental strain. However this be, one may safely say that in the mirthful rebound from a serious mental attitude there is something of the salutary recreative effect of play, to which, indeed, the enjoyment of the ludicrous is so closely allied.

But this is only one aspect of the case. Laughter pounces on something in another which may in general be described as an unworthiness. As such it has never been greatly enjoyed by its recipient. The unsightly unfortunate who excites the street boy's mirth is apt to punish his tormentor if he gets the chance. Laughter may in this way become eminently unbeneficial to the subject of it. If, however, the laughter is the choral outburst of a band it assumes another aspect. The fear of being laughed at is one of the sensibilities on which the compelling action of numbers and of authority directly works. Here it is evident there comes in a new utility, viz., to the community.

It is not easy to say how far these beneficial results would have helped to develop the laughing propensity in the earliest stages of human culture. No doubt a savage might get a hygienic benefit from a quiet chuckle after release from the oppressive solemnities of tribal ceremony, yet one cannot but suspect that the experiment would be exceedingly dangerous in circumstances where, so far as one can conjecture, ritual is so terribly exacting. It is easier to conceive of primitive human laughter taking a choral form, as where a tribe jeers at a common foe; and very likely in the first unpleasant days of human history, when individual liberty was presumably an unknown luxury, laughter may have been in the main confined to a common act of deriding what is foreign. It

must, one imagines, have taken ages to produce a savage clever enough and brave enough to attempt, say, a caricature of some august tribal personage, such as we perhaps find in those rude drawings of the monkey.

The palpable utilities of laughter only begin to appear when we have the movement of social evolution, with its differentiation of classes, its toleration of a certain range of diversity of manners, and the acknowledged right of the individual to criticize his surroundings. There is reason to suppose that the risibility which logicians tell us is an "accident" of our species, may have played a by no means contemptible part in the making of human communities. Is it not probable that stability of manners and beliefs has been, to a considerable extent, maintained by a lively instinct for the ludicrous aspect of all sudden introduction of what is new and foreign? On the other hand, when a community is advancing and casting its skin in the shape of some effete custom, this same feeling of the ludicrous might aid the progressive impulse by branding with the mark of absurdity what is old-fashioned and surmounted.

In like manner it appears to be at least a plausible hypothesis that the instincts of laughter have had a good deal to do with the maintenance and the improvement of class distinctions. For one thing, it is supposable that the humours of the lower classes—and there is some reason to think that these have had a good share of this quality—have had a most wholesome effect, not only on the inferiors themselves, by tempering the cringing attitude of deference, but also on their betters. The early jocose literature of modern Europe suggests that the common folk were very much like schoolboys in their capacity for making merry over the foibles of their superiors, secular and spiritual; and this must, one conceives, have furnished the classes concerned with a salutary kind of popular censorship. As soon, too, as the rigidity of caste gave way to a certain mobility, and people began to look wistfully at the next higher rung of the social ladder, laughter must have descried another opening for his merry gambols. For pushing one's way out of one's native rank and familiar surroundings is always more or less of a comical spectacle, not only to those who are above, and are naturally disposed to ridicule the climber's assumption of airs which do not as yet sit quite easily, but also to his *quondam* class-fellows, who just as naturally look on his craning of the neck in order to top his neighbour as a reflection on their own altitude, and greet the spectacle with a voluminous Olympian explosion.

We may now pass to a side of our subject which is nearer to us and so more distinct. Whatever the help our race may have got from its blessed endowment of risibility in the first stages of its

long and fatiguing march, there is no doubt that at the point now reached it has become to many a quite invaluable source of gladness and strength.

In order to understand this we must glance for a moment at the distinctive characteristics of that particular variety of laughter to which we moderns specially refer when we talk of a sense of humour.

This sentiment, strangely dissimilar as it may seem, is undoubtedly the direct descendant of the spontaneous exuberant mirth of the boy and the savage. The nineteenth-century student of life laughs at the same sort of thing as his *naïf* progenitor, at the forbidden, at the mean, at the sudden collapse of dignity. But how differently he conceives of these mirth-provoking properties of things, and in what a different key is his laughter pitched.

Our humorous amusement at life is, it must be confessed, stamped with the characteristics of our sedate mundane years. Laughter still sits by man, like some cheerful and faithful spouse, ever ready to gladden his seriousness with her musical ripple; but it is no longer the blithe young bride whom we see, but the quiet matron with silver streaks in the hair, and folds about the eyes, folds which show all the more when the merry twinkle takes those softened orbs.

Perhaps the deepest characteristic of modern humour is its thoughtfulness. Once and again, as at Christmastide, when thrown among the explosive hilarity of that residuum of unsophisticated childhood which can still enjoy the frolics of pantomime, we may perhaps surprise ourselves laughing quite thoughtlessly; but for the most part our mirth is tinged with pensiveness. The loud laugh speaking the vacant mind has grown impossible for us. So far, then, it is true that we laugh less than the bygone generations, less automatically, less cordially, without any lurking *arrière-pensée.* Yet, *en revanche,* how many new things we laugh at! The very "malady of thought" which eats into our age, while it might seem destined to kill rosy laughter, has given us a new and subtler vision, which detects traces of the ludicrous in every domain, one might almost add, every scene, of human life.

The genesis of this far-ranging contemplative humour in the modern world is a problem full of interest. It is interwoven with all the essential factors of our life, our political and social liberty, our assertion and maintenance of individuality, our press, and the publicity it has brought into all regions of life. Without attempting here the explanation of a phenomenon so many-sided and intricate, it may suffice to show that in spite of its new features it is essentially a development of that primitive instinctive sense of fun, which the savage shares with the boy.

To begin with, then, this large expansion of our feeling for the

ludicrous is in part the result of that consciousness of escape from restraint which is so vital an element in the spirit of our age. In the past the merry tones of laughter have often been silenced by the presence of hideous fear, and the expulsion of this ill-shapen creature by advancing knowledge has left the modern world possessed of a whole museum of amusing old-world bogies.

Again, this finer responsiveness to the touch of the humorous illustrates the development of another constituent of primitive laughter, the sense of the irregular, the unfitting. Here, indeed, we may naturally expect to find the thoughtfulness of the age, adding range and penetration to humorous insight. To detect a *bizarre* juxtaposition of things, say a man's qualifications and the official post which it has pleased the destinies to bestow on him implies an eye for relations, and is indeed a mark of intellect. The quaint disparities which the world-spectacle is ever exhibiting, partly supplied by the dramatic inconsistences of the actors themselves, partly by the whimsical hand which shifts the *mise en scène*, require a trained perception of the contradictory not inferior to that of the logician.

It is to be noted that this larger detection of disparity or incongruity is due to the introduction of ideal points of reference. The savage and the child are content with custom as their standard, and things become "funny" to them merely through a departure from the customary, the accepted, as anything foreign in dress, speech, or manners. The thought of our time has substituted ideas for unexamined usage; we judge of fitness, of propriety, no longer by a bare reference to conventional rules, but by the application of some conception of the inherent worth of things.

It will be further evidenced that this introduction of ideal standards into our judgment of things allows of a large dilatation of that agreeable sense of uplifting and exultation which is found to be another ingredient in the earlier type of laughter. To be able to find wanting even great personages and much-praised exploits by the application of a more exact measure is to share for the moment in the proud down-glance of the eagle. A considerable factor in the amusement of the not wholly idle observer of contemporary life comes from the enjoyment of the critic's vantage-ground. The mediæval citizen's merriment at the foibles of his priest, the *sotto voce* chucklings of "Jeames" at the doings of the 'gents" upstairs are modes of enjoyment narrowly circumscribed by the conventional and *borné* character of the standards implied. Our habits of reflection, of ideal criticism, enable us to play the censor of manners on a much larger scale, to subject the highest dignitaries themselves, whose names the devout are wont to whisper, to the painless process of a humorous dissection.

So far we have sought the secret of pensive humour in its matured thoughtfulness. Yet this does not wholly explain the transformation of pristine jovial laughter. Along with this result of growing thoughtfulness, and inseparably intertwined with it has come another element of change, which we may call the humanizing of mirth. I have conceded that even the most refined humour retains a faint echo of the first rude note of derision, the shout of triumph at the spectacle of something—if only a hat—suddenly brought low. Yet the sense of superiority which we derive, say from the well-meant but luckless experiments of a new public body, or the little sensitivenesses of a person of great and assured reputation, is a long way removed from the brutal satisfaction with which a savage or a schoolboy sees his rival tripped up. It seems to be a necessary condition of a true sense of humour, that it be far from personal dislike and from everything in the shape of vindictiveness. Whether gratified by a play at the theatre, by a page of Heine, or merely by some unconsciously droll paragraph in a newspaper, our sense of the ludicrous has always something of the character of æsthetic feeling in so far as it is the outcome of a contemplative mood. It is the position of critical quizzer that gives all the delightful sense of uplifting to a genuinely humorous laugh; and this contemplative feeling, if less exciting than that of personal triumph, is a purer pleasure since all hostility has in it the bitter smack of malignity.

This æsthetic purification of laughter from the grossness of personal passion is due in no small measure to Art, its discipline and the mental habits which they set up.

Other influences serve to sweeten, to humanize, the feeling. What we specifically mean by "humour" is a sentiment not merely toned down by thought to the low pitch of sensitiveness, and freed from the harsh jarring element of a personal "Schadenfreude," but mellowed and enriched by a commingling of other and kindly tones of feeling. To the eyes of the true humorist, of a Goldsmith, of a Sterne, of a George Eliot, the mean, the debased, never appears merely in its drollness. The same swift glance which spies the quaint feature of character or circumstance detects also its concomitants. From the ideal point of view, to which every genial nature untainted by cynicism perforce adheres, there is always something regrettable in defect, something pitiful in failure and misfortune whence the note of sadness that has stolen into our modern laughter. The secret of a humorous interpretation of the life-spectacle is that while fixing its eye directly on the contrariety of fact to ideal requirement, on the laughable element in all the less serious upsettings of humanity, it manages at the same time to keep in fairly distinct side-view the implicated pitifulness. Hence that large binocular view of things which we always find in the great literary humorists,

the creators of Falstaff, of the Vicar, of Captain Costigan, and the rest, which embraces at once the drollness and the pathos, and by combining these, reaches the perception of that stereoscopic wholeness which we try to name when we talk of the tragic-comedy of life.

The effect of this humanizing of primitive savage laughter by an infusion of kindly sentiment is illustrated in what, perhaps, is the most remarkable characteristic of our modern humour, viz., the universality of its scope, in which the ego itself finds its place. So long as laughter contains a distinct vibration of the old note of insult, so long must we resent being its objects. But when it grows mellow and kindly we withdraw our objection. There is nothing so terrible in having fun poked at our foibles, or our little discomfitures, so long as we know that there is the hypocrite love behind the laughing mask. One may go further and contend that a full development of the sense of the ludicrous will necessarily generate a good capacity of self-laughter. The man who never smiles at his own absurdities is but in the first form of the school of humour.

It has been suggested above that the chief function of humour in these days is individual rather than social. Its worth seems to be in the large quiet satisfaction which it brings to the subject himself. Yet, offspring as it is of primitive laughter, humour retains something of that social utility which seems so far as we can look back to have been its primal *raison d'être*. In current criticism of life and art, we see humour resorted to as a mild form of pressure by which the community seeks to keep its errant members in wholesome touch with itself.

A distinctive feature in this corrective function of modern humour is that it is carried out to so large an extent indirectly by self-criticism. Humour is invaluable in the work of moral self-education, just because of its acute vision, its quickness in detecting the first flecks of dust on the bright surface of character. More particularly, perhaps, the *rôle* of humour here seems to be to compel us for the moment to abandon our habitual pose, and to look our most valued aims, our proudest enthusiasms, fearlessly in the face. Herein lies that moral value of comedy which Lessing so finely describes in a well-known passage. We often wake up to an unsuspected weakness by seeing this externalized and exaggerated. The moral effect of a comedy of Molière or of Mr. Meredith lies in the swift instinctive recoil from a pitch of moral absurdity which we half-consciously realize to be a possibility for ourselves.

That a sense of humour will in this way stand a man in good stead is, I think, certain. How often are we disposed to pray that

G.W.R. MECHANICS INSTITUTION SWINDON

the earnest worker in politics, in art, in letters, might be endowed, if only for an instant, with the capacity of seeing himself as others, that is to say the humorous crowd, see him. No personage, however exalted, is quite safe when wholly out of touch with the common instincts of seemliness, of moderation, of proportion.

While, however, our sense of humour thus carries on the primal function of keeping the individual in normal touch with the community, it has another and complementary function. As suggested above, the sentiment is largely the outcome of the development of individuality, of the free play of a man's own mind, untrammelled by the conventionalities in the midst of which he lives. It is the right to survey our surroundings from our own deal point of view, which secures to us a full gratification of the feeling.

I have hinted that there is much in the social spectacle which lends itself to humorous contemplation, if only the ideal point of view is attained. And here I would say that I am not thinking merely of "Society" in the conventional sense of that term. That this has its own peculiar absurdities is known to every reader of our comic journals, and the comic journals by no means exhaust the list of these absurdities. Indeed the record of the doings of what now gives itself out to be the fashionable world is a never-failing entertainment for one who has the quick eye for the manifold comicalities of human affairs. Yet fashion has no monopoly in the matter of the incongruities. To the attentive eye guided by ideal standards of fitness does there not reveal itself now and again the disproportionate, the inconsequent, in the graver departments of public life, where reason and the fitness of things might be expected to have undisputed empire? How much of the droll, for example, may we not discern in the laboured oratory of the modern politician, its solemnities and its jocosities alike, as soon as one gets away from the troubled air of the heated partisan position, and anywhere near the commanding point of view of an ideal criticism! In literature, again, the man who cares to look for it will find no meagre entertainment, in the way in which reputations are nowadays manufactured, in the touching submissions of an opinionless public to the deliverances of the first self-appointed authority, is the frantic efforts of an age of many meagre mediocrities to puff itself out into imposing proportions! And may we not occasionally detect an amusing disparity between merit and position, between the obligations of office and actual performances, even in the high places of the Church and the University?

It is difficult, of course, to say how different ages may compare in respect to the drolleries of public life. We know that other periods and other patterns of society have had their ludicrous side

which was duly appreciated by the few contemporary observers happily endowed with the requisite organ; yet there is much to suggest that the humorous observer of society to-day is at a considerable advantage as compared with his predecessors. The very bigness of our social scheme coupled with its instability, its incessant shiftings, seems to generate a fine crop of extravagances and *bizarre* juxtapositions. What a wealth of drollest incident is supplied, for example, by the restless discontent of our times, by the contortions of the human figure as it tries to wriggle its way into a more central ring of the social circle! The very go-aheadness of our times, again, the haste to strike out new experiments in all directions, gives to contemporary life something of the amusing aspect of childish changefulness and caprice. Then, too, the overactivity of these days, the determination of people to secure the nod of public recognition somehow, leads to the whole entertaining gamut of perverse oddity and faddishness. The social changes of our times appear further to be particularly favourable to the production of what is perhaps the most amusing feature in the social spectacle, viz., make-believe. The very unwieldiness of the new court of public opinion, aided by its want of the requisite training, renders it singularly amenable to the convincing force of noisy self-advertisement, especially when supported by a little judicious puffing on the part of the aspirant's friends. Nothing is more agreeably satisfying to a humorous appetite than the scrutinizing of the reputations of the hour by a reference to the intrinsic worth of things. To all which one may add that the very craving for notoriety, aided by the general lack of humorous perception in those whose minds are weighted with the onerous business of achieving social success, guarantees to the spectator in these days a full unabridged report of all that is most enjoyable in the way of social vagary.

This humorous enjoyment of the absurdities of the social scene implies a certain measure of detachment. For, to begin with, if we are to live more and have our being in the social whirl, a certain respect for the gyrating figures about us will be forced from us, a generous indulgence in the joys of laughter being likely to bring our heads into unpleasant collision with the unyielding skulls round about us. And, further, a certain remoteness from the giddy dance is necessary for a full and clear perception of its laughable figures and of their laughable performances. One may say, indeed, the full measure of possible humorous enjoyment will come only to him who leads something of the life of a recluse, and so is able to realize all the delightful sense of relief from the pitiless strain, and the wearisome boredom of society.

It must, however, be clearly understood that in order to extract

a properly humorous enjoyment from the spectacle everything like personal chagrin should be excluded. It is not for the "social failure," who still smarts under his disappointment, to indulge in the contemplation of the human comedy. The purest enjoyment of the comic spectacle comes to one who has never keenly pursued society's favour.

But I am now concerned to show not merely that this partial retirement from the social scene may be highly agreeable, but that it has its real uses. It is surely one of the stupid errors of our day that a man belongs altogether to the community of which he is a member. This idea is, indeed, preposterous on its very face. We are in sooth very far from being the utterly social beings we like to think ourselves, and deeper than all the instincts of companionship and brotherhood lies the impulse of the tough energetic little ego to maintain and to develop itself in its own way. The extravagant demands of the community on the individual in these days lead now and again to an outbreak of the spirit of revolt; and such uprisings of the rebel in us are honourable.

Now, I am disposed to think that the surest preservative against a weak truckling to convention, a hypocritical hiding of our true self in order to curry favour with contemporaries, is a lively unslumbering sense of the drolleries of things. The same genial impulse of laughter which arms us against the excesses of self-assertion will most effectually aid us also in a proper maintenance of our individual integrity.

The contemplation of the absurdities of human life, enjoyable and useful as the occupation undoubtedly is, constitutes after all but a pastime. We are here, alas, as parents and teachers early taught us, not merely to play but to work. We must all make some acquaintance with the serious business of life, and with its painful struggles; and those of us who try to aim high must toil long and wearily before we realize our aims, and so need every fortifying influence. Now, it so happens that the same humorous perception which can make retirement a prolonged entertainment will stand us in good stead in battling with obdurate circumstance. Indeed, one may say that it is in the comfort, the refreshment, which humour brings into the midst of our work-a-day life that we find its highest value, its indispensableness to the modern man and woman.

Suffering is real, and there are blows of adversity which strike us dumb for a long moment. Yet a good deal of human trouble is small enough when we can only reach the proper point of view. The gift of humour supplies a rebound from the oppression and strain of life's cares, enables a man to rise above the smarting and the chafing of his wounds by showing him the amusing lights

that gild our very adversities. Thanks to a merciful Providence, most—perhaps all—troubles have their droll facets, so that we have only to turn them round a little in order to pass from tears to laughter. To the genuinely humorous soul there is something comical in the most irritating features of our life, in the very perverseness of its dispensations, in the provokingly ingenious way in which destiny is wont to contradict and baffle our wishes and anticipations. It was thus that Goldsmith's genial spirit faced its harsh destiny, giving back "in cheerful humour or whimsical warning what it received in mortification or grief." It was the same invaluable gift of seeing the whimsicalities of fate through its cruelties which carried the boy Charles Dickens through one of the hardest passages of youthful experience, a fact which is sufficiently attested perhaps by the frequency with which he combines in one of the most popular of his characters a genius at once for getting into scrapes and for extracting from them humorous consolation.*

Perhaps, however, the highest office of humour in the struggle of life is to aid us in casting off our troubles as unreal, or, at least, as exaggerated. When the sensitive nerve is first lacerated, the very poignancy and insistence of the pain disables us for estimating the precise proportions of our misfortune. Exaggeration at this moment is natural and inevitable. The healthy nervous organism shows its vitality by the rapidity of recuperative process. The vigorous and manly spirit masters and puts aside its woes, the weakly and supine dwells on and so prolongs them. Now, one of the most effectual means of throwing off a chafing burden is a resolute contemplation of the humorous aspects of the situation. By bringing into view the relations of things which strong feeling obscures, what was a moment ago something utterly black and dismal takes on a bright, diverting aspect. In this way, for example, when a man is for a moment wounded by an affront from one concerned to emphasizing the fact of his social consequences, what a plentitude of balm lies ready to hand in humorous reflection, say, on the unseemliness of giving oneself airs of superiority in a world where we are all on one low level of inferiority to the real and sublime masters.

Again, in all keen pursuit of coveted things we seem through the very necessity of concentrating our energies to fall into a temporary exaggeration of values. The position, the fame, which we have sturdily set ourselves to win, assumes for the time a supreme

* A magnificent example of the turning of the sense of humour to consolatory purposes is to be found in the way in which Hans von Bülow behaved when Richard Wagner, his master, robbed him of his wife. The story is well told in *The National Observer*, Feb. 17th, 1894.

and quite unique importance. Hence the stupifying shock of disappointed ambition. Here, too, a sense of humour may find its place as an aid to healthy self-adjustment. The onesidedness of view which springs out of the pertinacity of will is corrected by the calm reflection that brings in omitted factors, and so restores the wholesome sense of proportion. Such reflective correction of point of view is in the case of the genial laughter-prone man largely prompted and sustained by a sense of humour. It is the diverting aspect of his errors, the comical extravagances of his momentary anxieties and despondencies, which attract and fix the reflective eye. Hence it may be said that such a person laughs *away* the worst part of his troubles by noting and correcting his first absurdly exaggerated estimate of their dimensions.

The humorous reflection on life's worries leads up to the correction of that habitual over-estimation of self and its concerns which grows out of all strong vital impulses. To see our absorbing concerns in their merely relative importance, as the Scotch professor may have done, who, after trying his hand at golf, drew from his disgusted caddie the observation: "Anybody can teach Greek, but gowf needs a heid," this is a most salutary form of self-correction. To muse on the dwarfed figure we cut in the vast assemblage of things, and how well it can carry itself out, whether we are on the scene or not, this, too, brings the corrective smile to the lips.

Here, however, it is evident we reach the point at which humorous sensibility ceases to be of any direct practical use and benefit to us. To view ourselves as part of the total system, as insignificant details in a measureless universe, is plainly to abandon the practical life-furthering point of view for the philosophic. This direction of humorous reflection is perfected in connection with that large sympathetic view of humanity and its destiny which fills so prominent a place in the best thought of to-day.

That this new comprehension of human life as a whole has its sombre hue is certain. Our wider modern sympathies resent the story of so much seemingly needless suffering. Hence the note of pessimistic despair which is audible in varying intensity and distinctness through the whole movement of modern literature. Yet the life-instinct within us will not suffer this mood of despondency. We are forced to find some *modus vivendi* with adverse destiny. We cannot go back to the *naïf* childish optimism of an earlier age which saw in the suffering of creation, in human degradation, nothing but the shadows of the world-picture artistically thrown in to emphasize the lights. How, then, are we to effect a readjustment with the order of things?

Here there suggests itself a last philosophic use in kindly humour. It is certain that in the spectacle of the collective, as of the single life, there present themselves amusing ingredients. Harsh and irritating, as this opposition of fact and fate appears to human longing, it has its comical aspect too. How far-reaching and subtle an irony reveals itself in the scheme of Nature when we estimate it by our human standards! With a fair appearance of wise purpose she manages to combine just enough of bungling, of shortcoming, to give to her whole handiwork the look of a provoking determination to cross and to disappoint us. The spectacle of poor cheated humanity at once touches the tenderest heart-fibres and moves the risible muscles, and thus calls forth that new mingled sentiment of humorous pity which gives it its tragic-comic value. In this way the bitterness of mere pessimism is dissolved in the sweetness of a new and more genial feeling.

How far this half-pathetic, half-comic view of the world is from pessimistic denunciation may be seen in the fact that it is in a sense a return to an optimistic survey. For so quaintly are the rational and the irrational elements woven into the structure of the world, so rich and diversified are the incongruities of human life, that a keenly humorous man may construct a new subjective Theodicy, and say, "The world is at least the best possible for humorous contemplation." This seems to be half implied in the words of M. Scherer: "The temperament of the humorist is, on the whole, the happiest that a man can bring into this world, and the humorist's point of view the justest from which it can be judged."

A final philosophic use of humour may be found in the discovery and correction of exaggeration, the irrationality latent in all our feeble attempts to apply ideal conceptions to what is perversely and incurably unideal. A friend of Carlyle tells me that the gloomy sage, after breaking out into one of his long almost savage attacks on the scheme of things, would suddenly stop and collapse in a good peal of laughter. All strongly emotional estimates, be they the wild pæan of optimism, or the ferocious attack of pessimism, are felt in our calm moments to be out of place, to be a mere usurpation by sentiment of the throne of reason. To quarrel with our world, our one world, is, when calmly considered, an absurdity. Much of contemporary pessimism has all the comicality which belongs to sickly sentiment, to carefully nursed Weltschinery, and, as I have elsewhere remarked, the lack of a sense of humour is one of the notes of the genuine pessimist. At the best, condemnation of the scheme of things is a piece of human impertinence. A large and fine vision for the ludicrous will thus serve to warn us against despair, will help us towards that calmer and more philosophic view of things, in which approval and disapproval are alike ex-

cluded as an immodest intrusion of incompetent sentiment. Here we have the final correction of extravagance, the elimination of the ancient and obstinate impulse to make man the measure of things, the perfecting of the process of self-adjustment to environment in the untroubled confronting of the inexpugnable realities.

I have tried to show that the sense of humour has its various uses. It not merely gives a pleasant seasoning to the dish of life; it is its conservative salt. It carries on in our later sadder days the sweet refreshing offices of childish laughter. It is at once the outcome and the sustainer of a healthy vitality, of that attitude of quiet readiness which sentinels the wise man's life.

How much use this faculty of self-amusement may bring a man will depend on circumstances. There are light-hearted individuals, and races, too, born to good fortune, who get on very well without it. These have the boyish rollicking gaiety which is perhaps better than reflective humour. Again, there are those whose special ambitions seem to require them to habitually bear about with them a weighty sense of their own consequence, such as august officials who have to keep up the imposing look, people with a mission, and so forth. These, too, equally incapable with the careless boy of seeing the humorous side of life, are for their own ends much better off without the endowment. On the other hand, those who are at once sensitive in their feelings, and keen and penetrating in their perceptions, especially where called on to wrestle with adverse circumstances, ne'er-do-wells of the Goldsmith type, may be said to be in urgent need of it. Perhaps it is not too much to say that men and women who resolutely look below the surface of things, and whose hearts are many-chorded and resonant to all the notes in the music of life, must be humorous or they will faint through sheer excess of pain.

The supposition that humour has an exceptional utility for men of a sensitive and intellectual cast is supported by fact. It has been noted that the feeling is a common endowment of the reflective brooding mind, and that it frequently appears as a relieving feature in a sombre temperament. It is noticeable, too, that humour often appears as a reaction from a narrow and oppressive religious creed. Puritan humour, of which Mr. Spurgeon was an excellent example, seems to me to illustrate this breath-taking or back-straightening function under an oppressive load. A good deal of American humour is the lineal descendant of this Puritan variety.

The same thing seems to be true of races. M. Taine writes of the "gloomy humour" of Englishmen, born of their climate. It seems certain that the more distinctively modern varieties of humour, its reflective and philosophic shades, flourish best in the *triste* North among the Teutonic races of Europe, and their vast

colony in the Western World. One of my friends who knows the Irish in Ireland tells me that their brighter tones of humour, too, are organically connected with a specially high degree of sensitive, ness, and serve as a protective tegument to the moral nerve.

If humour has these special uses for those who think and so suffer more, it seems probable that it will be still further developed. Of late we have seen a considerable expansion of humorous literature. In Europe and in America new shades of the feeling have emerged through the growth of a new kind of thoughtfulness, through the turning of the humorous eye on such neglected and rich territories as childhood. It is worth noting, too, that at this moment special honour is paid to an English writer who, to one of the most different of styles, unites the gifts of a humorous insight which has at once the breadth of an Aristophanes and the pensive subtlety of a George Eliot. May one not surmise that this means, like the introduction of lawn-tennis and golf, the supply of new modes of recreation suited to our age and its special needs?

In the future, man having become still more humanized, at once more tenacious of his ideals, and more alive to the ludicrous consequences which they introduce, will perhaps become still less of a gay-hearted child than he now is. If so, he will have to brighten the chamber of life, as it loses its gladsome morn-given light, with the comforting glow of a kindly humour. The maintenance of the genial fire will be more specially the work of the humorist, and it may be expected that men will more and more recruit and fortify themselves for the battle of life by drinking at the stream of humorous literature.

James Sully.

CONCERNING PUGILISM.

In an appreciative review of a recent volume of the *Dictionary of National Biography* the *Times* made the following remarks:—"If notoriety is the measure of eminence and fame, perhaps no two names in the volume are more famous than those of Dr. Sacheverell and Tom Sayers, who have at least their pugnacity in common and who both had greatness thrust on them by circumstances independent of themselves. . . . Of Tom Sayers, the British champion in the last great prize-fight which excited general interest in this country, Major Broadfoot writes with an enthusiasm hardly intelligible to a generation indifferent to the glories of the ring. But national biography is not eclectic, and a contest so historic as that of Sayers and Heenan no doubt demands a record conceived in the spirit of the generation which witnessed it. It is perhaps no illegitimate association which carries us from the name of Sayers to that of Savage."

Now, leaving the doctor out of the question, and not pausing to dispute whether Sayers achieved greatness or had greatness thrust upon him, but remarking that the only qualities of the savage which he possessed were the noble ones, let us consider whether the younger generation is indifferent to the glories of the ring, and if so, why? Is boxing, whether for a prize or for exercise, immoral and deserving of condemnation, or is it valuable as training for body and mind, and therefore worthy of encouragement? Turn to the oldest accounts. During the siege of Troy, in the games at the funeral of Patroclus, there occurred a veritable prize-fight between Epeius, son of Panopeus, and Euryalus, son of Mecisteus, which was reported in considerable detail by Homer.

Lord Derby, in his translation describing the last round, says, that after some infighting

> . . . "then rushed
> Epeius on, and full upon the cheek,
> Half turned aside, let fall a staggering blow;
> Nor stood Euryalus; but, legs and feet
> Knocked from beneath him, prone to earth he fell;
> And as a fish that flounders on the sand,
> Thrown by rude Boreas on the weedy beach,

> Till covered o'er by the returning wave ;
> So floundered he beneath that stunning blow.
> But brave Epeius took him by the hand,
> And raised him up ;" *

thereby showing courtesy and generosity to a fallen foe, practices which we shall see to have been repeated in modern days.

In the olden time fists and wrists were armed with leather straps which strengthened arm and forearm, a practice by no means to be commended, as the blows were in consequence more dangerous than those from the naked fist. Nevertheless the *cæstus* was used at the Olympian games, those noble spectacles connected with religious observance, which exercised such influence on the national character and helped to produce the perfection of physique with which Greek statues have made us acquainted.

In later times the games of the Roman amphitheatre succeeded, but their effect was debasing rather than elevating, owing to the nature of the combats which were most popular. These gladiatorial fights are said to have been a survival of the sacrifice of prisoners at the funerals of great men, a practice recorded in the legends of many nations, of which the most recent example is the Indian Suttee. Yet, in spite of the brutality, think of the effect on art; where could models finer than the gladiators be got? Let those who have seen them recall to mind the statue of the wounded gladiator in the National Museum of Naples and that wonderful masterpiece the dying gladiator of the Capitoline, which inspired Byron's well-known lines, and acknowledge that the legacy which these games has left us is not all evil.

Passing from these ancient days let us consider the comparatively modern development of boxing in England, and we find that the chief departure from old custom was the abandonment of the *cæstus*, or fist armour, a change which at once lessened the danger of the blow. For, not only is the naked fist less capable of inflicting a dangerous wound, but itself suffers from the blow sometimes to such an extent as to punish the striker more than the stricken. In other respects the rules of the modern ring did not very widely differ from those which governed the Olympian contests.

There is not much known about English boxing before the time of George I., when a French traveller records the extraordinary fascination which anything in the shape of a fight possessed for the English people. Even if two small boys quarrel in the street, a ring is at once formed, order and fair-play being observed. Then we read of the valiant Figg, who used to frequent fairs and exhibit his knowledge in various combats—with the foil, back-sword,

* *The Iliad of Homer*, Vol. II., Book xxiii.

cudgel, and fist; winding up his announcement with the loyal *Vivat Rex.* The next celebrated boxer was Broughton, who is held to have been the father of the science, and is thus described, we believe, by Captain Godfrey, in his *Treatise upon the Useful Science of Defence*:—"Perfect master of time and measure, he stopped as regularly as the swordsman, carried his blows truly in the line, stepped not back distrusting of himself to stop a blow, and fumbling in the return with an arm unaided by his body, producing but a kind of fly-flap blows, such as pastry-cooks used to beat insects from their tarts. No! Broughton stepped boldly and firmly in, bid welcome to the coming blow, received it with his guardian arm, then with a general summons of his swelling muscles, and his firm body seconding his arm, and supplying it with all its weight, poured the pile-driving force upon his man." In his days the sport became a national one, and the prize-fighter a companion for persons of the highest rank; he was backed, and almost seconded, says a writer in the *Annual Register*, by a Prince of the Blood Royal in a prize-fight fought in a Metropolitan churchyard. With science, humanity became more prominent in boxing, and to Broughton is due the encouragement, if not the introduction, of sparring with gloves. Such was the commencement of the palmy days of the noble science, when Tom Cribb and Jackson flourished; of them mention is made by Byron, who was an admirer of the art and no mean performer. In his diary of November 24, 1813, he records:—"Just returned from dinner, with Jackson (the Emperor of Pugilism) and another of the select, at Cribb's, the champion's. . . . We had Tom up after dinner. . . . . He is now a publican, and, I fear, a sinner," &c. After these names those of Gully and Shaw the Lifeguardsman come to mind. The former was altogether a remarkable man, of whose career an interesting sketch is to be found in Vol. II. of *Baily's Magazine*, 1860. He became champion in 1808, and then left the ring for the racecourse, where his cool clear-headedness, united to a perfectly marvellous power of judging a race-horse, resulted in his making a large fortune. He left Newmarket, and bought a place near Pontefract, became M.P., and, after being a few years in the House, finally settled near Winchester. Shaw was killed at Waterloo by a bullet, after slaying or disabling ten cuirassiers, and Blaine, in the *Encyclopædia of Rural Sports*, records that he left behind him a name imperishable in the annals of history, and that to his early lessons in boxing he owed the stamina, and the "bold and fearless bearing which has gained for him a deathless fame," and not in any degree to "all the sophistry of the most consummate lecturers on the art of war." These were not the days of crammers and competitive examinations—with

their good and evil—they have passed away; "the champions are gone, their patrons are dust, their virtues have become mythical; and with them has gone the interest of the respectable portion of society," * or, at any rate, of those whose morality was offended by the concomitants of the sport. Naturally enough, after it was made illegal, respectability, more or less, departed, yet the good traditions of the ring were fairly maintained till 1860, when the public interest was aroused to an extraordinary pitch by the match between Tom Sayers and John C. Heenan, the American. The result was a drawn battle, a dissappointing result, but after a time excitement wore away, and the public seemed to concern itself very little with boxing. In 1866, however, there was a revival of popularity, due chiefly, it is said, to Mr. John G. Chambers, who founded the "A.A. Club," and, in conjunction with the Marquis of Queensberry, drew up the well-known rules for glove contests. Concerning these we shall have something to say presently, when examining the arguments for and against boxing; but we hope this short sketch may serve to recall the salient features of its history, and suffice to remind readers that the noble science is not without claims to a place in our memory.

Against boxing, specially in the form of prize-fighting, opponents urge that the practice is a brutal one, debasing alike to principals and all others concerned, just as were the fights of gladiators, either with men or beasts, in the Roman arena, and as the bull-fight now is in Spain. Further, they allege, with much justice, that the meetings are largely attended by the scum of the population, the criminal portion being in great force; that they are, in point of fact, outings for thieves. Finally, allowing that prize-fighting was a national sport, and that ingenuity may find something to urge in its favour, yet, like other sports, such as bull or bear baiting, it is no longer suited to the more enlightened spirit of the present age, and cannot, therefore, be revived. These, we think, are the main accusations, and it will not be denied that they are entitled to considerable weight.

The defence of boxing has been, for the most part, of two sorts; the one out-and-out, uncompromising, and carrying the war into the enemy's country; the other, apologetic and half-hearted, but, perhaps, more prudent and just. An amusing instance of the first kind is to be found in a letter from Mr. Barber Beaumont, a Middlesex magistrate, published in *The Morning Post*, of Sept. 18, 1829, and in part quoted by Blaine with great approval. Mr. Beaumont says, that whilst human nature is what it is there will be fighting. That evil cannot be eradicated, but it may be modified

* *Annual Register*, 1860.

and controlled, thereby effecting a triumph of civilization. Just as the more rigidly military discipline is maintained, so is war divested of many of its horrors; similarly, boxing, under strict rules strictly enforced, modifies and lessens the brutality of an unscientific brawl. What happens elsewhere, in the absence of the rules of the ring, is thus told:—"In a neighbouring country, one man who conceives himself aggrieved by another does not scruple to waylay him, and murder him with a bludgeon or pitchfork, or to set fire to his cabin and burn him or his family in their sleep." Where boxing is unknown, men fight *up and down*; that is, when one is down, the other continues to assault him; and, in America, gouging was practised—a brutal mode of conflict. But, boxing is the best corrective of such practices; it alike prevents a man from tamely accepting insult, and from allowing his revenge to exceed wholesome limits. Men, specially poor men, cannot always appeal to the law; they have neither the time nor the money, and their quarrel must be decided according to the laws of the ring. "I wish all laws had an equal portion of humanity and good sense in them."

The discipline of the ring has first regard to the relative powers of the combatants; they should be fairly equal, no weapons save nature's should be used, and no unfair advantage should be taken. When a man is knocked down his antagonist's assault ceases, and the combat is renewed on equal terms. This is more than just—it is generous beyond the practice of any other country—ancient or modern. Self-restraint even when under excitement is enforced, and all foul practices are abhorrent to fair boxing. To talk, therefore, of the brutality of boxing, is to talk ignorantly and without sense. It is invaluable for military and naval training; the feeling of superiority which it gives an Englishman is carried by him into the field of battle, and to it may reasonably be ascribed the irresistible courage with which the British soldier charges and the British sailor boards. If this is so—and who can deny it—the practice of fighting should be maintained, and that is best done by giving prizes, and by strict adherence to rules whereby the art is preserved from degenerating into brutality. "The very tender-hearted, therefore, who cannot bear to hear of a bruiser being bruised, but hunt him like a wild beast, and punish him almost to his death, in evidence of their consistency and humanity, would do well to display their tenderness some other way, and to leave black eyes and bruised noses to the care of their owners." The restraint which makes a meeting for a prize-fight disperse at the order of "some clerical or meddling magistrate" shows that the lessons of patience and obedience taught by the laws of the ring are practically learnt. And Mr. Beaumont thus winds up:—"It is

evident, therefore, that boxing and the laws of the ring impose a most valuable restraint upon the ebullitions of rage and the thirst for revenge amongst the lower orders, teaching them to preserve their temper and self-possession under suffering, to scorn unfair advantages, to defend themselves with firmness, and to exercise the virtues of forbearance and humanity towards a fallen foe, and that they are also an excellent preparative for making good sailors and soldiers."

An example of the other sort of extenuator is to be found in an article called "The Renaissance of Pugilism," published in the *Saturday Review* of January 10, 1885. The writer announces the revival of prize-fighting, but asks why and wherefore? He suggests as a reason a slacking off in the eagerness of the police in persecuting pugilists which corresponds to an abatement of enthusiasm against the practice on the part of an enlightened public. An instance in which men concerned in a fight were brought before Mr. Justice Hawkins and convicted, is referred to. It is said that the learned judge instead of cursing went near to blessing the offenders, and that the penalty inflicted was small. The result was considered "as a sort of official protest made against the sentimental humanitarianism which has been so rampant amongst us for several years past." Without fully endorsing this view, the writer admits that much nonsense has been talked about prize-fighting since it was ostracized in England. No one need dispute that there are great objections to the practice, but the drawbacks are not those urged by its loudest assailants. Then as to the sufferings of the principals they differ in kind but not in essence from those endured in other forms of sport, such as running, and chief among them is exhaustion.

Again, a reason why ruffians and blacklegs resort to the ring is because the sport has been made illegal, and hence the restraining influence due to the presence of respectable persons is wanting.

The writer thinks that the chief evil of a prize-fight results to the spectators, whom it demoralizes as does a bull-fight; but this cannot be urged against sparring with the gloves. He tells how when the crusade against fist-fighting was most rigorous, there was an alarming outbreak of stabbing and other murderous assaults, and remarks, that if Englishmen are not allowed to settle their quarrels by a glove-fight they will do so either with the naked fist or in other ways "infinitely more dangerous and disgraceful."

Such are the chief points, discovered after careful search, which have been urged in favour of pugilism; the objections have already been stated, and it is not necessary to say much by way of commentary. No one will dispute that evil is attached to the practice of prize-fighting, but that is true of all fighting and of

most sports; indeed, it is part of our nature and no one, not even the noblest and best, is free from it. The question then seems to be whether the balance of advantage to the general community lies with abolishing pugilism—as far as may be—or of so regulating it as to minimize the evils and to develop all the good it possesses. Now, any form of fighting may be made illegal, and the men who take part in it may be punished, but that will not stop strife; the form only will be altered, and we fully believe that the newer fashion will be more dangerous and more cowardly. The knife will be used in place of the fist, and Englishmen will settle their disputes after the manner of foreigners. Is that desirable from any point of view? We think not.

Look at the matter again on a larger scale. In spite of every precaution nations will fight, and to maintain their position must keep soldiers and sailors. Some persons, well-intentioned, but we fear sadly deficient in judgment, dream that arbitration may be successful in every dispute. Reams of rubbish have been written, and floods of talk have been poured forth on its behalf; but whilst within certain limits its benefit is unquestionable, there are vital matters which no self-respecting man or nation dare trust to the arbitrament of a stranger, and so far in this wicked world immunity from insult or assault is in direct proportion to the recognized power of inflicting prompt punishment on the offender.

This to a great extent accounts for the bloated armaments of the day, concerning which there is much grumbling, not without cause: yet no one of experience will deny that the better men are trained and the more strict their discipline the less are the horrors of war. Similarly, training for boxing, including obedience to the rules of the ring, modifies and minimizes what is brutal in fighting. It unquestionably teaches and enforces self-restraint, and plants successfully in soil not always the most promising the seeds of chivalry. There are plenty of instances in the history of the ring, but one example will suffice. Tom Paddock, a well-known and very game pugilist, who was at his best in the 'fifties, was anxious to fight Sayers for the championship. He fell ill, however, and had to go to hospital where his poverty prevented him from getting little luxuries. Sayers, hearing this, visited him, and though himself far from rich, gave him £5. On recovery, Paddock renewed his application to fight, but being unable to raise the full stake of £200, begged that £50 might be waived, which was at once done, and the fight came off on June 16th, 1858. In the last round Sayers delivered a severe blow with his left, and had drawn back his right hand to finish the fight, but noticing his adversary's condition he controlled the impulse to strike, offered his hand in friendship and led Paddock to his seconds who very properly threw up the sponge.

Besides this, there is no question of the value of boxing as an exercise; it promotes health and develops strength, courage, and confidence, qualities, which, if they cannot always avert danger, at any rate reduce its risks. Personal testimony can be borne to the feeling of security in a disorderly crowd or other critical situation conferred by a moderate knowledge of the art; it is exactly similar to the comparative indifference with which a man who can swim contemplates the possibility of being suddenly out of his depth, either from an accident to a boat or from being carried off his feet by a strong current when wading deep or following a fish. Now, this boxing or sparring is learnt with the gloves, and is not open to many of the objections to pugilism, but the question is whether scientific teachers of the first class can be got without encouraging the art by giving prizes for fighting—it would seem to be as reasonable to look for a general fit to command in battle who had never seen war. Everyone knows that the best sparrer is not necessarily the best fighter. Sayers was beyond doubt the finest pugilist of his time, perhaps of any other, but there were several men distinctly better with the gloves, Langham and Mace certainly, and glove contests doubtless differ from fist-fights.

Another matter connected with the modern development of boxing which requires mention, is that all glove contests are by no means more humane than those with the naked fist. Indeed, they may be quite the contrary; there are gloves and gloves, some large and soft for sparring, with which little real damage is done; others small and hard, which, while they impose on the ignorant, serve no humane purpose; they protect the fighter's hands and enable him to deliver his blows with full force, which few men dare do with the fist alone. The use of such gloves is a return to the barbarity of the *cæstus* rather than an advance in humanizing the sport. There was less of what is called "knocking out" in a round or two when men fought with nature's weapons.

Boxing, though better appreciated now, was not so popular in the North of England and Scotland as in the South, not assuredly because the people are either better mannered or less aggressive, but probably because the science was less understood. Sir Walter Scott's touching tale of the "Two Drovers" is a good illustration of this difference of feeling on the subject, and as long ago as 1790 a book was written by a Highland officer with the following curious title:—"Anti-Pugilism; or the science of defence exemplified in short and easy lessons, for the practice of the Broad-Sword and Single-Stick, whereby gentlemen may become proficients in the use of the weapons, without the help of a master, and be enabled to chastise the insolence and temerity, so frequently

met with, from those fashionable gentlemen, the Johnsonians, Big Bennians, and Mendozians of the present day; a work perhaps, better calculated to extirpate this reigning and brutal folly than a whole volume of sermons."

It was precisely this feeling which poor Robin Oig, Sir Walter's hero, expressed when his friend Harry Wakefield, with whom some words had passed, suggested that they should have a round or two, and be friends. "To pe peaten like a dog," said Robin; "is there any reason in that?" . . . . "But," continued Robin, "If I am to fight, I've no skill to fight like a jackanapes, with hands and nails."

"How would you fight then?" said his antagonist; "though I'm thinking it would be hard to bring you to the scratch anyhow." "I would fight with proad-swords, and sink point on the first plood drawn—like a gentlemans."

On the other hand, boxing is popular in our Colonies and in America. Indeed, since pugilism has been tabooed here, the best fighters have come from these countries, or more or less directly from Africa, some of whose inhabitants have special qualifications for excellence. They are strong and good tempered as a rule, whilst their heads are as hard as iron; whether they are equal to our best is difficult to say, but they are generally formidable. Of recent years none has been more redoubtable as a scientific fighter than Peter Jackson. Most Englishmen, who take any interest in these matters, know the name of, and probably have seen, J. L. Sullivan, the big fellow as he was called, not a specially scientific boxer, but one who forced the fighting. More recently, Corbett will be recollected; his ways were not particularly appreciated or approved in this country, and people were not sorry to hear of his defeat by Fitzsimmons, who is, we believe, British-born.

Of glove contests, as now practised in England and elsewhere, it is not proposed to say much for the simple reason that the present writer does not know enough about them. In well-regulated clubs it is claimed, no doubt with much justice, that humanity governs the arrangements, that no gloves under a certain weight are used, that the floor and stakes are padded, so that to be knocked down or fall against them is a luxury rather than otherwise, and that every care is taken to keep strictly within the law.

Summing up then, the support given to glove contests seems to dispose of the assertion that the younger generation is indifferent to the glories of the ring; their taste has been developed to suit the exigencies of the present day; the sport is fundamentally the same as of old, but the manner of conducting it has altered.

Concerning sparring as an exercise, and as valuable training for our soldiers and sailors specially, but also for the youth of the nation, we believe there can be but one opinion—that it is in every respect desirable. Comparing it with fist-fighting, we may borrow Mr. Jorrock's simile *à propos* of fox-hunting, "It is the image of war without its guilt, and only five-and-twenty per cent. of its danger."

W. Broadfoot.

OXFORD LIBERALISM.*

It is not often that the vague, if impassioned, eloquence of our Union orators puts off its cloak of flame and descends upon the general public below in the guise of a printed book. When it does so it is admirable for two reasons: it speaks volumes for the candour and confidence of its authors, and it further presents to us in Oxford a clear statement of the creed of those budding politicians about whom Mr. Morley and Lord Rosebery have said so many nice things. Proteus has at last taken human form—our enemies have written a book. While entering an emphatic protest against the claim they make that in the last six years a strong Liberal movement has absorbed almost all of those at Oxford who take any interest in political debate, we may perhaps venture to offer a few crude remarks as to the value and consistency of their main contentions. These—though clothed in an attractive style and adorned by a ready wit—are, as might be expected, not entirely new to the world, and this fact must serve to excuse the triteness of our own criticism. The aim of the little book is, in its own words, "the statement of a few definite principles applied to various departments of politics." These principles, it maintains, presided over the birth of the Liberal Party, and animated those men who led it in its worthier moments; they have since been lost sight of in a turmoil of Party politics and a mass of irrelevant detail, unexampled in the previous parliamentary history of this country; and it is to this that the authors attribute the "black election," as they are pleased to call it, of 1895, and the subsequent total discomfiture of their Party. This discomfiture is not, they say, due so much to the opposing forces of Conservatism as to the creeping paralysis which has gradually spread over the whole Liberal system, and leaves but the involuntary spasmodic twitches of extremities which know no central and controlling mind.

The writers would effect for their Party what Burke effected for the Whigs, and Canning and Disraeli for the Tories—they would

* *Essays in Liberalism.* By Six Oxford Men (Hilaire Belloc, Francis W. Hirst, J. Allsebrook Simon, J. S. Phillimore, J. Lawrence Hammond, and P. J. Macdonell). Cassell & Company. 1897.

restore its moral existence. They would teach the Liberals to recur to the ancient principles of their connection; they would raise the tone of their public discourse, and breathe a loftier spirit into their public acts. Six Oxford men have published the Red Book, it only remains for the Party to learn their drill.

Briefly stated, these principles are as follows :—

1. Democracy actualized up to the full limit of Bentham's formula, that is to say, the greatest happiness of the greatest number as far as it is by individual effort obtainable.

2. A degree of political idealism, in contrast presumably to the opportunism and lack of guiding principles which they maintain to be the essence of Conservatism.

3. A resolute opposition to any form of Collectivism.

These views have been endorsed, it may be observed, by the usual sympathetic postcard. They are developed chiefly in relation to four questions of the day: Land—Labour—Education—and Foreign Policy. The book concludes with an essay on the Historic Basis of Liberalism, and a peroration stating that the creed is well worth the fight, for its name is Liberty.

The exact meaning of this Confession of Faith is perhaps somewhat obscure, but the guiding principle seems, as a closer examination of its working out will show, to consist in complete trust in the people. Every citizen can be made fit to have a voice of equal weight in the direction of the polity, and this object is to be attained by securing to him free and fair competition with his fellows, equality of opportunity, material and moral, and the development of a rational independence of character. In other words, every man, be he a child of the Ghetto or even the scion of a selfish squirearchy, shall, as far as the State can secure it, be able to develop as an ideal citizen on the lines of Plato's Republic, and to take a golden, silver, or iron station, according to the true metal that is in him. Such ideals are lofty and admirable in theory; let us see how their advocates propose to apply them in practice.

As regards the Land Question. Mr. Belloc, the author of the first essay, "The Liberal Tradition," is a Frenchman. It is therefore natural that he sees in a system of peasant-proprietorship a panacea for all the evils of the present agricultural problem. He claims that such a system has been in the minds of all Liberals since Lord Brougham's fruitless attempt to deal with the subject; that they have failed to bring it to a practical issue is due, he declares, to three causes: Entail, Expense of Conveyancing, and the consciously selfish policy of the landed gentry.

With regard to the law of entail, we fail entirely to see the justice of Mr. Belloc's complaint. The law of entail as it stands to-day is as follows: In the rare case of an estate tail occurring

independently of a family settlement, any tenant in tail may, without consent of anyone, convert his fee tail into a fee simple.* If, as ordinarily happens, the estate tail occurs in a family settlement and is preceded by a life estate, the tenant in tail in expectancy is in this position: Without the consent of anyone he may so far destroy the entail as to exclude absolutely the claims of the heirs of his body. But he may not affect the rights of persons having estates in remainder or reversion. To describe his position in technical language, he may create a base fee. If he has obtained the consent of the holder of the life interest preceding his own estate, he may, by a disentailing deed, convert his fee tail into a fee simple.

The whole system of family settlements so far as the tying up of land is concerned received its death-blow from the Settled Land legislation (1882-94). The result of these Acts may be simply and untechnically stated as follows: Any tenant for life may at any time sell, lease, or exchange the land which is the subject of the settlement. His right is limited by certain restrictions, which in no way modify the principle. In case of sale the capital sum is to be held upon the trusts which govern the disposition of the settled land. In consequence of these Acts, it is impossible for any man to tie up his property strictly. It was the essence of the old system of entail to place the fee simple in abeyance. The Settled Land Act has in effect destroyed the system, by enabling every tenant for life, subject to certain conditions, to dispose of the fee simple. The present system is in no way inconsistent with such a beneficial development of the land as the interests of the whole community require.

The sale of lands, then, is as free as that of any form of personal property. It would surely have been well if the essayist had at least understood the English law on the subject before attempting to criticize it.

We now pass to the second grievance, that of the difficulty and expense attending the sale of landed property. Land, the writer maintains, should be as readily transferable as consols. It would be as reasonable to insist that consols should be as readily transferable as postage-stamps. The legal charges incident to the purchase of land, irrespective of enquiry into title, are not greater than the broker's commission on a like value of stock.

It is true, no doubt, that the expenses of enquiry into title are often serious, and that in the case of small parcels this expense is out of all proportion to the value of the property. A cheap form of registration of title is therefore very much needed.

Mr. Belloc cannot, however, seriously propose that at this

* *Act for Abolition of Fines and Recoveries*, 3 and 4 Will. IV.

moment of agricultural depression the very heavy expense of enquiry into title which must precede such a registration should be thrown on the landlords, and unless the State is prepared to incur the charge, the reform can only be gradually introduced by enforcing such registration whenever land is sold.

We agree that Mr. Belloc has put his finger on a defect in the present condition of the law, and we should have welcomed any practical remedy for it. This, however, he does not supply. But when he trumps up the time-honoured charge that the difficulties attending the transfer of land have been consciously maintained by the landed class as one of their unjust privileges, we can think very little either of his originality or of the thoroughness of his economic perceptions. For clearly the more costly the tranfer of land the less is its market value. Simplification of titles to land, then, is surely to the interest of no class so much as the landowners, for while they have no compulsion put on them to part with their land, it would become more valuable to them should they wish to do so.

Apart from this it is a matter of experience that an agriculturist inheriting a farm finds it more profitable to sell that farm, and with the capital thus placed at his disposal to return as a tenant farmer, than to persevere in the almost hopeless task of farming without capital. In the words of Mr. Gladstone, "the best and most wholesome system for this country is one where the soil is owned by one set of men and occupied and cultivated by another."*

Moreover, as long as England remains what she is, the small landowner will always be tempted to sell his land and go out into the world in search of a fortune.† Were the passion for land among the poorer classes here as strong as it is in France we might hope that some check on the imperative demands of self-interest might be found, but to revive this passion will prove, we suspect, too hard a task even for the robust idealism of the six Liberal writers.

But this is only part of Mr. Belloc's great indictment of the whole landed class, which he and his fellow-essayists have represented as a combination of the worst forms of an American financial ring and an exclusive hereditary nobility. To illustrate his distorted view of the position and constitution of this class in England, it will suffice to examine one of his statements. "To find a series of ambassadors, judges, or bishops who are not connected with the county families would amount to a stupendous miracle." With ambassadors, who must be able to meet a foreign aristocracy

* January 9, 1890, Hawarden.

† *Cf.* Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, Book II., Chapter V., end.

on terms of equality, this is necessarily true, but for this reason only; and even here there has been a marked tendency to accept "new men" of ability. But to assert that the bishops and judges of the present day owe their position to family influence, or are in the vast majority of cases even remotely connected with a landowning caste, is easily contradicted by an examination of instances. Mr. Belloc has evidently not yet grasped the essence of our English social system. His phrases seem, for all the world, to have strayed by error into his essay from an unpublished history of the *Ancien Régime*. The landed gentry are not, and never have been, an exclusive caste. The full significance of a system in which the younger sons become "something in the city" while the successful merchant has always founded a county family is rarely intelligible to the foreigner. It is a striking fact that within the last fifty years the greater number of English estates have been sold and bought at least once, whilst no less than 311 peerages were created between 1830 and 1892.

We see France once more in Mr. Belloc's advocacy of an extensive system of peasant-proprietors in England. We believe that were such a system made universal by legislation in England to-day, in less than thirty years most of the land would again be found in the hands of large proprietors. In France, the peasant has no ambitions beyond his vineyard; he has few children to provide for, the colonial and, to a large extent also, the commercial careers are anathema to him. The difference in temperament, history, and climate, which forbids the analogy between the lower classes is still more striking in the case of the upper. Paris is to these France, "*Vivre à la campagne c'est vivre au désert.*" The English gentleman, on the other hand, lives in the country and only visits London. Nor have we any exclusive hereditary caste. Our English fashionable society is proverbially the most democratic in the world, and a splendid scutcheon is of itself but little recommendation, and is certainly no necessity, for the social ambitions. Money, passable morals, and an early application to the Lord Chamberlain, are all that are necessary to ensure being presented to the Sovereign. This is a strong contrast to what is demanded at the Prussian Court, for instance, where there is a real hereditary nobility, and even a journalist is denied admission.

Yet Mr. Belloc insists that not only are our landowners a caste, but they are worse—they are a band of unscrupulous and selfish conspirators. The calculating villainy of those Berkshire magistrates inventing the Speenhamland Act "to drive"—in Mr McDonell's striking phrase—"the labourers into veritable serfdom," their maintenance of a system of territorial usurpation; these are to the writers the striking signs of a brutal and determined organization,

against which Mr. Belloc's arguments and appeals can affect nothing. "The only effectual weapon," he cries in despair, "to use against so time-honoured and subtle a conspiracy is that of counter-organization, in which Ireland has been so eminently successful." Boycotting, in short, and midnight murder are the methods by which a Liberal idealist would restore a moral sense.

We pass with pleasure to Mr. Hirst's essay, "Liberalism and Wealth," for the writer is an economist, and knows his subject. Two main principles underlie his argument, a decided opposition to Collectivism, and a thorough-going support of Free Trade.

To his arguments on behalf of Free Trade we take few exceptions. It is perhaps a rash assumption to consider all improvement in the condition of the working-classes since the repeal of the Corn Laws to be due solely to Free Trade. To say nothing of the growth of trades unions, how can a Liberal deny some influence at least to the beneficial interference of the State in the interests of the working-classes? Nor has the improvement in the condition of the artisan been confined entirely to Free Trade countries. Still, we cordially agree with his conclusions. He then proceeds to attack the Conservatives for coquetting with Protection. We will take his two main charges. The Animals Diseases Act he calls "a piece of protective legislation of the very crudest type." Is Mr. Hirst serious, or merely ignorant of the history of the Cattle Plague?

The Pauper Aliens Act is a more difficult question. The exclusion of any but pauper aliens would indeed be Protection, but it is clearly an injustice that the expense of maintaining large numbers of penniless foreigners should fall on the ratepayers at the port where they disembark. Nor is it easy to see how this country is likely to benefit by an addition to the numbers of the unemployed.

The official attitude of the Conservative Party on the main issue is surely sufficiently unmistakable. Lord Salisbury has recently stated his conviction that England, being an industrial country cannot possibly support any kind of protective measure.

Should the Liberal essayists realize their ideal of peasant-proprietorship, a change in this attitude would, no doubt, become necessary.

Mr. Hirst is opposed to any form of Collectivism whatsoever. He takes various Liberal measures and distinguishes their spirit, if not their form, from that of Collectivist measures, and he draws a very sharp line between natural monopolies, which are Liberal in character, and artificial monopolies, which are Collectivist. He mentions various monopolies, gas, water, coinage, and the like, which are natural and desirable, and other monopolies, such as cotton, which are artificial and undesirable.

But he gives no definition of natural monopolies except that they are "those industries which do not under normal conditions admit of competitive enterprise." This is a definition of a practical nature, but he gives us no principle by which to test the doubtful cases of tramways, railways, and other enterprises of the kind, except their probable efficiency. A monopoly which works well is a natural monopoly, and Liberal; a monopoly which does not work well is an artificial monopoly, and Collectivist. Are we then to conclude that Collectivism becomes liberal when it is successful?

Surely the difference is one not of kind, but of degree. We are at one with Mr. Hirst in his condemnation of that indiscriminate and universal Collectivism which is known as Socialism, but we do not, like him, push our love of uniformity to the extent of condemning Collective measures which are actually beneficial. Consequently we are relieved from the necessity of proving that no beneficial measure is Collective. Trades unions, regarded from one point of view, are as Collectivist as they are Individualist when regarded from another; so is the internal organization of a factory, which is the chief cause of the superior efficiency of the modern operative over his predecessor. The nationalization of education, the powers of compulsory purchase of allotments accorded to county councils, are again Collectivist measures, and receive Mr. Hirst's warm approbation. The "equalizing of opportunity," which is one of the writer's main principles, and the levelling of incomes aimed at by the Death Duties of Sir William Harcourt, are the objects of his special enthusiasm. In fact, he is prepared to adopt Bentham's principle of the equalization of wealth, but recoils from putting the necessary machinery in motion. To equalize wealth or opportunity as entirely as the essayists would wish, it would be necessary to go a great deal further towards Collectivism than they protest they are prepared to do. If Mr. Hirst were only aware of the true significance of his principles, he would be more lenient in his attitude towards the Collectivists.

Mr. Simon again, in "Liberals and Labour," insists on the distinction between the Liberal principles of compulsory freedom, and the Collectivist's ideal of a throttled competition. It is really a great relief to find that our Liberal friends hold such robust principles; but why should they go out of their way to discredit them by their extravagant denunciation of Collectivism, and by their want of careful discrimination? We agree with Mr. Simon's conclusions, as we do with Mr. Hirst's, though not with his justification of them.

The Liberals, he reiterates again and again, are not a Labour Party. Their actual policy in these matters has been ill-defined and wavering; they have had no clear idea of their principles, and

have conveyed none to the nation. Consequently they have rendered themselves obnoxious both to the capitalists and the working-man. The true Liberal policy is to secure fair play and freedom of choice to the individual, and only to use restrictive legislation so far as it serves this purpose. When capital was a tyranny the duty of the Liberal Party lay on the side of labour; should the balance swing the other way, it would be their province to throw their weight into the scale of capital. He further in accordance with the confession of faith on which the whole book is founded, holds it to be the duty of a Government so to regulate the conditions of employment as to produce the best type of individual character in the citizen. Disraeli himself could not have stated the position better; we might almost be reading excerpts from *Sybil*.

But it is when we come to actual questions of recent legislation that we recognize the Party man, and regretfully part company with Mr. Simon. He states that the Conservative Party, largely composed as it is of capitalists and employers of labour, is, by its very constitution, incapable of deciding impartially on any industrial question, and he appeals to their recent attitude towards industrial problems.

We should be far from denying that there are in our Party men of this kind, men who are selfishly interested in class legislation; but this is a vice natural to all Parties, and the Liberals have not in the past disdained the help of Labour. What we do maintain is that the Conservatives, as a Party, have consistently upheld the principles which Mr. Simon advocates.

It is a matter of history—though, by the way, Mr. McDonnell has thought fit to omit all mention of the fact—that the Conservative Party has in reality passed more than its share of those industrial measures of which Mr. Simon so rightly approves, and was during the middle of this century the champion of the labouring as opposed to the middle classes. That Lord Shaftesbury was first Lord Ashley slips no one's memory save that of Mr. McDonnell.

The great aim of the Liberal Party has always been to urge war against all privileges and limitations of real or imaginary importance, and it has at times been as blind as the Collectivist himself to the practical possibilities of any approach to equal opportunity, and it is to the Conservative Government that belongs the credit for almost all the social legislation of our time.

Mr. Simon's only positive answer to this claim on our part that we have shown at least an equal desire for steady and continuous industrial reform is based on certain remarks made by a political opponent, and on the Conservative attitude towards the contracting

out clause of the Employers' Liability Bill. This clause would, if passed, have sacrificed the wishes of particular bodies of men for the purpose of securing the uniformity of a system which failed to provide those particular bodies with such compensation as they were already entitled to. Their policy on the subject was shown by the determined opposition of their Liberal representatives to the clause, and by the fact that the L.N.W.R. vote, hitherto Liberal, became almost wholly Conservative at the General Election. Once more we agree with Mr. Simon's principles; we only claim that the Conservative Party have applied them more consistently and successfully than their rivals.

In Education the leading principle, according to the Essayists, is again to secure to every citizen equality of opportunities. Good, as far as the law can secure it, but we are afraid that the Liberals expect rather too much from law. Custom and environment are powerful factors, which they are inclined to overlook. Still, as far as this principle means that we should give all our citizens a training that will enable them to use all the powers they may possess to the full in any career they may be able to adopt, we are cordially in agreement with it. But it is obviously impossible, though theoretically desirable, that every man should receive an education which would fit him to become Prime Minister or Archbishop, and education beyond a certain point must always remain a question of an investment of capital. We can never equalize opportunity completely, we can only do something in that direction. We agree with Mr. Hammond ("A Liberal View of Education") in desiring to raise the minimum standard of free education as far as possible. The question at issue between us is as to the nature of that education and the way it is to be administered. What we all want to do is to form character; for this is more important than any acquisition of knowledge for the sake of knowledge. It is the training, not the facts learnt, by which we hope to produce that type of independent citizen which is our ideal, no less than his.

What, then, should be this training? Mr. Hammond, following that love of uniformity characteristic of his Party, and falling into that Collectivist trap in which we found Mr. Hirst asleep—advocates a State monopoly of schools, and a uniform secular education supplemented by visits from denominational teachers. We contend that such a system is weakest in its most vital part. Mr. Hammond talks of education as a preventive of crime. Which branch of education has the most direct effect on this? In France we have just such a system as Mr. Hammond describes. A Government monopoly—a uniform secular education—and just such a visitor-system of religious teaching as the essayist is prepared to concede to the prejudices of his opponents. So far from

diminishing crime, this education has had no effect upon it. And, if figures prove anything, crime has very largely increased in France since the establishment of free education—juvenile crimes especially are almost twice as numerous as those of adults, and have increased out of all proportion to them.* The decrease of crime quoted by Mr. Hammond (from 1870 onwards) was the result of a compulsory education, which forced most children to Church schools. The comparison of these results is instructive.

In allusion to the fact that it was the Conservative Party that passed the Free Education Bill, Mr. Hammond calls it the stepmother of education. Has Mr. Hammond forgotten that it was the *Church* that was its mother? Is he aware of the origin of the term National Schools? To rail against the Church as a monopolist in those days is absurd, when she was alone in the field. Nowadays she does not claim to be a monopolist, but she does claim the right of equal competition. Education is not like gas and water, a "natural monopoly!" The competition, at present, however, is not fair. When the Boards have control of the rates, and use their power by raising the standard of expense to starve out their rivals, it is not remarkable that they obtain better results in examination, or that, as Mr. Hammond remarks, people subscribe to Voluntary Schools to avoid being saddled with Board Schools.

We maintain that a system of absolutely equal competition between schools of every kind, supported by the State in proportion to their size and efficiency, is not only the best for the standard of secular education, but is the only one which will ensure successful moral teaching.

Apart from this fundamental ground of difference we find little in the remainder of the essay to quarrel with, except the inaccuracies which inevitably arise when the essayists touch on Party questions. Thus we wish to take no exception to Mr. Hammond's suggestions as to technical instruction and the age limit.

Mr. Phillimore, in "Liberalism in Outward Relations," attempts too much. He has a brilliant academic record behind him, and we are therefore somewhat disappointed with the obscurity of his essay.

"Outward Relations" is a large subject—and it is perhaps difficult in so small a compass to treat it exhaustively. Still, we think the writer might have attained a more definite and consistent statement of principle. At present he is a sheep in wolf's clothing.

He begins by pointing out "the love of compromise and rule of thumb—and the smug refusal to reason" that characterize the

* *Cf.* "Les Jeunes Criminels," par Alfred Fouillée, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, January 15th, 1897.

"nation of shopkeepers." "We do pretty well as we are," is their answer to those who, like the writer, attempt to show them the danger and unworthiness of their attitude. So the nation is led into an apathetic unconsciousness on foreign questions; which they are content to leave in the hands of those "wiseacres of an occult science," the Ministers and Secretaries of Foreign Affairs. A Tory policy, he maintains, has been animated by jealousy of popular interference in "this choice last preserve of administration practised as a sport"—and they have hit upon the ingenious expedient of Local Government and Parish Councils to divert the attention of the people from a field in which they have a right to exercise a direct and continual control.

"Every great question of foreign policy—rightly represented—can be made to appeal to the heart, and not merely treated as a subject for the intellect. It is a Liberal's duty to see that this face of great issues is turned to the electorate—to make dry alternatives of alliance or isolation wear an aspect of tangible humanity." "Then," he adds triumphantly, "representative government will have penetrated the last fortified corner of privileged administration."

With the characteristics which Mr. Phillimore has already attributed to the British people, it would seem evident that it is hardly fit for the great duties which he would have it perform. The remedy he proposes is to educate it, with the help of those whose duty . . . it is to be their instructors."

The writer refrains from working out the details, but we gather that the system after his heart is a form of University Extension in which the lecturers shall belong exclusively to the Liberal Party. Then the people will soon acquire a knowledge equal to that of our greatest Foreign Ministers. They will be further animated by that heart of theirs which is always right—and will choose their affinities among the nations of the world. When we examine this teaching itself it seems to consist in "playing through the heart on the head," nor would it disdain to appeal to that selfish interest also which is "the motive of every national policy."

"Playing through the heart on the head." Two recent cases will occur to our readers, the Armenian agitation, and the Poet Laureate at the music-halls on the Jameson Raid. Mr. Phillimore draws an emphatic distinction between these—which were "essentially unpolitical"—and the Cretan agitation. He does not state any canon for our guidance. Should we be unfair in suggesting that the Armenian agitation was only taken up by a section of the Liberal Party, and failed; that the Jameson "furore" was without the official sanction of any Liberal, whilst the Cretan crusade was preached from all the pulpits of the Party?

"Playing through the heart on the head." It is by this process we get that subtle logical deduction which, in the words of Lord Salisbury, made a righteous act of a filibustering expedition simply because the battles of Thermopylæ and Salamis were fought 2,000 years ago. The noisy public which, if it had had its will, would have plunged us into war with America and Germany and the Transvaal—and would not have hesitated to add Turkey, and, if necessary, the Concert of the Powers to the list of our enemies within twelve short months—this is the sentimental sovereignty of Mr. Phillimore's ideal!

Compare this somewhat terrifying picture with the present conduct of foreign affairs under either Party. The management is entrusted to those who, by tradition, training, and individual character, are best fitted to undertake it. They have means of information and special knowledge which can never be accessible to the public even through *The Daily Chronicle*, and can devote all their powers to making the best use of these. Just as parochial affairs are best entrusted to the special knowledge of the parishioner, so affairs of State are best left in the hands of statesmen.

When we examine the history of the foreign relations of this country we continually find in them a lamentable want of continuity and decision. This is a grave fault which has often discounted our influence on the Continent, and we cannot blame Europe if she distrusts us. The main cause of these deficiencies is to be found in that ancient claim to individual expression of opinion which the Englishman alone has always understood and enforced. No doubt an absolute monarch is the ideal master for a diplomat—a Metternich or a Talleyrand would have been impossible in England. But diplomatic success is dear at the price of liberty; and the existence of a vigorous and unfettered public opinion is of more value than a somewhat freer hand for the Foreign Minister. In this case the gain to the country is a substantial one, and we do rightly in sacrificing international prestige to national character. But the gain to freedom when, as Mr. Phillimore would have it, every passing popular sentiment is translated into action, is barely worth inevitable public disaster. Nor do we quite gather what he really means.

If he is merely urging that questions of foreign policy should be submitted to the subsequent approval of the country, he should be satisfied with the present system. A Government is chosen by the people and only holds office so long as it retains their confidence. Nay, more, Ministers in a free country have ample means for gauging the general trend of popular opinion, and this is one factor in every situation. Pitt's sudden change of policy over Oczakow, Gladstone's despatch of the relief expedition to

Khartoum, are instances of the indirect influence of public opinion. The fate of the Aberdeen Ministry at the time of the Crimean War was that of a Government which failed to satisfy those who had chosen it. For our own part, without shame we agree with the apathetic elector. "We do very well as we are."

If, on the other hand, Mr. Phillimore is expressing his opinion that the foreign affairs of this country ought to be decided, as at ancient Athens, by a plebiscite, this is a policy which has never been adopted by any civilized nation of modern times, not even by the Jacobins during the Reign of Terror. And it is certainly a serious departure from that academic Liberalism which the essayists are so anxious to reconstruct.

Another part of this essay is devoted to Nationalism. "We are," says the writer, "as determined as ever to allow nationalism, where genuine and substantive, to express itself, as our principle demands, in national government." He proceeds to apply this principle to Ireland and the Empire. *Prima facie*, this is desirable enough, but racial differences, even where unmistakable, are not the only factors to be taken into account. Mr. Phillimore does not say whether he wishes us to give up Egypt or India, but he advocates the claim of Ireland to be a nation. Surely the Irish would consider themselves more English than the baboo or the fellaheen—and it is somewhat further to Bombay than to Kingstown.

The essayist goes not far enough or too far. Either Egypt and Ireland are nations, and must be independent, or there are important reasons why neither should be, and the first principle of Nationalism has perforce to be disregarded.

We have not dealt as thoroughly with the Liberal Essays as we should desire or they deserve, but we hope we have made clear some points of agreement and difference. It is a bold thing for any Party to state principles, for their acts will always be open to the charge of inconsistency. None the less, we wish the attempt were made more often, for were principles kept more constantly in view, the tactics of Party faction would be condemned by common opinion.

We have found many points on which we agree with the essayists, but if we agree sometimes with their ideals, we invariably differ in their application. Every action is the compromise between principle and circumstance, and the difference between our position and that of the essayists seems to be that, in the application of their principles, they would be guided too much by theory, we perhaps too much by circumstances. These faults carried to their extremes present a dangerous *doctrinaire* on the one hand, and a contemptible opportunist on the other.

We have seen in these essays the besetting sins of the one attitude, a blind craving after Uniformity, which often disregards

individual interests and prejudices as ruthlessly as the Collectivist himself; and a neglect of the spirit of the principle, in an unreasoning devotion to its bodily form. The carping spirit of Party misrepresentation is unfortunately common to both Conservative and Liberal—the perverted vision of the faddist is balanced by the wilful blindness of his unscrupulous opponent.

The besetting sins of our side have also been made apparent in these essays. A certain indifference to claims of right, a cynical selfishness, and a stolid belief in the superiority of our "ruling class" and race. But just as the essayists disclaim connection with the more advanced of their political yoke-fellows, the Labour Party and the Collectivists, so the Conservative Party to-day refuses to be judged by those Old Tories whose prejudices it may understand but cannot share. And it is precisely this section of the Party against which the writers' attacks are levelled.

It is a pity that a search after right principles should have ended in a quagmire of unjust recriminations and the merest Party tactics. Nowhere in the book do we find any recognition of any excellence of thought or action in men of the other Party—indeed, the attitude taken up is that of bigots who believe *extra ecclesiam nulla salus*. They find a patriotic movement afoot in the country, "which originates deeper than party oppositions and differences." "The duty of the Liberal Party," they immediately declare, "is to capture it, adopt, guide, and direct this impetus on the lines of its own principles," in fact, to divert a national cause into party channels. The text is principle before Party, the sermon is an election address; and we have heard better. We did not expect a political philosophy which should revolutionize the state of parties, nor possibly did Mr. Morley, to whom the book is dedicated, but we did hope to be spared the doctrines of the Manchester School, and the "conspiracies" of the squire and the parson.

Considered as a search for principles we fail to find in the book any truth that is not apparent to the more moderate of both Parties, or any counsel that would assist either. As a controversial pamphlet it is sufficiently amusing, but we do not think it has proved its case against the Conservative Government of to-day, whilst its picture of the actual Liberal Party, as yet unreformed, is distressing enough.

And it is precisely the actual state of this Liberal Party, or, to be more accurate, of the Party which is not Unionist, which compels us to deny any practical value to a book of the kind, however excellent. The Six Oxford Men appeal, no doubt, to the Party leaders; but what are the voting forces that support them? They are the forces of political nonconformity, of temperance fanaticism, of trades-union socialism, of Irish nationalism, of many other

"ities" and "isms." If vegetarianism were a political force, we should know on which side of the House to look for it. Many care very little for Liberalism, and for philosophy nothing at all; each has only one end in view, and regards his association with any Party as nothing more than a means to that end. Of all the many sections which are denoted by the term Liberal, perhaps the Liberal Unionists are the most likely to feel some slight interest in its connotation.

Such is the unpromising material on which Six Oxford Men are endeavouring to impress a philosophic individualistic creed, itself a little out of date. They are prompted, they inform us in the preface, by "Liberal enthusiasm and the inspiration of a University companionship."

The enthusiasm is as admirable as evident, and we should be the first to recognize the value of University friendships. But while we may applaud the motives which gave birth to this Liberal "*Lux Mundi*": as regards its effect on actual politicians, on Radicals who really exist, we must regretfully register our belief that the book will be to them, not so much a trumpet-call to repentance, as an instructive picture of the mental state of six gentlemen-rankers.

R. A. Johnson.
O. W. Richards.

THE MONTH IN AMERICA.

Washington, July 15th, 1897.

Is silver a live or dead issue in the United States? Has it passed into the limbo of forgotten things, like the old greenback craze of nearly twenty years ago, or the right to deal in human chattels which precipitated the greatest conflict of modern times? There is an answer to these questions which is so emphatic no one will question it. We were told immediately after the election of President McKinley last November that the United States, once and for all, had turned its back on its false silver gods, and hereafter would cease to bow its knee in the shrine of the white idol. No less a personage than Mr. Mark Hanna (at that time President McKinley's business manager, and since then, by the grace of Governor Bushnell and the complaisance of Secretary of State Sherman, a Senator of the United States) was loud in proclaiming his belief that the "heresy" had been heard of for the last time. That, I repeat, was last November. Now, let us see what the condition of affairs is in July, a scant eight months after silver had been buried so deep that it was beyond the hope of resurrection.

A few weeks ago both the Republicans and Democrats held their conventions in the State of Ohio for the purpose of nominating candidates for Governor and the other elective State officers. A gubernatorial election in what is known as an "off year," that is, a year in which neither Congressmen nor President are elected, usually attracts very little attention outside of the confines of the State, as the result of the election must be purely local, and can have no effect on national politics. This year, however, the Ohio election assumes a phase of the utmost importance; and we shall see the tactics of the last national campaign, although on a smaller scale, duplicated in President McKinley's own State. The importance of the election is twofold. On its result depends whether Mr. Hanna continues to remain in the Senate, and also whether the President's State, at the first opportunity which has been presented to it after Mr. McKinley's election, endorses his action or repudiates him.

Mr. Hanna was appointed Senator to succeed John Sherman,

who resigned his seat in the Senate to become Secretary of State. Mr. Hanna's commission, under the powers vested in the Governor by the constitution of the State, enables him to hold office until the next meeting of the Legislature, when that body elects his successor. Members of the Legislature will be elected this fall at the same time that the Governor and other State officers are elected. If the Legislature is Republican Mr. Hanna will be returned to the Senate; if, on the other hand, the Democrats should carry the State Mr. Hanna will be retired into private life.

The Republican Convention was a perfunctory affair. Mr. Hanna had prepared his slate long in advance, the present Governor, Mr. Bushnell, who had appointed him Senator, was re-nominated, and the platform contained the usual resolutions commending the course of the President, renewing allegiance to the financial plank of the St. Louis platform, and congratulating the country on the return of prosperity, which is yet to make its appearance. The Democratic Convention, however, was of much greater interest, and attracted far more attention, because, from first to last, there was a contest for the nominations. There were thirty men competing for the gubernatorial nomination, and it was significant that every one of these candidates was a pronounced free-silver man; in fact, loyalty to the silver cause was regarded as the test of party fitness. One man who was thought to have a long lead for the nomination was defeated simply because there was some question as to his devotion to silver, it having been suggested that at one time he had expressed his doubts as to the wisdom of adopting the policy of 16 to 1. The silver men were in absolute and sweeping control, and it is recognized that the fight this fall in Ohio will be a fair and square contest between Hanna on one side, representing the single-gold standard and the Administration, and John R. McLean, who was anxious to be Bryan's running mate on the Presidential ticket of last year, but who was defeated because he was possessed of too much money to suit the adherents of the rigid canon of Democratic simplicity. Mr. McLean is a millionaire several times over, the proprietor of *The Cincinnati Enquirer*, one of the largest, most influential, and prosperous newspapers in the Middle West, and he is connected with numerous important business enterprises. He is a man of affairs, of ability, and one might almost say aristocratic tendencies, if we had aristocrats in this country. Certainly, by no stretch of the imagination can he be called either Anarchist, Socialist, or Communist, nor is he a member of the great army of ragtag and bobtail which we were told made up the followers of Bryan in the last campaign, and constituted the great bulk of the strength of silver in this country. For a great many years Mr. McLean has been a consistent

believer in silver, and he has always been an important factor in the politics of his State. If Ohio goes Democratic this fall Mr. McLean will without question receive the votes of the Democratic members of the Legislature, and will come to Washington to sit in the Senate as the successor of Mark Hanna. Hence you see the importance of this election. On its result depends a Senator, and the succeeding of a Republican Senator by a Democrat is always an important matter because of its great political bearing. If, also, Ohio should declare for silver it would be a tremendous blow to the President, and would give the greatest encouragement to Mr. Bryan and his followers throughout the United States.

A noticeable thing in connection with the Convention, and which impressed me as much as it did everyone else who studied the situation, was the tremendous enthusiasm, the earnestness, and zeal displayed by the delegates. Usually the enthusiasm is shown by the members of the majority party, the men who have the *prestige* of recent victory back of them to illuminate the future, and whose devotion in the work of the party in power may always be appreciatively remembered by substantial office, State or Federal. The delegates who went to the Democratic Convention had but recently passed through a campaign in which they had been beaten, and who could expect no immediate hope of reward. But they believed they saw victory in sight, and they were as jubilant and as confident as to the outcome as if they had back of them an overflowing treasury and all the tremendous power which is wielded by a Federal Administration anxious to keep in office one of its strongest henchmen. The power of the Federal Administration is so great that no one who is not thoroughly familiar with American politics can appreciate it. There are in the State of Ohio 3,295 postmasters, every one of whom is solely a creature of the Administration, and who is appointed because of his party services. These men, of course, are simply agents of the dominant political party, and who, in an exciting and stirring campaign, are expected to render the best service they can to the party to which they owe their appointments. In addition to the postmasters there are several hundred collectors and deputy collectors of internal revenue, district attorneys and their assistants, and other Federal officers, the whole constituting an army of no mean proportions, and which is able to render the most effective work. I am unable at this time to hazard any prediction as to the outcome. The Democrats express themselves as supremely confident, and say they will elect their Governor, as well as a majority of the members of the Leglislature, so as to be able to send a Democratic Senator to Washington. The Republicans, on the contrary, do not

admit this, although, privately, I am assured Mr. Hanna realizes that he has a very stubborn fight on his hands, and that it will require all his skill as a political tactician, and considerable money, to keep the State in the Republican ranks. While he does not consider the possibility of defeat, he realizes the desperate struggle which he will have to meet.

It is natural from the sociological conditions that the United States should be the propagating ground of curious communistic experiments. We have from time to time had co-operative colonies and other similar schemes, all of which started out with a great flourish of trumpets to regenerate the world, abolish poverty and suffering, and make everyone happy, virtuous, and wise. These enterprises lived their brief and uneventful lives, generally attracting little attention once they were born, and then fluttered out, serving simply as a monument to the well-meaning but unpractical efforts of theoretical *doctrinaires*. The latest scheme of the kind, and one which has attracted more interest than any of its predecessors, because of the personality of the man responsible for its existence and the magnitude of the organization, is Debs' Utopia, which he proposes to establish in the recently created State of Washington. Eugene V. Debs is the man who, during the great railroad strike in Chicago in 1895, ran foul of the Federal authorities and was sent to jail for contempt of court in violating a United States order of injunction. Readers of *The National Review* may perhaps recall the phrase, " government by injunction," which was so freely used during the last Presidential campaign, and on which the Republicans and Gold Democrats hung the charge of the Bryanites' sympathy with lawlessness. When the railroad men in Chicago struck, several of the roads affected were in the hands of receivers appointed by the Federal courts. A very astute railroad attorney conceived the idea of applying for writs of injunction against the strikers, and by summary process enjoining them from further interfering with the traffic of the roads ; the railroads in the hands of the courts were of course operated by the courts, and the receivers were, for the time being, judicial officers. These writs of injunction were granted against strike leaders, and, in consequence of the violation of the order, Debs and some of his associates were committed to gaol for contempt of court. This device of enjoining men from striking was a new idea, and aroused tremendous resentment and discussion throughout the country, the strikers and their sympathizers contending that if the law could be used to protect property in this fashion, all that the manufacturers or corporations need do when their working-men struck for higher wages or to remedy abuses, would be to simply place their property in the

hands of the court and be in a position to laugh at the strikers because of the protection afforded them by the power of the Government. Perhaps it should be explained that the authority of a Governor of a State is somewhat limited as, under the constitutions of most of the commonwealths, in case of riot or other outbreak, the Governor can do nothing until the local Sheriff has exhausted his police powers, and that not being sufficient he can then call on the Governor for militia. Strikers have not much fear of the volunteers because they know that the men in the ranks, drawn from peaceful vocations of life, are not inclined to shed blood unless absolutely compelled to, but they stand in wholesome awe of the regular army, and this is why the Federal courts have practically unlimited power behind them. In case it becomes necessary to execute the mandate of the court, the Marshal may swear into service as many Deputy Marshals as may be necessary, and should it be found that these civilian officials are unable to carry out the orders of the court, then immediate application can be made to the President for Federal troops. The business of a soldier is to obey, and when directed to shoot to kill he does so without any compunction as to whether he is firing into a mob of his friends or foes. Strikers know this from bitter experience. They will hoot and jeer and stone a regiment of State militia, but the presence of a company of regulars or a squadron of cavalry, or a two-gun battery, inspires in them a respect and fear which the troops of half the States of the Union could not create.

Debs went to prison and came out a martyr, of course. He is a man of more than usual intelligence of his class, an agitator and a reformer, but like all reformers he is several decades ahead of his time. He assembled in Chicago a few weeks ago a meeting of men of his stamp, and there proposed the founding of an Utopia in the State of Washington. Men and women from all parts of the country were to come together and establish a social democracy. Farms were to be worked, manufacturing plants of every kind built, and all the requirements of a great community put in force, to be conducted on the co-operative plan with no idea of individual wealth or aggrandizement, but simply of enabling everyone to enjoy life, happiness, and creature comforts. The funds for starting this colony are to be provided by would-be members paying in a small monthly sum, due until sufficient capital has been accumulated to warrant a beginning. The whole thing, of course, may fall by the board and may never get any farther than its initial meeting, but the way in which the project has been seriously discussed in and out of papers, among working-men and thinkers, shows the state of unrest which is prevailing, and how any scheme to ameliorate it is eagerly grasped.

In fact, this country is in a peculiar state of unrest at the present time. It is almost a seething volcanic mass of human passions, ready for an eruption at any moment. The reason for it is not hard to find. The great mass of the American people is over-educated in one direction, and not far enough educated in another. It is over-educated in that every man, to use the expression of a very clear thinker, is "his own political economist," and because of his smattering of education, the temperamental conditions in which he lives, and the freedom with which newspapers discuss scientific questions from a popular standpoint, he feels warranted in attempting to solve these problems for himself. This would be well enough if early discipline and habits of thought qualified him for the responsible task; but his education has not gone deep enough to enable him to logically, analytically, and philosophically reason on these subjects, while he knows just enough to realize that certain things are wrong and the times more or less out of joint, and he immediately has his own theory for remedying the evil. It is a corollary of Debs' social Utopia that the book which is just now having the greatest sale, and is being more talked about than any other which has appeared for years, is Bellamy's *Equality*, which carries to the extreme limits Socialism in its best and truest form, such as not even Debs would dare to dream of. The first edition of Bellamy's book was sold so rapidly that advance orders were not filled, and thousands of copies have since been sold, with the public demand yet unsatisfied. People are not reading this work because it is amusing, or simply to spend an idle hour. They read it because it expresses an unsatisfied longing. It attempts to show what might be if government were only ideally administered. Of course, everyone must know who stops to consider the question, that Bellamyism is absurd and impossible, and that were it put into effect it would produce a state of affairs far worse than what we now have; but the Debses and their followers, men not only who ride in the cab of a locomotive, but those who luxuriate in the ornately gilded Pullman car which that locomotive pulls, believe that here is the solution, and have their imagination fired in gazing on the vision of the future, when government, through its wisdom and charity, shall make hard times, and suffering, and strikes, an impossibility.

A material reason for much of this discontent and unrest lies in the fact that the American working-man and mechanic has lived high and well for a great many years past, and during the last few years has been forced into desperate straits. Many of them anxious and willing to work have been driven into the ranks of the tramps, and this great army of nomads moving up

and down the land, levying tribute on all with whom they come in contact, living from hand to mouth and proving a burden on the respectable tax-payer, has become such a serious question that various States are grappling with it in an endeavour to meet the problem and ascertaining what can be done to solve it; and that it is a problem appalling in its magnitude is shown by the figures. Naturally the reports are not exact and are largely based on estimates, so that allowances must be made for exaggeration, but it is still possible to form an approximate idea. According to one "Conservative estimate based on official figures," New York State alone has 110,000 tramps, but as the authority for these official figures is not given they must be accepted with some reservation. In the great manufacturing State of Pennsylvania the estimate is of 60,000 men tramping the roads of that commonwealth, while in the State of Indiana the army of wanderers is so omnipresent that the State bureau of statistics has commenced in a systematic manner to enumerate it. One of the railroad managers at Topeka, in Kansas, declared the other day that there was an army of 15,000 tramps working their way through that State toward the Pacific. According to that official they had settled down on the adjacent country like swarms of locusts, devouring everything they could lay their hands on. "They are becoming so thick," to use his own language, "that in places the citizens have petitioned the railroads to carry them off. They infest the freight trains to such an extent that on the Union Pacific and Missouri Pacific, guards, with double barrelled shot guns, patrol the tops of the cars to keep them off. Some of them say they are going to Colorado and Utah in search of work. Others are making tracks to join Debs' promised Utopia in Washington."

A recent despatch from Missouri to a Chicago paper says: "Reports from the interior of Missouri indicate that the country is infested with tramps to a degree unknown heretofore. Farmers complain that their meagre possessions are no longer safe unless unceasing watch is kept, and in some cases the wandering mendicants do not hesitate to resort to violence. In fact the tramps have put on a bold front this year, and demand, in many cases, what they were formerly wont to beg. Some murders and numerous minor outrages have been reported since the tramping season set in." At Detroit, the other day, the applicants for work on a street that was to be torn up for repaving outnumbered the demand by forty to one. In Milwaukee something like 10 per cent. of the adult male population is said to be idle and walking the streets in search of work. Commenting on this great problem, *The Springfield* (Massachusetts) *Republican*, one of the most Conservative newspapers in the country, and which has a habit of discussing public questions from

a philosophic standpoint, says: "These are not comforting reports. They show that the industrial improvement is not yet such as the country sorely needs, and that a great revival of activity is needed to reduce the ranks of the unemployed to the number of those who are persistently and wilfully idle. This industrial revival, we may hope, is coming. But there remains the evil of the professional tramp, which has been with us in a greater or less degree since the war."

The great army of tramps promises to be still further recruited rather than have its ranks diminished unless prompt measures are taken to bring to an end what threatens to be one of the most gigantic strikes of the age, at present in its inception. The soft coal miners in the States of Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia, which produce the bulk of the bituminous coal output of the country, have gone on a strike so as to force the colliery owners to pay them higher wages. At present some 150,000 men are idle, and if the strike spreads to the other soft coal mining States, as it threatens, fully double that number will be out of employment The merits of the dispute I am not in a position to judge. The claim made by the men is that the wages paid are not sufficient to enable them to live, and that while working they are actually experiencing the horrors of starvation. They assert that if they must starve they had better do so while idle than to expend their strength and suffer all the risks of their hazardous calling with their stomachs still empty and their backs practically bare. The mine operators assert that they cannot pay higher wages and do business at a profit. Some of them do not deny that the wages now paid are too low, but they say that it is either that or bankruptcy, and, although they may sympathize with their men, they cannot afford to ruin themselves. Another complaint made by the miners is that, small as is the rate fixed for bringing a ton of coal to the surface, they are cheated by the mine owners, who by illegal devices rob them, and who compel their employees to buy provisions and clothing at the "company stores" and charge exhorbitant prices, besides forcing the men to live in "company houses," for which they pay excessive rents, the penalty for refusing to submit being discharge. So far no overt act has marked the strike, but the future is regarded with apprehension and especially if the contest is to be of long duration. Already some of the mines, the property of railroads in the hands of receivers, have been placed under the protection of the Federal Courts, and once more "government by injunction" may be a factor in this latest labour difficulty.

Just as I closed my article last month the Treaty annexing the Hawaiian Islands to the United States was being prepared for the

signature of the plenipotentiaries. That Treaty is now an accomplished fact, and is before the Senate for its action. While the Senate proposes to do nothing in the matter until next December when Congress will meet in its regular Session, it is accepted as a foregone conclusion that the Treaty will be ratified and, in the course of a few months, the Sandwich Islands will be brought under the American flag. While there is criticism in some quarters against this colonizing policy of the United States, and it has been pointed out that these islands in the Pacific will prove an expensive thing to the country, the general sentiment is so preponderatingly in favour of annexation that the opponents of the Treaty in the Senate realize the impossibility of preventing its ratification. As it requires a two-thirds vote to ratify a treaty, the minority might be able to delay action by fillibustering and other devices sometimes resorted to when time is to be consumed, but as the islands could be admitted by Bill, which requires merely a majority and not a two-thirds vote—as Texas was brought into the Union by joint resolution—the futility of standing in the way of preventing action is so apparent that, after the Senators who oppose annexation have argued against it, the Treaty will be brought to a vote and its ratification agreed to.

The men who are championing the scheme to give the United States its first colony assert that it is not the beginning of a new policy on the part of the United States as, for nearly fifty years, it has been recognized that Hawaii has been practically under the protection of the American flag, and that formal annexation is only substantially completing what has always practically existed. This extremely ingenious sophistry deceives no one. No man of intelligence has been ingenious enough to argue that moral support and good offices and acquisition are synonymous terms, but for the sake of satisfying the public conscience, or being able to show that this country is not departing from its traditional policy of acquiring foreign territory, these assertions are made, and that the policy of the United States, being the protector of the Hawaiian Islands, is simply being carried out to its logical conclusion. The man in the street cares little or nothing for these fine-spun sophistries. In fact, he cares very little about the whole matter. He is satisfied enough to have Hawaii become part of the United States, because it seems to be the proper thing for countries to have outlying colonies, and he is not averse to having his country keep in the fashion. The Jingo who has been told that unless America annexes the islands Japan will, sees of course in this sufficient reason for action on the part of his Government. The only people who really display

much feeling about the matter are the active opponents of annexation, who realize it is the beginning of a new policy on the part of this country which will prove disastrous in the end. They, however, being in the minority, are not able to accomplish much except make a considerable noise, which will have little if any practical results.

As I close this article the Tariff Bill is receiving its final touches, and, in the course of the next few days, the President will have affixed his signature to the Bill and made it a law. I have referred to that measure so often, and it has been so thoroughly discussed before English readers, that little need be said about it now. The Bill, regarded from the standpoint of Protection, is better than that which bore McKinley's name and which proved so disastrous to his party, inasmuch as the average rate of duty which it carries is about eight per cent. higher. If the theory of Protection is true, and if men are to be made rich by having to pay tribute to the Custom House for everything they eat and wear, then the next few years should see unexampled prosperity in this country, and hard times should be but a memory of the past. It is a mistaken notion, freely prevalent in this country, that when the United States is prosperous and her manufacturers are supplying to their fullest capacity the domestic demand, the British trade is correspondingly depressed, the theory being that if the domestic manufacturer can satisfy the Home consumption, foreign manufacturers are cut out of this market. It seems almost unnecessary for me to call attention to the fallacy of this argument; prosperity in the United States means a corresponding increase in the importation and consumption of foreign goods, and the more money the American has to spend, the larger will be its proportionate share spent in Europe. England, from a selfish standpoint if from no other, can wish the United States nothing better than four years of booming prosperity—high prices for manufactured goods and cereals, high wages for its grand army of labour at steady employment. But what I fear is that the new McKinley Tariff will not prove the magician's wand to cause water to gush from the arid rock, and that while the next few months, or the next year even, may see a revival of trade and better conditions generally, they will not prove lasting because they are founded on artificial and not natural conditions.

It is, however, proper that I should call the attention of English readers to the fact that instead of Protection growing weaker in this country, it appears to-day to be stronger than it ever was, and the sentiment seems to be growing in quarters where it might least be expected. I called attention last month to the fact that it was

a Democratic Senator who moved a duty of 20 per cent. on cotton, and since then Democrats have voted with Republicans in favour of protective duties. It is noticeable that while the older Democrats of the Senate remain steadfast to the traditional policy of the Democratic Party that a tariff should be levied for revenue only, and that at the most Protection should be merely incidental, the younger men of the party—the men who have just come to the Senate by recent election fresh from the people, and who may be considered to be in closer touch with them than those men who have been so many years in the Senate, think they can defy the sentiment of their States—these younger men, I say, are those who have been found voting with the Republicans in favour of protective duties. There has been no pretence made by them that they levied duties to give incidental protection, or because excessive rates had to be imposed to raise revenue. On the contrary, they boldly announced themselves desirous of having their sections of the country share in the general bribe. In other words, it has been a game of grab, and your Democratic Senator from the South has been just as anxious to obtain his share of the swag for the benefit of his constituents as has been the Northern Republican Senator who boldly avows that he is a Protectionist for the sake of the manufacturer, and who, in making a tariff bill, considers his profit and ignores the consumer.

Not content with the ordinary tariff rates as the Republican Party has always known them, the new school goes even further and advocates bounties. A serious attempt was made to give the American farmer an export bounty on wheat, and an even more determined effort was made to encourage the raising of beet-sugar by giving the grower a bounty of a quarter of a cent a pound. A most ingenious argument was made by the advocates of the sugar bounty. In former days America supplied the world with its wheat crop, but since India, Argentina, Russia, and Egypt have become competitors in the wheat markets of the world, the American farmer finds his demand curtailed and his price reduced. During the past fiscal year the value of the wheat and wheat-flour exported from this country was $92,000,000. America is the greatest sugar-consuming country in the world, and the value of the imported sugar during the same fiscal year was $89,000,000; in other words, nearly the entire amount produced from the raising of wheat was expended in the purchase of sugar. As this sugar is practically an agricultural product, being made from beet-roots, American statesmen believe that it would be a benefit to this country if instead of spending nearly £18,000,000 abroad the beets should be raised here, and to stimulate production they propose to give the grower a bounty of a quarter of a cent a pound.

It is asserted that the climate and soil of three-quarters of the States of the Union are suitable for the raising of sugar-beets, and that the farmer only needs a little encouragement to induce him to engage in their culture. The proposition to embody the sugar-beet bounty in the Tariff Bill was dropped, but at the next Session of Congress in December it will be brought forward as an independent measure, with the probabilities of its passage. The agrarian vote in this country is so powerful that public men see the necessity of holding it, and the condition of the farmer at the present time is so deplorable, owing to the fact that world-wide competition has destroyed his markets and lowered his price, that anything which looks like a benefit to the farmer receives very great support. What with McKinley Protection on the one side and bounties on the other the outlook for Free Trade is less hopeful now than it has been for a great many years.

THE SEQUEL TO GIBBON'S LOVE-STORY.

It may easily be said that now when we have two fresh volumes of Gibbon's letters, and no less than six versions of his Memoirs written by himself, little or nothing remains to be known about him or his character, and that the different episodes in his life need never be discussed again.

But the collected letters of a man are always a little unsatisfying; the more interesting, and if one might say betraying they are, the more one longs for the answers written to them. The letters which we receive testify to our characters almost as plainly as those which we write, and it is a pity that this fact is not more clearly recognized in the compilation of biographies. The same kind of objection applies to even six versions of a man's history written by himself. It becomes a kind of "Ring and the Book," but a Gibbonian "Ring and the Book"—every voice is the voice of Gibbon, and as we turn the pages we always see the same short fat figure explaining and pronouncing, and hear no echoes from the market-place, or the law-courts. When the historian treats of his early love affair, it is specially entertaining to have his feelings described in many different ways and at different periods of his life. Gibbon's love-story, told by himself, has always interested and amused his fellows—it is a literary curiosity—a perennial joke—but even here we might welcome another point of view. In the original collection edited by Gibbon's friend, several letters from his correspondents were inserted—all worth reading in their way. But far the most interesting were a number of letters written by Mme. Necker to her former lover. They extend over a long stretch of time, and bear witness to an extraordinary loyal and faithful tenderness on her part. Some of the love for him, which Gibbon had disregarded, seems to have always remained in the bottom of her heart, and when she learned to realize that his genius lay in friendship and not in courtship, she adapted herself to his temperament and gave him to the last day of his life an unswerving affection.

These letters exhibit the historian in a very pleasing light, and I cannot help thinking that some of her protestations are interesting enough, as a testimony to him, to bear translation.

The first time they met after she married was in 1765, when she was still smarting a little under the humiliation of having been jilted. She writes to Mme. de Brentes on November 7th:

"I do not know if I told you, Madame, that I have seen Gibbon. The pleasure I experienced was beyond all description, not that I have any sentiment left in me for a man who I see merits none; but my feminine vanity has never had a fairer or more virtuous triumph. He stayed two weeks in Paris; I had him with me every day; he became gentle, amenable, humble, proper even to prudery."

Gibbon was twenty-seven when these words were written of him by the woman whom he had once for a short time loved. Everyone knows the outlines of the story; Suzanne Curchod's rapid conquest of the young Englishman at Lausanne, his return to England, and his easy resignation to his father's wishes. When he returned to Switzerland three years afterwards, Mdlle. Curchod naturally ascribed his abandonment of her to rumours he might have heard about her flirtations, rather than to a prudence and coldness of disposition which even her charms had failed to subdue. She wrote to him, giving a long explanation of her conduct, and denying that she had ever harboured the thought of anyone else in her heart. Gibbon comments on it thus in his unpublished diary, which, at that time, he wrote in French:

"I have received a most unexpected letter: it was from Mdlle. C——, a dangerous and artificial girl," and goes on to congratulate himself not only on his escape, but on the knowledge of the perfidy and fickleness of women which this experience had given him. He seems to have taken considerable pains to make his sentiments quite clear, "She must have seen a hundred times," he says, "that everything was over for ever."

But Suzanne Curchod had found it difficult to understand that a man whom she once undoubtedly loved could grow absolutely cold and indifferent to her, and she took leave of him in an indignant letter during the early part of the year 1764.

She married Mons. Necker soon after, and when they met once more in Paris, she was perhaps a little sanguine in her belief that she had at length conquered Gibbon. No doubt he came to her Salon, sat at her feet, let her listen to him, sometimes even listened to her, but I doubt if his heart-strings ever quivered with regret or even memory. A man can be very happy and easy with a woman he has once loved, especially if he has forgotten he ever did love her. The habit of intimacy and confidence remains, and no gusts of feeling or promptings of jealousy come to disturb the even tenor of their intercourse. I question if a woman ever forgets ther that she has loved a man, or that he has loved her;

sometimes she may wish to forget, but more often she would like to be reminded.

Gibbon would perhaps have been mildly pleased if he had known that Mme. Necker flattered herself, for now that she was happily married there could be no danger—she was no longer as he dubbed her in his diary "Fille dangereuse et artificielle"—and he liked to indulge in the illusion that he could be an ardent lover if he wished. He pretends to resent Mme. Necker's confidence in him, and writes to his friend, "The Curchod (Mme. Necker) I saw at Paris. She was very fond of me, and the husband very civil. Could they insult me more cruelly? Ask me every evening to supper, go to bed, and leave me alone with his wife—what an impertinent security! It is making an old lover of mighty little consequence. She is as handsome as ever, and much genteeler."

But in reality nothing would have been more distasteful to Gibbon than to re-assume the *rôle* of lover. He liked—it gave him a sense of pleasant self-approbation—to look back upon the time when he had loved and really loved Suzanne Curchod.

"I understand by this passion," he says in one of his autobiographies, "the union of desire, friendship, and tenderness which is inflamed by a single female, which prefers her to the rest of her sex, and which seeks her possession as the supreme or the sole happiness of our being. I need not blush at recollecting the object of my choice—and though my love was disappointed of success, I am rather proud that I was once capable of feeling such a pure and exalted friendship.

This is the tone of a man who has been safely inoculated against a disease. Gibbon feels he need not despise himself, and yet realizes that he has gained his experience of the Passion with the least possible inconvenience to himself. He has made an aërial journey in a captive balloon, or seen foreign countries in a magic-lantern, or taken a header into deep water with a life-belt round his waist. "The romantic hopes of youth and passion were checked on my return, by the prejudice or prudence of an English parent. I sighed as a lover, I obeyed as a son; my wound was insensibly healed by time, absence, and the habits of a new life; and my cure was accelerated by a faithful report of the tranquillity and cheerfulness of the lady herself."

It might be inferred from this passage that Gibbon, when he found Mdlle. Curchod had been happy, and had even flirted with others while he was away in England, was so wounded that the love which up to that moment had remained a pure and ardent flame was instantly extinguished. But in 1763, when Gibbon returned to Lausanne, the state of Suzanne's affections was so well known that her friend, the Pastor Moulton, tried to bring the

influence of J. J. Rousseau to bear upon Gibbon. Jean Jacques however refused to interfere.

"You give me a commission for Mdlle. Curchod which I should execute badly, precisely because of my esteem for her. The cooling off of Mr. Gibbon makes me think badly of him. I have looked at his book again*—he struggles after wit, he is affected. Mr. G—— is not my sort; I cannot believe that he would be Mdlle. C.'s either. The man who does not feel her value is not worthy of her, but the man who has been able to feel it and gives her up is to be despised. She does not know what she wants, this man serves her better than her own heart. I would a hundred times rather that he left her poor and free with all of you, than carry her off to be unhappy and rich in England. In truth I hope that Mr. G—— will not come. I should want to disguise my feelings, but I should not be able to; I should want to do well, and I feel I should spoil everything."

Gibbon strangely enough calls attention himself to this letter in a note to one of his Memoirs. "As an author," he says, "I shall not appeal from the judgment, or taste, or caprice of Jean Jacques; but that extraordinary man, whom I admire and pity, should have been less precipitate in condemning the moral character and conduct of a stranger."

The fact is that Gibbon could not help himself; nature had so framed him that he could only sigh as a lover and obey as a son, and, except for this one spring-tide of his passion, he was never swept past the barriers which his reason and his comfort interposed.

In very early days he proposes to his father to settle an annuity upon him, "a scheme," he says, "which would make me easy and happy for life." "Marriage," he continues, "and the consideration of posterity would be the only motives which could ever make me repent of such a step, and among these my circumstances, my constitution, and a way of thinking grounded upon reasoning and strengthened by experience and habit, will, I hope, effectually secure me."

Many men have said or thought this kind of thing, and have come to grief after all, but Gibbon was of far too prudent and regulated a nature to disturb such neatly-laid plans. When he was nearing the dangerous rapids of forty he was suspected by Mrs. Holroyd of designs, honourable of course, upon a young lady, Miss Fuller by name—and, indeed, he seems to have been very much taken with "Sappho." But the breath of romance is chilled at once when we read in a letter to his stepmother, who had heard of the flirtation:—

"The intelligence you received of fair eyes, bleeding hearts, and

* Gibbon's *Essai sur l'étude de la Littérature*, published in French.

an approaching daughter-in-law, is all very agreeable romance. A pair of very tolerable eyes, I must confess, made their appearance at Sheffield, and, what is more extraordinary, were accompanied by good sense and good humour, without one grain of affectation. Yet still I am *indifferent*, and she is *poor!* (the italics are of Gibbon's own making) remove those two little obstacles, and Miss H.'s.* intelligence might have some foundation."

About a year after this Gibbon seems to have actually made some kind of proposal to a lady through Mrs. Holroyd. She probably had an ample income, for he certainly makes no pretence of an ardent passion. After urging upon Mrs. Holroyd not to magnify his fortune, and not too ably to evade the question of his religious principles, and after assuring her also that neither with Miss F. nor any other woman has he "any connection that could alarm a wife," he says: "You see how serious I am in this business. If the general idea should not startle Miss—— the next consultation should be how and where the lover (!) may throw himself at her feet, contemplate her charms, and *study her character.*" He takes the failure of these negotiations in a resigned mood, and says it has not much "disconcerted his philosophy."

In 1787 again he alludes, in a letter to Lord Sheffield, to Madame de Montolieu as a charming woman. "I was in some danger," he declares, and Madame de Silva, Maria Holroyd says, "possessed Mr. Gibbon's tender heart for some weeks before we came away from Lausanne."

Madame Necker, too, at one moment must have been seriously alarmed, for she writes: "Beware, Monsieur, of forming one of these late ties; the marriage which brings happiness to mature life is the one which was contracted during youth."

There is no doubt that from time to time all through his life Gibbon toyed with the idea of marriage; but these attempts were only feints—the true colour of his heart is much more correctly shown when, after the death of his friend Deyvurdun, he writes to Lord Sheffield: "Sometimes, in a solitary mood, I have fancied myself married to one or other of those whose society and conversation are most pleasing to me; but when I have painted in my fancy all the probable consequences of such an union, I have started from my dream, rejoiced in my escape, and ejaculated a thanksgiving that I was still in possession of my natural freedom."

No wonder he felt lonely sometimes, for if Nature had formed a man incapable of the passion of love, she had on the other hand endowed him with a most unusual power of friendship. No one can read through the delightful collection of letters edited by Mr. Murray without recognizing that Gibbon placed the duties and

* Miss Holroyd, of Bath, who had gossiped with Mrs. Gibbon.

obligations and pleasures of friendship far above any other mortal considerations, above even his History. We are often reminded of his vanity, his absurd sensitiveness, his small-mindedness; I have even heard the conceit of these letters held up from the pulpit as a warning against literary ambition. But far the most striking trait exhibited in his correspondence, is his ideal and his practice of the art of friendship. If you were Gibbon's friend you might feel sure that everything which concerned you would be deeply interesting to him, and no trouble too great if in any way he could serve you. And he had many friends.

It would be easy to accumulate a pile of evidence—the minute and detailed interest in every concern of Lord Sheffield's; the faithful trust in Deyvurdun, which enabled him to write with perfect frankness after years of absence, and suggest that they should live together; the constant correspondence with his aunt; the visits to his stepmother at Bath where he had to endure terrible *tête-à-têtes* which lasted on an average eight hours.

"I am carried over the way in a chair," he writes from Bath, "about one o'clock, maintain a conversation till ten o'clock in the evening, and am then re-conveyed to my lodgings."

And there are still more striking instances (though, indeed, I think eight hours' *tête-à-tête* for a fortnight at a time is no inconsiderable test), such as his journey down to Bath when Mrs. Gibbon had the smallpox, and his immediate start for England when he heard of Lady Sheffield's death, in spite of the disturbed state of Europe, and the unwieldy size of his own body.

In his tentative love affairs he was apt to feel more uncertain of his own feelings than of the lady's. Maria Holroyd says of him: "It never occurs to him that she might have refused him, and if it was mentioned to him I dare say he would sooner believe a miracle than the possibility of a sensible woman showing such a want of taste." But in defence of Gibbon it must be admitted that it is difficult to feel a due terror of being refused if you are not by any means certain that you will propose. Gibbon must be forgiven for this, as Mme. Necker forgave him for a far greater injury. And after all it is in his relations with Suzanne Curchod—when his disabilities as a lover were most acutely proved—that his qualities as a friend shone most conspicuously. He was her lover for only a short time, but he was her friend for life.

In 1776 the Neckers visited England, when Gibbon appears to have been a most attentive cicerone. Both husband and wife pressed him to come and visit them in Paris. "I gave her *en partant*," he says, "the most solemn assurances of following her *paws* in less than two months, but the voice of Indolence begins

to whisper a thousand difficulties." The voice of Indolence managed to defer his journey until the spring of the following year, but he was then determined to go. Mrs. Gibbon set herself against the plan and started, he says, "two very ingenious objections; first, that I shall be confined, or put to death by the priests, and secondly, that I shall sully my *moral* character by making love to Necker's wife."

He found himself obliged to write her a serious letter on the subject:—

"The constancy and danger of a twenty years' passion is a subject upon which I hardly know how to be serious. I am ignorant what effect that period of time has produced upon me, but I do assure you that it has committed very great ravages upon the lady, and that at present she is very far from being an object either of desire or scandal. As a woman of talents and fortune she is at the head of the literature of Paris, the station of her husband procures her respect from the first people of the country, and the reception which I shall meet with in her house will give me advantages that have fallen to the share of few Englishmen. When I mention her *house*, I must remove the misapprehension which seems to have alarmed you. I shall *visit* but not *lodge* there. I have not the least reason to believe that they think of offering me an apartment, but if they do, I shall certainly refuse it, for the sake of my own comfort and freedom; so that the husband will be easy, the world will be mute, and my moral character will still preserve its immaculate purity."

After thus allaying the fears of his stepmother, he goes to Paris and appears to enjoy himself mightily. He is delighted with the reception given him by the Neckers, which very far surpassed his most sanguine expectations.

"I do not indeed lodge in their house," he writes to Mrs. Holroyd, "as it might excite the jealousy of the husband and procure me a letter *de cachet*, but I live very much with them." They introduced him to everyone worth knowing in Paris, and he took leave of them in October with the very greatest regret.

But as was usual with him, the "demon of procrastination," to whom he ascribes all his shortcomings, prevents him writing to his friends, and there is apparently no communication between them until 1781, when Mme. Necker, after reading his four last volumes, writes him a kind of challenge.

"I have sulked enough, Monsieur, I give myself up at last entirely to the pleasure of writing to you, and of reading you, without asking whether the author of this fine work, if the sublime genius who has run through the annals of the universe, and who seems to have extracted from all the countries of the world only

the purest perfumes in order to bring them to our senses, whether, I say, this astonishing man ignores, like all other lovers of glory, the charms and the duties of friendship, whether this lively and ardent imagination is joined to a cold and lazy character, whether his tastes vary with his opportunities, and whether he only absorbs colour from the rays which he decomposes; in fact, whether his affections are like his books, which interest and amuse him while he is reading them, and which make way for others, soon replaced in their turn; I want to know nothing about all this, and yet I still exclaim sometimes, what! even in friendship! But do not think that you will get quit of the affair by being left to your indifference. Although I am absorbed in the objects of my most tender attachments, the sensibility which I received from Nature permits of other ties. My spirit only exists in loving, and still searches beyond her circle for new means of existing; I wish therefore that you would keep the feeling for me which you promised you would have; I have counted it in the sum of my happiness, and—I know you—you will feel some affection for me when you see me again, and you will not be convinced of your faults until you no longer have any."

And later on in this same letter she urges him to come and settle in France.

"You ought not to return to a country where you will search in vain for the sweet illusions of your youth. I sometimes let my thoughts stray to those places once so dear, and, since they are no longer peopled for me, I only look upon them as on the playthings of my childhood. You are in the arms of glory, come to a people who adore her, or, if the times do not seem favourable to you, let us not lose sight of that peaceful retreat, where we ought to be together, there to await between study and friendship the gentle close of a beautiful enough day; live in your own country or live with us. Everyone here talks of you, Monsieur, with annoyance, or with praise; your silence is your fault, as soon as you speak it will be forgotten."

How little Mme. Necker thought then that political changes would not only determine Gibbon to settle abroad, but would send her and her husband to within a few leagues of him.

In 1783 Gibbon took up his final abode at Lausanne, and in 1784, three years after Mons. Necker's dismissal from office, he and his wife spent a summer at the Gates of Lausanne, while their new purchase, the Barony of Copet, was under repair. One can imagine how often Gibbon after his studious morning, and his meal at two, would waddle out on a round of visits, and towards sundown make for the Neckers' house. The evening would then be spent in talk, and at this stage in his career I feel convinced that Mme. Necker

listened to him, more than he listened to her. We hear* "that his conversation was not indeed what Dr. Johnson would have called *talk*. There was no interchange of ideas, for no one had a chance of replying, so fugitive, so variable was his mode of discoursing, which consisted of points, anecdotes, and epigrammatic thrusts."

Mme. Necker, as the twilight began to fade, would perhaps use an interval, when Mr. Gibbon tapped his snuff-box, to send for some tea, and then, in the cool of the evening, she and her husband would accompany the historian back to his terrace. Several friends would drop in—the Severays, Mr. Tissot, the sprightly Mdlle. Necker, who had been spending the afternoon with some other friends, perhaps the Abbé Raynal, and after strolling up and down on the terrace—which Mme. Necker, painfully addicted to classical allusion, probably likened to the Sacred Hill, or to the Acropolis—herself to a disciple, Gibbon to Socrates—they would turn indoors. The tables would be all ready, and after playing cards, a small and—as Mr. Gibbon would have called it—an elegant repast would be served, all carefully superintended by Monsieur Deyvurdun.

Gibbon liked to hope that he should spend many such weeks staying with his friends at Copet, but he was anxious about her health, and took leave of her with a strong feeling that he should never see her again. Mme. Necker however recovered. In 1788 her husband was recalled to office, dismissed in '89, recalled six days later, and finally dismissed again in 1790. It was in 1792 that Gibbon at last realized his project of going to stay with his friends. He writes to Lord Sheffield as follows:—

"I have most successfully, and most agreeably, executed my plan of spending the month of March at Geneva, in the Necker house, and every circumstance that I had arranged turned out beyond my expectation; the freedom of the morning, the society of the table and the drawing-room, from half an hour past two till six or seven; an evening assembly and card-party, in a round of the best company, and, except one day in the week, a private supper of free and friendly conversation."

At the risk of wearying, I cannot refrain from quoting a letter of Mme. Necker's, written when the memory of these meetings at Lausanne must have been present in her mind, and in which she urges him to come and visit her at Copet.

"We often think, Monsieur, of the days full of charm which we spent with you at Geneva. I experienced during that time a new feeling for me, and perhaps for many people. I united in the same place, and by a rare favour of providence, one of the tender and pure affections of my youth with that one which shapes my lot in

* Bland Burges Bart., *Letters and Correspondence*, p. 59—61.

life, and which makes it so worthy of envy. This peculiarity, joined to the delight of a conversation without its equal, created a sort of enchantment for me; and the connection of the past and the present made my days seem like a dream which had issued from the ivory door to console mankind."

In spite of the classical allusion, this passage speaks a very warm feeling, and a little later on in the same letter she exclaims, *à propos* of the confidence he had made her about writing his own Memoirs:—

"Good-bye, Monsieur; no one in the world has more reason than you to understand the value of that unique combination of the most brilliant and most gifted intellect, with the sweetest and most steadfast of characters, and one might well say of you what Cicero"——but I will spare my readers another classical allusion. This letter was written in June, 1792, and again in July of the same year she writes imploring him to come:—

"Come to Copet, provided that our happiness does not deprive you of yours; but if habit is against us it can also be favourable to us, for the intercourse between different souls and minds becomes very like habit, which is at least one of its most delightful results, and a liaison that began almost as soon as thought, is to be preferred before one which you have formed with your furniture and rooms."

And again:—

"Come back to us when you have come back to yourself; it is the moment which ought always to belong to *your first and to your last friend.* I could not say now which of these two titles is the sweetest and dearest to my heart."

But in little more than a year this long and tender friendship was dissolved by death. Gibbon had grown to a cumbersome size, and though he talked vaguely of paying another visit to England, it is certain that but for the death of Lady Sheffield he would never again have crossed the sea. For although he did not realize it, his own malady was growing apace. Europe was in flames, and there was a positive danger in attempting the journey to England. But these considerations did not weigh for one moment with Gibbon when it was a question of his friend in trouble. He was just about to write to Lord Sheffield, "after too long a silence," when he was suddenly struck, "indeed, struck to the heart, by the fatal intelligence" of Lady Sheffield's death—his sister, as he often used to call her. He at once proposed to start for England.

"The only consolation in these melancholy trials to which human life is exposed—the only one, at least, in which I have any confidence—is the presence of a real friend; and of that, as far as it depends upon myself, you shall not be destitute."

He arrived in England on one of the first days in June, and spent—except for a fortnight in Bath, a visit to Althorpe, and a few days in London—the whole of the rest of his life with "the precious remnant" of his old and dear friends. In December the news of his serious state had reached Lausanne where the Neckers were at that moment staying. She had written to him in July in great anxiety about his journey: "You promised me from Dover, Monsieur, a letter by the next courier; I am still waiting for it, and each day with more anguish. I consume myself with disquieting conjectures. One must be just; you could not think of us as often as we do when we draw you close to our hearts. In London everything leads you to thoughts of this world, while everything turns us from them here; when near you the memories which you recalled were sweet to me, and the current thoughts which you awakened were joined to them without pain; the linking of a great number of years seemed to make all periods touch each other with an electric rapidity; you were twenty years old and fifty at the same time to me; away from you the different places which I have lived in are no more than the milestones of my life; they tell me of all the miles which I have already covered."

Her anxiety was increased tenfold when she heard of his illness, and the last letter which she ever wrote to him contains, perhaps, the strongest expression of her deep and abiding affection:—

"I cannot express to you, Monsieur, the shock which this unexpected news about you was to me. In vain did M. de Sévery surround it with all the moralizing which might divert our sad thoughts; your courage, your gaiety, your amenity, all these qualities, so lovable in old days, weigh upon my heart, together with the other causes which I have to cherish you. The twilight of our life is indeed covered with clouds, if friendship itself, the sweet friendship in which we found a shelter, actually becomes a centre of a grief which reverberates in every part of my being. I shall say no more, Monsieur, my weakness ill matches your heroism, and it is only in talking to you of yourself that we can stop talking of you to each other. We are at Lausanne; we regret you at the dawn of day, and above all at sunset; for it was then that we were accustomed to see you enter our solitary hive, charged with the honey which you had collected elsewhere, but richer still with that which flowed from your lips. At the same time I congratulate myself on being here, in reach of news of you; I saw your last bulletin, and I hope you will go on with the same exactitude, for you know how much your friends suffer, and you have none of that tigerish nature, which has become so familiar to us."

Gibbon died on January 16th, 1794, in London, so that the two friends never met again. He probably could not answer this last

letter of hers; but she had the memory of a long and unchequered friendship, and the references to her in his Memoirs were probably not so much a surprise to her as a great pleasure and gratification. One can imagine her mingled sensations on reading the following passage:—

"The report of such a prodigy awakened my curiosity; I saw and loved. I found her learned without pedantry, lively in conversation, pure in sentiment, and elegant in manners; and the first sudden emotion was fortified by the habits and knowledge of a more familiar acquaintance."

And although her pride and her pleasure lay probably more in the memory of their friendship than in that of their brief love affair, she may have been relieved to hear that she was the only woman he had ever really thought of marrying.

"Shall I add that, since the failure of my first wishes, I have never entertained any serious thoughts of a matrimonial connection."

EDITH LYTTELTON.

NAVAL WARFARE OF THE FUTURE.

A SURVEY of the magnificent spectacle offered to the world in the review at Spithead on the 26th of June leaves us confronted by two dangers. We may be so dazzled and comforted by that display of our naval strength that we may think we can rest on our oars altogether after it; or we may be quite aware that we cannot rest on our oars, but may consider that the character of naval warfare is now fixed, and so are, therefore, the types of vessels required for it; and that, as those types are properly represented in character and proportion by our present fleet, we need only go on repeating present types in sufficient numbers to be safe. Judging by what I hear and read, I think we are nearer the latter danger than the former, chiefly because it is not recognized as a danger at all. But it appears to me the greater danger of the two.

Ever since the trials of the *Havock* and the *Hornet* torpedo-boat destroyers, the latter in February, 1894, I have been seriously alarmed by what appears to me the unstable position in which they placed the battle-ship. The grounds of my alarm can be expressed in some plain figures. The *Magnificent* was stated to cost £910,600, and the *Hornet* £34,300. That is to say, twenty-six *Hornets* could be put afloat for the cost of one *Magnificent*. The complement of the *Magnificent* was 757 men, and that of the *Hornet* forty-two. That is to say, it would take eighteen *Hornets* to expose the lives of as many men as were exposed in one *Magnificent*. The speed of the *Magnificent* was 17½ knots, that of the *Hornet* was twenty-eight knots. The *Hornet* was to carry five torpedo tubes. The *Magnificent* could bring perhaps twenty-three guns, small and great, to bear upon her at the same time, and as the excess of speed on the part of the *Hornet* was 9½ knots, it followed that if the *Magnificent* was to avoid being torpedoed by the *Hornet* any fine day in broad daylight in the open sea, she must be able to stop her by her gun-fire in less, perhaps, than seven minutes; because, if she turned her stern to the *Hornet* and ran with all her might, the *Hornet*, 2000 yards distant at noon, would be alongside her at six minutes and eighteen seconds after noon. But then, if the *Magnificent* did turn her stern, it was cer-

tain that she could not get anything like twenty-three guns to bear; and if the *Magnificent* did not turn her stern, then the *Hornet* would be still quicker in getting alongside.

Now, gun practice at sea at a rapidly moving object is always a matter disputed. My own investigations in earlier years, which were long accepted by the Navy as reliable, showed it to be much worse than was generally supposed. Opposite inferences had been drawn from the same gun-practice experiments with dummy torpedo boats. Torpedo-boat officers always declare that they are unfairly put out of action by the gunnery decisions of the umpires in manœuvres. No one can be quite sure that a single *Hornet* in broad daylight would be stopped in seven minutes by the twenty-three guns of the *Magnificent*. No one can say for certain that the courage of the commander of the *Hornet* would fail him, or that his torpedo would not be fired at close quarters, if he were not himself hit, or his destroyer or her torpedo were not disabled before the seven minutes were out.

But, then, no one would think of attacking a *Magnificent* with one *Hornet* when there would be financial gain and no more exposure of life in attacking her with eighteen. Would twenty-three guns stop eighteen *Hornets* in seven minutes? Would four guns stop three *Hornets* in seven minutes?

The permanence of the present type of battle-ship rests chiefly on the answers that may be truly given to these questions, but there is practically no data on which to found them, so that the permanence of the present type of battle-ship really rests on opinion which has not much to support it either way.

But of course my conclusions were reached not entirely by the facts stated, but by the tendency of naval progress. We might go on as we had been doing, increasing the displacement of the battle-ship in order to get all we wanted out of her, but then she would grow more costly, and require more men. Speed in torpedo vessels was clearly on the rise. It did not seem at all likely that according to the trend of progress, the proportions, and consequently the case for the instability of the position of the battle-ship, would be altered unless to make it more unstable.

So far as we can see, in the three years that have passed since my alarm first arose, this forecast has been justified in the case of the destroyer, but the newer type of battle-ship takes in some respects a reverse trend, and so in a slight degree meets the threat of the latter. Presumably, as the *Canopus* is 1950 tons smaller than the *Magnificent*, she will cost proportionately less, and she is stated to carry 700 men, or fifty-seven less than the *Magnificent*. Then she is to steam 18·75 knots, $1\frac{1}{4}$ knots faster than the *Magnificent*. These are all increases of her stability as against the

attack of *Hornets*. But then she appears to be able to bring only seventeen instead of twenty-three guns to bear on a single *Hornet*, which is a decrease of her power to repel attack. On the side of the destroyer, we have speed in the *Express* increased to thirty-three knots, but doubtless the cost is greater, and as the thirty-knot destroyers are to carry sixty-two men, proportion in that respect is altered. Yet as the excess of speed is increased from 9½ to 14½ knots, the former illustration would put it that if the *Canopus* is not to be torpedoed she must be prepared to stop an *Express* with seventeen guns in less than four minutes and eight seconds. From this point of view, therefore, the change that has taken place has still further shaken the stability of the position of the battle-ship.

Such is the broad, general position, as I see it, which lies at the base of my alarm. I suppose that if authority shared in it, an endeavour might be made to meet the individual case by arming the *Canopus* with a tremendous stern battery of such guns as the Maxim 37 m.m. firing 200 rounds a minute. But then I suppose this would be met by sacrificing some of the excess of speed in the *Express* in order to give her such armour as would resist the Maxim projectiles. It is easy to conceive that if a destroyer is attacking a battle-ship by way of stern chase, she only requires to be armoured to meet the end-on position, and therefore the quantity of armour required for protection would not be so great.

In any case, there is nothing new in armoured protection for torpedo vessels. We have it in the *Polyphemus*, and modified *Polyphemuses* formed part of the Northbrook programme in 1884. It was perhaps the turn of a hair which intervened and caused the abandonment of a course which would have stocked Spithead in June with armoured torpedo vessels. I had indeed no sooner announced my belief that an armoured torpedo vessel was close at hand than I was told that the design for one was already in existence and likely soon to be put in being. Mr. Yarrow, it must not be forgotten, has already applied armour protection to four twenty-six-knot destroyers for the Argentine Government.

The conclusions supported by these fundamental data are of course that if the gun-ship cannot be modified to meet and balance the threat of the torpedo-vessel, then the torpedo-vessel will become herself the battle-ship of the future, and the gun-ship will fall into the auxiliary or subordinate place. The position I derive from the study of naval history for the battle-ship, is, that she can only stand when she defies everything on the water except her ditto. I am as yet unable to conceive a set of conditions which would allow the battle-fleet place to a fleet which dare not hold a

sea position against all comers except a fleet composed of a greater number of similar ships. If the sea is to be commanded, I understand it must be done by ships which protect themselves and defy the attack of others. I am quite unable to adopt the idea that the sea may be commanded by ships which cannot hold their own without auxiliaries. The idea is quite novel to naval warfare, and when I try to work it out into practice, I fail utterly.

A paper of mine chiefly dealing with these main propositions, read last June, has drawn criticism as it was intended to do. I do not think there is one naval officer in agreement with me; but so far as I can judge, the arguments employed on the other side beg the question, and deny the facts. The value of the torpedo as a weapon is decried. The torpedo-boat destroyer is decried, as not being what she seems, and not doing what it is claimed she does, and not being capable of doing what she was specially designed to do. One historical argument which has helped to bring me to my present conclusions is used as if it told against them. It is the argument of the fire-ship. I have habitually employed the history of the fire-ship as proof that only one class of ship can be used in action. When it is quoted against me, it is really only valid as an argument against what we now propose to do as a matter of course, namely to attach torpedo-boat destroyers to our battle fleets. It can only declare that all advances from the first-class torpedo boat to the *Hornet*, and from the *Hornet* to the *Express*, are wrong, because from the analogy of the fire-ship, all such things as torpedo-vessels are bound in the end to disappear. I do not object to the logic of that argument, provided signs of decadence, or arguments presaging decadence in the torpedo-vessel, can be pointed out. I cannot admit the logic at all, so long as nothing is before me but a continuous chain of improvements in the weapon itself, and in the means of using it.

A vast number of considerations, far too numerous to be set out in a single article, confirm and strengthen my conclusion that we are drawing close to a revulsion of naval opinion more violent and far-reaching than any we have yet seen. But I can only here advert to a few which may be treated under the head of strategy, and under the head of tactics.

I must assume that watching the enemy in his ports, and being prepared to drive him back again if he puts to sea, will be in the future, as it was in the past, the very foundation of our naval strategy. History teaches us, and if it did not, reason would, that the watching, and the being prepared to fight, form two separate functions unless the fighting ships are those best suited for watching. In times past this was so. Any port which contained a battle-fleet of the enemy, was generally watched by two separate

forces. The "Inshore Squadron" composed of frigates and light ships, and the "Offshore Squadron" composed of line-of-battle ships. The inshore squadron were the watchers. They did not attempt to fight. They fled seawards when chased, but their duty was to keep the closest watch upon the movements of the enemy's ships in port, and to send intelligence thereof to the admiral in command of the fighting offshore squadron, who usually cruised at sea, at a rendezvous twenty to fifty miles off. The theory was, that if the enemy put to sea, there should be watchers enough in the inshore squadron, not only to follow him up, but to continually report his proceedings to the admiral. The practice was often the other way. Only once in history did the theory work out fully; and whenever the enemy's fleet got away and was lost to the admiral of the offshore fighting-fleet, it was because for one reason or another, there were not enough ships in the inshore squadron to do the double duty of following up the enemy's fleet, and of reporting its movements to the admiral.

This division of labour was necessary in the case of the larger enemy's ports, because line-of-battle-ships were unfitted, as a general rule, to undertake the duties of close watch. Something swifter and handier, and of lighter draught of water than the line-of-battle-ship was required for that duty, in order to escape to sea when chased, and to run least risk from the dangers of navigation, especially at night.

But on the other hand, off some ports, and in many cases, the offshore fighting fleet relieved the inshore watching squadron of its anxieties by anchoring in sight of the enemy's port and performing the double duty of watching and being ready to fight. This was St. Vincent's use at Cadiz and at Brest. It was Duncan's off the Texel. At other times the fighting fleet was rested at an anchorage not indeed in sight of the enemy's port, but handy to it, and more easily available for the receipt of intelligence than when at a sea rendezvous. Such for instance was Nelson's use at Madalena when watching Toulon.

But then, when the enemy's port was small, and there were nothing but frigates and light ships within it, the watching squadron was also the fighting squadron, because it was suitable for both duties. But in all cases the strategical condition was that the fighting battle-fleet was not afraid of any force except the enemy's battle-fleet, which it was on the spot on purpose to defy. It was not afraid to anchor in sight of this fleet because it could not be attacked by it without full warning. These strategical conditions are wholly changed by the advent of the torpedo-vessel. Not only so, but it has become at least doubtful whether the most efficient inshore squadron of watching vessels is not now also the most perfect

embodiment of fighting force as against the enemy's battle-fleet. In short, it has become very possible that our battle-fleets have been superseded in their chief strategical function by the use of the torpedo-vessel; and that our enemy may also discover that, from the same cause, there is no object in sending his battle-fleets to sea.

It is certain that all enemy's ports in any war of the immediate future do, and will, whether they contain battle-fleets or not, swarm with torpedo-boats. It is equally certain that no British admiral in command of a battle-fleet would dare, or would be allowed, if he did dare, to anchor, or even to remain, at night in the vicinity of these swarms, unless his fleet were physically protected, by nets or booms, or what not, from torpedo-boat attack; or unless by some means or other, the enemy's torpedo-boats could be prevented from coming out of port. Not only so, but so great is our apprehension of the dangers to which the modern battle-fleet is exposed by the modern torpedo-vessel that we do not think our battle-fleets will be safe in our own ports, unless these are physically barred, at least at night, to the advent of the enemy's torpedo-vessels. We prepare all our war ports in this way, and at Dover, Portland and Gibraltar we are spending vast sums in constructing harbours that can be so barred. These things are entirely novel to the naval strategy of the superior Power. In my opinion they are absolutely incongruous, even antagonistic to it. My mind revolts against conceiving the possibility of such strategical conditions being maintained. It seems to me certain that if, in consequence of the rise of the torpedo-vessel, our existing battle-fleets cannot take up open anchorages and defy attack, then we must devise such kind of battle-fleets as can and will do so.

But so far as we may be able to reconcile the strategy of watching the enemy in his ports, as we knew it in the past, with the condition that the battle-fleet cannot remain in the vicinity of the enemy's port, and that if it anchors at all, it must anchor in a closed harbour, we may treat it thus.

Taking Brest as an instance, we might suppose the light inshore squadron acting at Brest as in the past, closing up to the Goulet in the early morning, drawing off when threatened in the daytime, and at night remaining as close up as the dangers of navigation will allow. For the present we may assume it quite as incapable of preventing the exit of the battle-fleet from Brest as its older prototype. We may suppose its functions wholly confined to watching and reporting to the admiral of our battle-fleet. When bearing in mind the conditions, we can suppose the latter to be lying in the closed harbour of Plymouth Sound, with steam at short notice, and ready to proceed to sea immediately on receiving

intelligence that the enemy is out of port. This seems quite a plain arrangement, entirely suitable to the conditions; and its propriety is confirmed on reference to former experience, when we observe that a modern battle-fleet in Plymouth Sound is in a much better position for the receipt of intelligence by ships of a modern inshore squadron from Brest, than was ever the former battle-fleet at a sea-rendezvous, for the receipt of intelligence by the frigates, cutters, and luggers of the former age.

The puzzle does not lie on our side. It is on the side of the battle-fleet in Brest. If the British battle-fleet dare not take up and maintain a position off an enemy's port because of the torpedo-boats in it, how could the Brest fleet take up a position off one of our ports in which there are torpedo-boats? The most successful operation of French battle-fleets against us in the past, was the carriage, and landing and support of invading troops. If the fear of torpedo-boats prevents our maintaining anchorages in the enemy's waters of battle-fleets for blockading purposes, will it not prevent the anchorage of enemy's battle-ships, or above all, of transports, in our waters for invading purposes? Another principal function which drew enemy's battle-fleets to sea in times past, was the formation of junctions in order to raise the blockade of ports, or peradventure to fall with superior force upon our ships at their sea rendezvous. But under the conditions, this function disappears. What is the use of taking a battle-fleet to sea from Toulon, in order to raise the blockade at Brest, when the blockading force is inside Plymouth Breakwater?

Another main object of former battle-fleets in putting to sea was to secure the return of their own convoys, or to attack ours. What sign is there now of convoy on a scale such as would demand this action, either by us, or by possible enemies? I suppose it will be generally admitted that that function of the battle-fleet has disappeared.

There remains, so far as I can judge, only the idea of putting to sea as a battle-fleet in order to support cruisers in pursuit of our commerce. But the value of such an operation, unknown I believe to naval war, droops and shrinks away when we think of commerce carried on in single ships and therefore pursued by single cruisers scattered over immense spaces, and the battle-fleet necessarily concentrated at one point.

I exclude the thought of the enemy's battle-fleets coming out of port for the mere pleasure of being fought with. I hardly look for the repetition of that kind of despair which produced the perfectly aimless battle of Camperdown, if it was not the real cause of the battle of Trafalgar.

When, therefore, I transfer myself mentally from the command of

the fighting battle-fleet behind Plymouth Breakwater, to the command of the battle-fleet within the Goulet, at Brest, I leave a position where my function was strategically clear for one as to the function of which I am entirely puzzled. Others may not be; but the investigation of possible causes for taking my Brest battle-fleet to sea makes them elude me, and disappear.

Up to this stage we have been supposing that the inshore squadron, appointed to watch the movements of the battle-fleet at Brest, and to report them to the admiral in Plymouth Sound, has no power of itself to stop them. But this seems to be the exact contrary of the fact. Let us go back some pages to note that the combined speed of the *Canopus* and the *Express* is $51\frac{3}{4}$ knots. Will such as argue in favour of the *Canopus* stopping the *Express* with her guns, when the difference of the speed measures the time available and makes it four minutes and eight seconds, continue to back the *Canopus*, when the sum of the speeds is in question, and the time allowed is only sixty-nine seconds? Of course the argument must change its ground here; and it must be said that the safety of the *Canopus* will not be in her power of stopping the *Express*, but in the necessarily bad shooting of the *Express*' torpedoes under such conditions. But the real point is this. If it comes to be in the end argued that no reasonable number of torpedo-vessels will dare to approach a battle-ship at the rate of 2,000 yards in four or five minutes, it may be asked whether the battle-ship on her part will dare to approach a group of torpedo-vessels which necessarily have the power of shortening the time?

This raises my next point. It is denied in some quarters that the torpedo-boat destroyers will be sent to do the duties of the inshore squadron. I have not space to reply beyond stating that so far as I understand, they were designed for that duty and no other, as being specially capable of confining torpedo-boats to their ports; and, that it was stated by *The Times*' correspondent in last year's naval manœuvres that they succeeded admirably in that office. I therefore assume that if we had war, not only would the ninety-two torpedo-boat destroyers be despatched to do the duty of the inshore squadrons, but the twenty-three somewhat disparaged "torpedo-catchers" of the *Rattlesnake*, *Sharpshooter* and *Halcyon* classes would accompany them, all being in fact the very best vessels we have for performing that office. They themselves are not much open to torpedo attack because of their light draught of water, and this itself gives them immunity from the dangers of navigation. They have the light and more or less numerous gun-armaments, which are the terror of torpedo-boats; and they have, some of them in great numbers, the torpedoes which are the terror of battle-ships and cruisers. Then, if these

vessels are set to do the watching and reporting duties, their handiness and swiftness peculiarly fits them thereto. Therefore we combine the watching and the fighting squadrons in one body, so that if they are efficient, the fighting battle-fleet behind Plymouth Breakwater is thrown out of work, and the question is immediately raised whether increased torpedo force on the spot off Brest is not a more certain agent than the distant battle-fleet in its close harbour? Is the threat of such a fleet in fact greater to the Brest battle-fleet than the immediate presence of a swarm of torpedo-vessels? Such a swarm has driven our battle-fleet over to Plymouth. Is it illogical to say that a like swarm will keep a battle-fleet in Brest?

I pass now to the tactical question, but to come to it at all I must assume the strategical position and conditions described to be all wrong from beginning to end. I must suppose good reasons for the enemy's battle-fleets to put to sea; and I must take it that either we shall not send torpedo-vessels to watch him in port, or that if we do, they will be powerless to keep him there. I have to assume that the admiral in Plymouth Sound receives intelligence that the enemy's battle-fleet is at sea, and will proceed to sea with his own battle-fleet in order to meet it, and drive it back into port again.

Very good. But now we have to note that as far back as the early eighties it was officially held that a modern battle-fleet was not safe by itself at sea, because of the danger of torpedo-boat attack. The *Rattlesnake* and her sisters were especially designed to accompany and protect the battle-ships. They were given high speed, light draught of water to render the threat of the torpedo futile, and a numerous armament of light guns as especially valuable for the defeat of torpedo-boats. The only anomaly in such a design was the large proportion of torpedo-tubes, because the vessels the *Rattlesnake* was ostensibly to engage were not themselves open to torpedo attack.

Obviously if such a danger existed to the battle-ships then, it is much increased now. Indeed, so far as I can understand, the Navy has fallen into a general conviction that every battle-ship in a fleet must now be accompanied by one or two torpedo-boat destroyers. These being attached originally for the purpose of protecting our battle-ships from the enemy's torpedo-vessels, have allowed us by easy stages to fall into the conception of using them to attack the enemy's battle-ships with. And thus we suppose a phase of future naval war, which is exhibited by the presence of two hostile battle-fleets, every ship of which on both sides is accompanied by one or two torpodo-vessels, at present of the destroyer type.

I do not believe such a plan of naval war is possible; or at best, if wrong opinion on both sides made it possible once, it would never come about a second time. The appeal to the history of the fire-ship, is, as I have said, entirely favourable to my views. When I am told that the battle-ship must have a torpedo-vessel to protect her, my answer at once is, why bring the battle-ship there at all? If our battle-ships cannot face torpedo attack alone, neither can the enemy's battle-ships face our torpedo attack alone. Why should we bring our battle-ships to run the risk of being destroyed by the enemy's torpedo-vessels, when we already have the power of defeating the enemy's battle-ships by our torpedo-vessels alone?

Finding at opposite extremes of the naval catena, the battle-ship and the destroyer, the latter representing a new and intruding force, we seem to try to uphold both in the same fleet just as we tried for so many years, and with so much waste, to uphold the old force, sail, against the new force, steam, in the same ship. The things are and were there because they grew up separately and without any relations to one another. Relations are invented for them because they are there, of which we do not perceive the entire incongruity.

Thus the two most talented of our younger thinkers on the subject of tactics, Commander Sturdee, and Captain H. J. May, C.B., cannot bring themselves to recognise any incongruity in the endeavour to make a combined and simultaneous attack by battle-ships and torpedo-vessels on the enemy's fleet of battle-ships and torpedo-vessels combined. In their desire to get a meaning for the two things which they find co-existent, they quite omit to ask as a preliminary, whether the two things can be congruously co-existent? Omitting to ask, they are found proposing plans of attack which really seem to set aside all reason.

It must be premised that our battle-ships carry generally four or five, and sometimes as many as seven, torpedo-tubes; while the destroyers, originally intended to have five tubes, never have more than three, and commonly only two. Thus the torpedo-threat of a battle-ship against another battle-ship, is much greater than the torpedo-threat of a destroyer against the same ship.

Now, from the early sixties, when the battle of the guns began, however the Navy has regarded it, progress in naval gunnery has been more constant in developing long range fighting than in any other aim whatever. The continued cry for increased speed has its principal support in the idea that the ship combining the longest ranged guns and the highest speed, has the other at her mercy because "she can choose her position." The general result is that our battle-ships are all specially prepared to fight a long range

action so far as their guns are concerned; and if they come to short range action, the important weapon is the torpedo.

Thereupon it follows that if we have two hostile mixed fleets of battle-ships and torpedo-vessels, they must either work for long range with their guns, or short range with their torpedoes. If they choose the former, the torpedo-vessels are no use; if they choose the latter they are a work of supererogation, a danger, and an element of confusion. In the melée which they establish, there can be no guarantee that they will not be firing torpedoes into their own ships, and that their own ships will not be firing their guns into them in mistake. The two authors in question leave us no alternative but to ask, why have you got your torpedo-vessels there if you fight out of torpedo range; and why do you take your torpedo-vessels with you if you fight within torpedo range?

If, on the other hand, we regard the torpedo-vessels as protectors of the battle-ships we are equally on the horns of a dilemma. If the battle is at long range there is nothing to protect; and if it is at short range it is impossible for the torpedo-vessels to protect anything. If we follow the subject up, we see that the idea of protection of battle-ships involves a preliminary battle between the torpedo fleets. But what is the use of this? Surely one Power of two will see that it is useless, and if the other insists on putting to sea with a mixed fleet, the first will send an overwhelming fleet of torpedo-vessels only, to settle first with the enemy's torpedo-vessels, and then with the enemy's battle-fleet.

Space fails me, and I must stay my hand here in showing the endless tangle of our existing position, and the impossibility that it should be stable. The whole question is surrounded by matter of immense interest, and nothing could be more momentous than the issues involved. Had I abstained from raising them, I regard it as certain that someone else must soon have done so. Evidently the safety of the Empire depends upon the early raising of these issues if they are true ones. My reflection over these has been as careful as usual, and I have no doubt I am doing as good service as I have formally done in raising others; but of course it will be some little time before things which seem so absolutely plain and certain to my eyes are seen in the same light by others. It has been all along a misfortune to me that it should be so.

P. H. Colomb.

A COLONIAL CHRONICLE.

A Union of Hearts.

No announcement has yet been made as to the informal conferences that have been held between the Colonial Secretary and the Colonial Premiers. Their chief value has undoubtedly been the personal contact and the interchange of ideas between the representatives and statesmen of the different nations of the Empire. Henceforward they will be no mere abstractions to one another and their acquintanceship should add to what is, we believe, the growing difficulty and improbability of friction and misunderstanding between Great and Greater Britain. Even, however, if some brilliant, daring, and ingenious scheme for consolidating the Empire were propounded and passed, as the result of these conferences—which, by the way, no one anticipates—we should still deny that it was the most important fruit of the great foregathering of the subjects of the Queen which has constituted 1897 the *annus mirabilis* of Her Majesty's reign. The writer recently enquired of a friend who has been in the thick of the Jubilee celebrations what he regarded as their most striking and lasting feature from a Colonial point of view, and he unhesitatingly answered, "Not the remarkable honour done to the Premiers, which might have been discounted as official and political, though in reality it was most genuine, and gave them great pleasure and will gratify their communities. It also was admirably arranged and passed off without a hitch. The Colonies expected, however, that their Premiers would be well received in the Mother Country, otherwise they would not have been invited. Their visit was a brilliant success, but it was not *the* feature of the Jubilee from our point of view. What has really astounded and delighted us has been the perfectly spontaneous ovation on the part of the British people of all classes to our troops, privates and officers. They were quite unprepared for the treatment they have received, and if you heard the men in our contingent talk you would see that their welcome has knocked them all of a heap. Wherever they have appeared in their karkee uniforms, whether in groups or singly, whether in theatres, streets, or omnibuses, they have been greeted with the most demonstrative friendliness by-

every human being. That is the story they will have to tell when they get back and it will make a greater impression throughout the Empire than any honours that have been paid to the Premiers. It will bring home to our people, as nothing else could, the real union of hearts between the peoples." We believe this to be the literal truth. The visit of the troops has touched the British heart and excited British emotions in a really startling manner, and has brought home to "the man in the street," who is rarely a profound student of current events, in a most vivid manner, the reality of his fellow-citizens over sea. He had heard much of them in perorations and leading articles, but they might be political pawns such as statesmen and editors love to play with. Now he has seen them in the flesh in his own streets and has even shaken hands with them, for the ordinary Londoner has been very demonstrative these days. He also has been "knocked all of a heap" and it will be long before he recovers from his emotions.

A *Vade Mecum* of Imperialism.

The Premiers of Greater Britain were called upon in their few spare moments for dissertations upon all the leading Imperial topics that now engross the British mind. They have jointly contributed a collection of views, suggestions, proposals, and objections, that lie scattered throughout the daily papers of the last two months. Perhaps some enterprising enthusiast may be induced to accumulate and publish them in a more accessible form. They would make a very notable and valuable *vade mecum* of Imperialism. The speeches of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Mr. G. H. Reid have, in particular, attracted great attention, partly on account of their intrinsic merit and partly because they struck a somewhat different note from their colleagues and are responsible for a revival of the Cobdenite Creed, over which several leading British statesmen had been preparing to pronounce funeral orations. But among all the utterances by speech or interview none is of greater significance than the remarkable declaration made by Mr. Seddon, the Premier of New Zealand, to a representative of *The Daily News*, which has been fortunate in eliciting some highly suggestive opinions from different Premiers. One must appreciate the occasion of Mr. Seddon's proposal. Mr. Reid, the Premier of New South Wales, the senior colony of Australia, as will be seen further on in these pages, had expressed a series of outspoken objections to any effort, either fiscal or parliamentary, to strengthen the ties between the Mother Country and the Daughter Countries, on the ground that they would impair rather than improve the present warm feelings of friendliness. Mr. Reid has shown himself to be a man of strong personality, he is a very considerable figure in Australia, and his views

are known to have no little popular backing behind them, and they have been received here in the spirit in which they were offered. We of the old country all feel that only through misunderstanding based on ignorance, on one side or the other, can there occur another breach in the Anglo-Saxon race; we should all regard such a calamity with unspeakable sorrow and should feel it to be a profound and undying humiliation. We are, therefore, grateful for every candid speech from any representative of the real thoughts and aspirations of our distant fellow-citizens, whether they coincide with our own pre-conceived theories and projects or not. Mr. Reid sagaciously recognized this desire for information, and spoke with the utmost frankness and obvious sincerity in opposition to prevailing sentiment in Great Britain, which has, undoubtedly, been looking forward to the formation of a closer Imperial Union in place of the loose system—if that can be called a system, which is so unsystematic—that exists at present. The Premier of New South Wales consequently made a very great hit which seems almost to have surprised him, as he had evidently made up his mind to tell us a few things we ought to know, but would, presumably, not like to hear. We think, on the contrary, that he will be able to tell his great community that the British are not bigots, and that his independent attitude rather increased—if possible—the warmth of his welcome, and that men of all parties showed the greatest appreciation of his utterances, whether they agreed with them or not.

A PLEA FOR FEDERATION.

Mr. Reid had thus fired several highly effective shots against Federation in any shape or form when Mr. Seddon was asked for his views. He expressed, on behalf of the Democracy of New Zealand, with which he is in the closest touch, a clear and unhesitating opinion in favour of Federation :—"On his first arrival in England, Mr. Seddon expressed to me (*The Daily News* interviewer) very strong and emphatic views as to the necessity and nearness of Imperial Federation. I was curious to know if the experiences of the past few weeks had modified his position, and asked him. 'The experiences of the past few weeks have convinced me more than ever of the necessity of Imperial Federation, and I am persuaded that our gathering in London has brought Federation much nearer. This conference of Premiers will lead to others, the next step will be the appointment of a permanent Consultative Council, and after that will come the representation of the Colonies in the Imperial Parliament.'" On its being pointed out to him that Mr. Reid and Mr. Kingston (South Australia) had declared against it the New Zealand Premier instantly replied, "The majority of

Colonial Premiers wish for it, and it is coming." Now, this is manifestly a most important statement, and if the Premiers are upheld on the question by their respective communities, the question is settled in principle. But even more pregnant was Mr. Seddon's plan for giving the Colonies representation at Westminster—a problem which has hitherto baffled all our publicists. Mr. Seddon appears to have hit on the true solution, and his proposal has not been made at random, but is the fruit of careful consideration by himself and his New Zealand colleagues. "We do not ask for proportional representation—for, for our ten million people, that would mean one hundred and fifty members. All we ask is for a single representative from each Colony or group of Colonies—one from Canada, one from Australia, one from New Zealand, and so on—six or seven in all. Each of these would represent his Colony as a whole, and not, like us Premiers, only one party in it." Mr. Seddon expounded and defended this scheme in a very cogent manner:—"The election of such members would stop the movement which periodically breaks out for the election of the Governors of Colonies by the Colonies themselves. Their presence would give us, at any rate, a voice in the Imperial Parliament, by which we could make our wishes known. At present the Imperial Parliament might pass measures that gravely affect us, and we not have a voice in their acceptance or rejection. There is hardly a matter that comes before the House of Commons that does not, directly or indirectly, affect the Colonies. Even in your purely parochial legislation, the experience of the Colonial representatives would be of the utmost value to Parliament. Representation is the best way to end discontent. In New Zealand we found that when we gave the Maories the right to elect their own members of the Legislature their dissatisfaction came to an end. Give us ten millions of English people in the Colonies the same right as New Zealand has given the Maories."

THE MEMBER FOR CANADA.

Under the New Zealand Scheme the Colonial Representative, we take it, would be elected by his community, or nominated by its Government for, say five years, and he would spend his term within reach of Westminster. He would not have a seat in the House of Commons in the ordinary sense, because he would have no British constituency, nor would he have a vote, or be dragged into the whirlpool of our party system, nor need he be a regular attendant at the debates. He would be rather in the position of a French Minister, such as M. Hanotaux (the present Minister for Foreign Affairs), who is not a Member of the Chamber of Deputies, but has the right of addressing it on any subject connected with his Department, either at

his option or that of the Chamber. The Member for Australia, *e.g.*, would notify to the Speaker that a Bill was coming on affecting the interests of Australia, and that he desired to lay his views before the House. He would then be invited to speak on the Second Reading or to attend Committee as he chose; on the other hand, the Speaker might notify to the Member for Canada that the House was about to discuss an Irish Education Bill, and would be glad to have from him an account of the Manitoba School Bill, as in some respects the problems resembled one another. Let us take a concrete case: one of the measures discussed this Session was the Agricultural Produce (Marks) Bill, in which several of the Colonies were keenly interested, but, unfortunately, they had no channel for communicating their views to the Legislature, and could only reach the public through the letters to the newspapers or interviews. It was eminently a case in which the House ought to have heard some representatives of the Colonies that considered their interests affected, and it is almost incredible that the Colonies on their part would not have welcomed the advantage of having their views expounded in Parliament. As it was, in the course of the debate on this Bill an English Member made a most injurious statement about frozen meat, which he declared made those who eat it liable to "cancer and other terrible diseases." He was able to produce no jot or tittle of evidence to corroborate his assertion, for the very good reason that there is none. The statement was, however, circulated over the world, and caused a very natural indignation and alarm in Colonial circles, which felt that a great Imperial industry had been seriously damaged for purposes more obvious than creditable. The Agent-General for New Zealand (Mr. W. Pember Reeves) took what steps he could to counteract the calumny by writing a letter of protest to *The Times*, &c. Surely it would have been to the infinite advantage of all parties had he, as Member for New Zealand, been in attendance at the House, and able to reply to to the aspersion on the spot.

A Voice without a Vote.

There may be obstacles and objections to the adoption of this proposal, but it strikes us as far the most practical and promising contribution yet made to the great problem we have all been working at. In the first place, the plan commits no one to any principle he disapproves, and, as we state it, might fairly claim even Mr. Reid's support. It imposes no financial burden anywhere, involves no revision of any constitution either in the Mother Country or the Colonies. It requires no legislation, touches no commercial system, and disturbs no economic doctrine. Nor does it involve irksome ties. It is, moreover, purely experimental, and the practice could be discontinued if

it did not work well. On the other hand, it might be found of such an immense benefit to all parts of the Empire as to become a permanent feature in our Parliamentary system. We propose, therefore, that the great groups of Colonies should each be allowed to nominate a spokesman entitled to address the House of Commons and House of Lords whenever the interests of his Colony demanded it, or either House desired to hear him; that he should not be a Member of either House or be called upon to take part in divisions, or be attached to any British political party. He would have the privileges and responsibilities of membership without its harassing burdens. He would be, in fact, a sort of select preacher commanding the two best pulpits in the world. The Houses, which are both deplorably deficient in knowledge of Greater Britain, would gain immeasurably from the presence of those who could supply the necessary information, while incalculable advantage would accrue to the Colonies from being able to lay their case before the Imperial Parliament which is continually discussing questions affecting their interests. By half-a-dozen new Standing Orders the Houses could inaugurate this important new departure, and it may be hoped that the subject will be broached before the close of the Session unless much stronger objections can be marshalled to the contrary than occur to us or those we have discussed it with, who are in touch with Colonial sentiment. The time has come when Greater Britain should be accorded a voice at Westminster, but the time has not yet come for her to claim a vote.

A Young People in the Old Country.

Mr. Reid left us as a political legacy a most uncompromising declaration against any form of Imperial Federation, or any increase of Imperial ties. This interview (*Daily News*, July 20th) excited very great interest, and as faithful chroniclers we make some copious extracts from it—partly on account of its inherent candour and sagacity, but partly because it clearly shows that the New South Wales Premier has never applied his mind to the particular proposal we advocate—a Voice without a Vote. We cannot forbear quoting his preliminary remark because—though outside our immediate subject—it concerns our noble selves who don't get much praise in these rather churlish and jealous days. John Bull will not be intoxicated by an Australian sugar-plum, considering how many brick-bats are hurled at him by foreign "friends":—"My visit here," said Mr. Reid, "has been a delightful time to me, and you have made it none the less so because I have chosen to speak the real truth about the sentiments of the people of Australia, their political desires, their wishes and ambitions, rather than repeat the oft-told tales of gratitude and brotherhood and the rest,

which some like alone to hear." "What has impressed you most during your present visit?" "Two things. First, the intensity and single-heartedness and sincerity of the loyalty shown by all classes of the people to the Queen on Jubilee Day. Then the vigour of the English. I came here expecting, may I say, to find a wearied and depressed nation, that had reached the apex of its power and energy, and was now growing weaker rather than stronger, in place of that I find you are a young people," and, his sleepiness all gone, the Premier brought his hand down on the little table with a crash to emphasize this point, "I see England more vigorous, more enterprising, more full of the fire of life than ever before. It is a marvellous thing, when one comes to think of it. Here are your forty millions of people, cooped up on thirty-three million square miles of land, and yet able to thrive and lead the world."

If You Lasso the Australian.

Here is the kernel of the New South Wales view, which contains some powerful arguments against giving the Colonies a vote in the Imperial Parliament. "Are we to take it, Mr. Reid, that recent conferences have in any way modified your views on Imperial Federation?" "We Colonies desire to remain as we are. We were never closer to the Mother Country than to-day, and any attempts to alter our relations with England might lead to disaster. In former times, when the Colonies were ruled from Downing Street, there were endless troubles and disagreements between Australia and the home authorities. Now there are practically none. Why? Because we are allowed to rule ourselves in our own way. We know that we have more power as we are now, should it be necessary for us to use it, in the working of the Empire, than we could have under any formal scheme of Imperial Federation. As for the proposal to have a certain number of Colonial representatives in the House of Commons, neither the Colonies nor England would have it. The Colonial representatives would be a small minority in your House, who could be outvoted at any time, or who, by joining a minority of the English members, could override the decision of the majority of the English members on English questions. Do you think England would ever stand that? They would be the objects of endless intrigues to permanently attach them to one party or the other. Their presence would of necessity mean that the Imperial Parliament had rights of taxation over the Colonies for Imperial purposes. The Colonies would not have that. To create a new Federal Parliament would be to renew many of the troubles of the old era of Colonial administration. Your Australian is a very nice fellow if you leave him free, but if you lasso him, he is apt to prove

mighty troublesome, in spite of the rope. So if you lasso the Colonies with some of the suggested schemes of closer formal union, they will be restive. The real unity of the Empire is that brotherhood, that one blood which requires no constitutions to create or parliaments to seal. Even to talk about it is unnecessary. It is there, as will be proved, when the time comes."

THE TRUE TEST OF UNITY.

Mr. Reid defined the test of unity in these memorable words: "On this point let me say one thing more. The real test of the unity of the Empire will be when the next great war comes. I am supposing that the war is one of defence, for we in Australia cannot dream of England starting a war of aggression. If she did, no doubt we would be cold. But if England has ever to stand to her arms in a war of defence, then, one and all, the Colonies would rally to her side, taking their share in the dangers and loss and fighting, helping with their money and their men in the protection of the flag. When you had your troubles in Egypt and in India, New South Wales sent her soldiers to take their part in the fighting. When the time comes she will do so again."

THE CAPE RESOLUTION.

We recorded last month the famous naval resolution carried by the Legislative Assembly of Cape Colony on the motion of Mr. J. Rose-Innes with *only one dissentient*. It runs as follows:—"That, in the opinion of this House, the time has arrived when steps should be taken to arrange some contribution by this Colony towards the Imperial Navy, and that the Prime Minister (Sir Gordon Sprigg) be requested to enter into *provisional and tentative negotiations* in this matter with Her Majesty's Government, and report the matter to Parliament next Session." Our readers should scrutinize its terms so that there may be no future misunderstanding. That spontaneous resolution as it stands affords remarkable evidence of the attachment of Cape Colony to the British connection, and absolutely shatters the grotesque imputations of the Rhodesian Press—which is ignorant or unscrupulous, or both—upon the loyalty of the Cape Dutch; for it should be remembered that in Cape Colony the Dutch are to the British in the proportion of $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, and as the Cape Parliament consists of 72 members, and there was only one dissentient to Mr. Rose-Innes' motion, our Dutch fellow-subjects must be regarded as equally prepared with the people of our own blood to uphold the Sea Power of the British Empire. That—considering recent events—is one of the greatest facts of the year or even of the decade, and one may devoutly hope that its splendid significance may not be frittered

away by the tactlessness of any politician in a hurry. The Cape papers show that a really interesting debate took place in the Assembly, many of whose members have grasped those cardinal principles of Imperial Defence—(1) unity of command and (2) freedom of action. Much credit is due to the *Cape Times* for steadily insisting that H.M.S. *Afrikander* should not, when constructed, be tied to the South African coast, but should be an integral part of the British Navy, and absolutely at the disposal of the British Admiralty. The idea that in a great naval war Cape interests must necessarily be defended in Cape waters is exploded as is the idea that the interests of the United Kingdom must necessarily be defended in the Channel. To smash up the enemy's fleet wherever it may be will be the primary object of the British admiral in the next great war, as it was Nelson's policy in the last great war. To accomplish this British coasts remained, in the narrow sense, "unprotected," but in the effective sense they were protected by Nelson's pursuit and destruction of the enemy. So it was and so it would be again, and this same principle of protection applies to every part of the Empire. Only in this way can Command of the Sea be established and maintained. It is vital for all of us Britishers, wherever we may be, whether in Kent, Cape Colony, or New Zealand, to grasp this axiom. If we drive the enemy from the sea by superior attacking squadrons we establish a supremacy and protect our commerce; if we wait for him in the Channel, off New Zealand, or Natal, he will concentrate as suits him, beat us in detail, annihilate the whole commerce of the Empire, and compel us to surrender at discretion.

Sir Gordon Sprigg's Ironclad.

While the true theory of Imperial defence is accepted by thoughtful men in Cape Colony, and the public mind is preparing itself to share in that defence, the resolution only authorized Sir Gordon Sprigg "to enter into provisional and tentative negotiations with Her Majesty's Government, and report the matter to Parliament next Session." Events, however, move at lightning speed in these electric days, and before the Cape Premier had been very long in England he received a deputation from the Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee—an offspring of the late Imperial Federation League—which aims at consolidating the Empire *via* Imperial Defence. Sir Gordon Sprigg, in reply to a congratulatory address on the action of the Cape Parliament, pointed out the difficulty of federating on commercial lines, but laid down in unimpeachable terms the doctrine of common defence. "But he could conceive some great emergency arising, when the interests of the Empire might be imperilled, and when it might be necessary to concentrate a powerful

fleet in some part of the world which might be far distant from the shores of South Africa. In a case like that, the view that he took of our duty as an empire, was that Cape Colony and all South Africa should be prepared to make whatever sacrifice was necessary in order to insure that a fleet of sufficient strength should be placed in that portion of the world where it was required. On that ground, the proposals which he had generally submitted, and which he was in a more detailed manner about to submit to the First Lord of the Admiralty, would be absolutely unconditional. They did not believe it right that any fetters whatever should be placed upon the action of the Admiralty in regard to the distribution of the fleet. Wherever the Admiralty thought it necessary in the interests of the Empire that that fleet should be stationed, there the people of Cape Colony would also think it necessary, and they would not make it a condition that any number of ships should be stationed on the South African coast. They did not want to make any bargain with Her Majesty's Government; they trusted the Government and the people of England in this matter, and they knew that they would not be forsaken." A couple of days later, Mr. Goschen, as First Lord of the Admiralty, attended a banquet, and made a most dramatic announcement which has created a very great sensation in the United Kingdom, and doubtless in other parts of the Empire. We give it in his own historic words :—

"To-day I have had an interesting scene, a simple scene, but one which will come home to all of you. I received the present of an ironclad at the hands of a British colony. There was no ceremonial, there was no great reception, there was no blare of trumpets; but Sir Gordon Sprigg simply came to the First Lord of the Admiralty and told him that the Cape Colony was prepared to place an ironclad of first class at the disposal of the Empire. I thank him on behalf of the English nation, I thank him on behalf of the Government, and I thank him also on behalf of the Empire at large, of which the Cape Colony is so distinguished a part. That offer of a first-class battleship is accompanied by no conditions, but it is proposed that that ship shall take its place side by side with those sister ships, paid for by the British taxpayer, which many of you have seen at Spithead. No conditions attach to it ; it is a free gift intended to add to the power of the British Empire. In thus expressing my gratification at this offer, do not let me be considered to say anything which is ungracious to those Australasian Colonies who were the pioneers in the new principle of contribution from the Colonies to Imperial defence. They had a most difficult task. One colony can act, perhaps, more easily than a combination of colonies, but the patriotism of the Australasian Colonies got the better of any intercolonial difficulties or prejudices, and they inaugurated a system under which, for the first time, colonies contributed to Imperial defence. But I value the gift of the Cape Colony specially for two reasons—one political and the other strategical. I value the political principle which it acknowledges of the community of interests between the Colonies and the Mother Country, and I value the stragetical principle—that the best plan to assist the power of the British Navy, the best plan to defend the Colonies, is to leave an entirely free hand to the central authority which organizes Imperial defence. I value the political principle not on financial grounds. Whether the contributions are large or small the real point is this—that the Colonies acknowledge the community of interests."

Ultra Vires.

It is rather surprising that two such old Parliamentary hands as Mr. Goschen and Sir Gordon Sprigg should fall into the error of imagining that they can dispose of first-class battleships in this fashion. Mr. Goschen is an excellent First Lord of the Admiralty, and is associated with the building of many ships, but even he cannot lay down a launch without coming to Parliament for the money, and we do not believe that Sir Gordon Sprigg has much more authority to pledge his Colony to spend a million on a battleship than the writer has. He came with a sufficiently remarkable mandate from the Cape, to discuss the question of a contribution towards the Imperial Navy, and to report the matter back to his Parliament—where, by the way, his Ministry was only saved in a recent division by the casting vote of the Speaker. The Premier has greatly exceeded his instructions, and has acted *ultra vires* in seeking to commit his community definitely on a matter on which they had only adopted a provisional attitude. While greatly appreciating his excellent intentions and generosity it must be recognized that the proposed gift requires Parliamentary ratification, and that Sir Gordon Sprigg has shown a singular want of *savoir faire* in the action he has taken. All Englishmen in touch with Colonial opinion are aware that so far from assuring an addition to the British Navy by his visit to Mr. Goschen, the Cape Premier has gone a long way towards jeopardizing the project submitted by Mr. Rose-Innes to the Cape House. No Parliament in the world would appreciate such cavalier treatment, and it is patent from the meagre cablegrams to hand that both British and Dutch in Cape Colony resent having their resources disposed of by their wholly unauthorized Premier. It is disagreeable to be obliged to make this rather churlish criticism on Sir Gordon Sprigg; but if Englishmen appreciate the somewhat false position in which his precipitancy has placed the Cape Parliament, and the Members of the Cape Parliament realize that we in England are deeply grateful for their action in commissioning their Premier to *negotiate* with the Imperial Government, there may be some chance of H.M.S. *Afrikander* figuring in our next great Naval Review. The decision rests entirely with the Parliament, and we have great hopes that Mr. Rose-Innes, Mr. Schreiner, and Mr. Merriman—all of whom have spoken admirably in favour of the motion—will come to the rescue of a Premier in distress.

A Premier for a President.

How little we know at home of the careers of the Queen's representatives—the Governors—in their various communities. Times have not been very good in Canada, owing to falling prices, and, not unnaturally, there

has been some discussion of the Governor-General's salary, which has given the critics an opportunity of discussing Lord Aberdeen's qualifications for the great post he occupies. He appears to have given general satisfaction and to have entered with judgment into the spirit of his office. The superabundant and even aggressive activity of Lady Aberdeen, and her passionate and wholly virtuous desire to compel the world to walk in the way it should, but doesn't, has excited some animadversion, but taken as a whole the present Viceroyalty, which was viewed with some misgivings when the appointment was made, has been a distinct success. Lord Aberdeen's action in refusing to pack various places with Conservatives when he had good grounds for believing that the Party had lost the confidence of the country commended itself to the people of Canada and showed insight and firmness. The salary of the Governor-General is $100,000 (£20,000) a year, which is a large sum, but the expenditure is very heavy, and it would require noticeable parsimony to effect any saving. It may be fairly assumed that the Queen's representative in Canada usually leaves office a poorer man than when he entered it, and the same may be said of the great majority of Governors in other parts of the Empire, for their expenses are increasing while their salaries remain stationary, where they have not been diminished. The recent discussion has elicited, among others, an interesting expression of opinion in the Toronto *Saturday Night*, which probably represents on this question the best national opinion, and states Canada's advantage under the present bargain with much force and fairness:—"Since Major-General Brock stepped in and acted as civil and military ruler; since Lord Durham investigated and made his report; since the day of Viscount Monck and Lord Lisgar, there has come a great change over the face of affairs. Gradually but irrevocably the Governor-General, from being the vice-regent of a stubborn-minded King George, and then the Colonial representative of a constitutional government at London, has passed smoothly and gently from point to point until now he is but an official convenience of representative and constitutional government here in Canada. He is the official link that unites Canada with the Empire, and the union is greatly desired by an apparently large majority of our people. If, however, a man is of the opinion that Canada should do business as an independent republic, even that man should, I think, rest content with the advances we have made in thirty years towards independence, for, in effect, we have attained complete self-government without losing a life or having one of our harbours sacked. The personality of the Governor-General is really no affair of ours. We confess no inferiority in accepting his presence,

for his presence is the concession we make to the Empire in return for concessions made to us; but, being here, it is our concern to see that he does not interfere with the buzz-saw. Looking at it practically and apart altogether from sentiment, we get a Governor-General for less than it would cost to elect and maintain a President, and there are these additional advantages: that we get the protection of the greatest navy in the world, the assistance of the finest consular service in the world, and are governed by a native Premier instead of by a native President. It is not a bad bargain for a young country, whatever its ultimate intentions may be."

Miss Shaw's Evidence.

One of the last witnesses to give evidence before the South African Committee closed its proceedings was Miss Flora Shaw, the very able lady who holds the responsible position of Colonial Editor to *The Times*. She was examined with reference to the further batch of telegrams which had passed between herself and Mr. Rhodes prior to the Raid, to which the Committee had acquired access since her former examination. The new series opens with a telegram from Miss Shaw to Mr. Rhodes, asking for the date of the commencement of the expected operations, as "we wish to send at earliest opportunity sealed instructions to representatives of the London *Times* in European Capitals; it is most important using their influence in your favour." Miss Shaw subsequently explained that what she meant was, "I will ask the permission of the manager to send instructions," so that their correspondents might appreciate the true situation in South Africa. A very chivalrous and characteristic effort on Miss Shaw's part to save the reputation of her paper. Another significant telegram from Miss Shaw to Mr. Rhodes contained the words, "Chamberlain sound in case of interference of foreign Powers, but have special reason to believe wishes you must do it immediately." This was sent on December 17th. In her evidence Miss Shaw commented on the words "Chamberlain sound in case of foreign interference" in a manner which requires no further comment from anyone else: "That clearly requires no explanation. Mr. Chamberlain had said in public that as regards the necessity of making British power in South Africa paramount, he would never tolerate any interference by foreign Powers with the English position in South Africa. I telegraphed that because it had been suggested in South Africa that Mr. Chamberlain was a 'Little Englander'" —so a very correct Imperial attitude was actually used as an encouragement to a most nefarious plot. Miss Shaw on being pressed could give no "special reason" for her suggesting to Mr.

Rhodes that Mr. Chamberlain desired to precipitate the Raid, but finally admitted that Mr. Fairfield—a high permanent official at the Colonial Office, who has since died, had said to her in conversation, "Well, if the Johannesburgers are going to rise, it is to be hoped they will do it soon." Those acquainted with the late Mr. Fairfield's opinions on South African affairs, which were very pronounced and very contemptuous of the financial malcontents of Johannesburg, can have little doubt but that he was chaffing Miss Shaw. Our fair-minded contemporary, *The Spectator*, makes a very just comment on Miss Shaw's telegrams. "Miss Shaw, it appeared, generalized in her own mind the gossip she picked up, but it was coloured by her own inclinations, and then, in the excitement of the moment, telegraphed it out to Mr. Rhodes as if it were the official view."

THE RHODES RAID.

The telegrams sent by Mr. Rhodes to Miss Shaw after Dr. Jameson had started (now for the first time revealed) place him in a most sinister light. Mr. Rhodes has expressed himself freely on the "unctuous rectitude" of the British; but what of the barefaced treachery of a superior who has allowed subordinates to suffer imprisonment for carrying out his orders. Mr. Rhodes and the Rhodesians have always laid the blame of the Raid on Dr. Jameson—because it was a failure. Had it been a success it would become Mr. Rhodes' Raid. One of their great points—which we have never believed—is that Dr. Jameson went in "against Mr. Rhodes' orders." They have been unable to produce any genuine order prohibiting him from moving, although the day before he started Dr. Jameson wired to Mr. Rhodes that he should go unless forbidden. Now confidential telegrams are produced which passed from Mr. Rhodes and his agent (Dr. Rutherfoord Harris) to Miss Shaw directly Dr. Jameson had started, which prove two things beyond doubt: (1) that the Raid had from the start the merciless opposition of Mr. Chamberlain; (2) that the Raid had from the start the enthusiastic support of Mr. Rhodes. Here are the telegrams:—

"To Telamones (Miss Shaw), London. Cape Town, 30th December, 1895.

"Strictly confidential. Dr. Jameson moved to assist English in Johannesburg because he received strong letter begging Dr. Jameson to come signed by leading* inhabitants This letter will be telegraphed you verbatim to-morrow. Meantime do not refer in Press. We are confident of success. Johannesburg united and strong on our side. Dissensions (they) have been stop (ped) except two or three Germans.

"R. HARRIS."†

* This refers to the bogus "women and children" letter which was palmed off on an innocent public when the Raid took place.

† Mr. Rhodes' agent.

No. 1,556.

"To Telamones (Miss Shaw), London. Cape Town, 30th December, 1895.

"Inform Chamberlain that I shall get through all right if he supports me, but he must not send cable like he sent to High Commissioner in South Africa. To-day the crux is, I will win and South Africa will belong to England.

C. J. RHODES.

(Signature of sender) "F. R. HARRIS, for C. J. Rhodes, Premier."

"To Telamones, London. Cape Town, 31st December, 1895.

"Unless you can make Chamberlain instruct the High Commissioner to proceed at once to Johannesburg the whole position is lost. High Commissioner would receive splendid reception and still turn position to England advantage but must be instructed by cable immediately. The instructions must be specific, as he is weak and will take no responsibility.

"C. J. RHODES.

(Signature of sender) "J. A. STEVENS."

Miss Shaw made a most valiant and eloquent effort to defend Mr. Rhodes before the Committee, and one cannot help admiring the valour and eloquence, while regretting that they were devoted to such a poor cause.

THE COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

The South African Committee's report has appeared, too late for adequate treatment in these pages. We can only note a few of its main points, reserving fuller treatment for another occasion. The main report was signed by twelve members out of the fifteen who constituted the Committee. The three dissentient members were: (1) Mr. Blake, who retired from the Committee on its refusal to report Mr. Rhodes' solicitor (Mr. Hawksley) to the House of Commons for contumaciously refusing (on Mr. Rhodes' instructions) to produce certain missing cablegrams which he had in his possession; (2) Mr. Labouchere, who remained and produced a separate report containing much matter one is bound to assent to, however much one may disapprove of Labouchérism; (3) Mr. George Wyndham, who now occupies the humiliating position of Member for the Chartered Company in the House of Commons, to the chagrin of many who consider him worthy of a better fate: he could not sign the Committee's report which condemned Mr. Rhodes in uncompromising terms. The report points out that while "great discontent had for some time existed in Johannesburg, arising from the grievances of the Uitlanders, there was no justification for a person in Mr. Rhodes' position, in subsidizing, organizing, and stimulating an armed insurrection against the Government of the South African Republic, and employing the forces and resources of the Chartered Company to support such a revolution." The Committee affirm that Dr. Jameson "went in without Mr. Rhodes' authority," though in our humble judgment Dr. Jameson had at the very least

the silence which gives consent, while in the face of Mr. Rhodes' telegram to Miss Shaw—quoted above—it is bold to say that Mr. Rhodes did not give his full concurrence to the actual Raid at the time it took place. The Committee charge Mr. Rhodes with "an astounding breach of international comity" in using his great position in South Africa to further the revolution. He was also guilty of "grave breaches of duty to those to whom he owed allegiance," for "he deceived the High Commissioner representing the Imperial Government; he concealed his views from his colleagues in the Colonial Ministry and from the Board of the British South Africa Company. He did more, for he led his subordinates to believe that his plans were approved by his superiors." Mr. Beit is censured as a paymaster of the revolution, while the Committee very properly acquit Lord Rosmead of all acquaintance with Mr. Rhodes' plans. Sir Graham Bower, the Imperial Secretary, "was guilty of a grave dereliction of duty in not communicating to the High Commissioner the information which had come to his knowledge," while Mr. Newton, a subordinate Imperial official "failed in his duty in a like manner, but to a less degree."

CLEARING THE COLONIAL OFFICE.

Far the most important passage in the Report is the following clause:—"Neither the Secretary of State for the Colonies nor the Under-Secretaries received any information which made them, or should have made them, or any of them, aware of the plot then in progress of development." Considering that this acquittal was signed by some of the Colonial Secretary's most pronounced, and, one may say, vindictive political opponents, as well as several doubtful friends, all of whom would have been only too delighted to compel so formidable an adversary and so dangerous a rival to retire from public life—as he would have been undoubtedly compelled to do had he been implicated in the Raid—their verdict, we may hope, will finally set to rest the mendacious imputations and innuendoes of the Rhodes faction. The object of this clique is to bring every public person down to the sorry level of their hero, and they would not, we believe, hesitate to accuse the Queen of having promoted the Raid if they thought anyone could be induced to believe them. They affect to be Imperialists, but their settled system is to bring everything Imperial into disrepute if they can thereby benefit Mr. Rhodes. They are in truth Rhodesians, and nothing more. When Sir William Harcourt, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. John Ellis, and Mr. Sydney Buxton acquit Mr. Chamberlain of all guilty foreknowledge of the Raid, we fancy that will be accepted as a complete exoneration throughout the British Empire.

What we have felt from the first is that Mr. Chamberlain's conduct on the occurrence of the Raid placed his innocence of the plot beyond all reasonable doubt He at once denounced and smashed it to the great indignation of Mr. Rhodes (*vide* his cablegram to Miss Shaw), who at once recognized the Colonial Secretary as its enemy, and tried to bounce him, but happily without effect. Any further comments it may be necessary to make are reserved until next month.

THE CAMPAIGN IN THE SUDAN.

The season has arrived for our farther advance in the Sudan. The intention is to occupy Abu Hammâd and probably Berber, while if desirable we shall push on to Khartoum. It is not anticipated that much resistance will be encountered. The Mahdi's strength is broken up and his prestige has disappeared. His rule has been such a scourge that the inhabitants welcome us. A useful reconnaissance was made by an Anglo-Egyptian patrol at the beginning of June. It started from Merawi and got up as far as Hebbah without discovering a trace of the enemy. This was two-thirds of the distance to Abu Hammâd. The force consisted of 600 men, all mounted on either horses or camels, and was under the command of Major Le Gallais of the 8th Hussars. An account published in *The Times* reported that "the villages were found absolutely deserted, the fields everywhere gone out of cultivation, and the whole country in that indescribable state of desolation and despair which succeeds a Dervish occupation." The reconnaissance having been effected the force retired, and then the Dervishes mustered up courage to attack the rear guard under the command of Captain Peyton. This officer distinguished himself greatly in a hand-to-hand encounter. He killed three of his assailants, but was severely wounded. The Dervishes were driven off and pursued for some distance. This reconnaissance has been of great service in revealing the state of the country: it shows that the coming campaign is more likely to be one of heavy toil than of heavy fighting. While London has been Jubilee-ing, laborious work under a splendid organization has been proceeding along the banks of the Nile, and the railway has continued to thrust itself across the desert. Sir Herbert Kitchener, who is himself typical of the obdurate courage which characterizes the enterprise, has gone to the front. It is imperative he should be left with a free hand. Moreover, it has to be made known widely in the Sudan that the British have not come to retire again, and that the authority to be established permanently is to be *Anglo*-Egyptian, wherein the Anglo dominates. There has lately been an attempt in Cairo to extend the Egyptian bureaucratic system—with its swarm of

clerks and hungry placemen—in the recovered provinces. The Arabs and inhabitants of Dongola will not stand this. It is the presence of the British officers which has been bringing them in for miles round, and British supremacy alone will secure the pacification of the Sudan.

CANADA AND MR. BRYAN.

From all accounts the Canadian people have been deeply interested and stirred by Mr. Bryan's recent visit. As usual, he made a most favourable impression upon all classes who came in contact with him; and it is gratifying to note that the Canadian Press, while not sympathizing with his doctrines, paid generous tribute to his remarkable personal powers. Agricultural depression hangs like a millstone round the neck of Canada, just as it does of France, Great Britain, Germany, the United States, Austria, Italy, Australia, Natal, New Zealand, Russia, and other communities under the beneficent influence of gold monometallism. The people of Australia are already waking up to the perils of their financial system, which enables the owner of a debt fixed in terms of gold to exact an ever increasing quantity of commodities, owing to the general and continuing fall of prices. Thus an unearned increment accrues to the creditor, and an undeserved decrement is saddled on the debtor. This process shows no signs of giving out, and must ultimately, one would imagine, eat the heart out of any debtor or producing community. We are convinced that it is equally the interest of the creditor and debtor that this disastrous drain should be arrested, as the general ruin of the debtor involves disaster to the creditor. Mr. Bryan has, undoubtedly, performed a great service to mankind by his remarkable and long-sustained protest on this question; and few will be found to deny that his brilliant championship of bimetallism has placed the cause in a position it never occupied until to-day. We should infinitely prefer to see the monetary question settled by international agreement rather than in the manner he proposes; but we gratefully recognize that the prospects of such agreement have been immensely improved by his memorable campaign of last year. It is to be hoped that the people of Canada will come forward and exert their great influence with the Imperial Government in order that a speedy settlement of the Currency Question may be effected on prudent and comprehensive lines.

SOME READABLE BOOKS.

Believing that a monthly table of selected books may be of aid to the readers of *The National Review*, we have drawn up the appended list which comprises a few recently published volumes of interest.

Our Trade in the World in Relation to Foreign Competition.—By William S. H. Gastrell (Chapman & Hall, London). This is undoubtedly one of the most important books of the year, but the Press is so bent on over-colouring our commercial prosperity that Mr. Gastrell's warning has not so far made the impression it eventually must. The author is the British Commercial Attaché in Berlin, and let us hasten to add, for the reassurance of the general reader, that we have been unable to discover the word Bimetallism in his volume.

Pot Pourri from a Surrey Garden.—By Mrs. C. W. Earle (Smith Elder & Co., London. Price 7s. 6d.) The public are indebted to Mrs. Earle's nieces, we are told in the preface, for the appearance of this volume. We can only express our gratitude that their enthusiasm should have overruled the maturer judgment of the authoress, for there has not been a fresher or more fascinating volume since *Bethia Hardacre*. It has appeared at the proper time to be enjoyed during the holidays, and will be the delight of all who take an intelligent interest in their garden, their kitchen, or their children, for it is brimming over with frank and shrewd and genial information.

A Ride through Western Asia.—By Clive Bigham (Macmillan & Co., London. Price 6s.) It used to be said that travellers could not write and that writers would not travel, but nothing is more notable to-day than the excellence of the ever-growing library of adventure and enterprise. Mr. Bigham has written a capital and instructive book.

With the Turkish Army in Thessaly.—By Clive Bigham (Macmillan & Co., London. Price 6s. 6d. net). Mr. Bigham acted as *Times* correspondent with the Turkish army in the recent rout of Greece, and is first in the field with a full account of the war, which, it is unnecessary to say, is admirable, for we all read his telegrams at the time. He saw things from the Turkish side of the fence, but he does not overrate the Turkish army, which was in no respect tested during the late war and is too lethargic to satisfy a British officer. The Turks as individuals seem invariably to make a good impression upon Englishmen who are thrown with them.

National Defences.—By Major-General Maurier, C.B. (Macmillan & Co., London. Price 2s. 6d.) This is the latest addition to the English

Citizen Series, and is probab'y the most valuable volume of the set. It is devoutly to be hoped that the average citizen will make time to master it.

Foreign and Colonial Speeches.—By the Right Hon. J. Chamberlain, M.P. (George Routledge & Sons, London. Price 3s. 6d.) This is the authorized edition of the principal speeches made on non-domestic affairs by the present Colonial Secretary during the last ten years. Now that they are set up in clear type and page form one is able to appreciate their great merit. The thoughtfulness, the transparent lucidity, the vigour, and the nerve which characterize Mr. Chamberlain's utterances combine to make a really admirable book, which will be peculiarly acceptable to the readers of *The National Review.*

The Foreigner in the Farm Yard.—By E. F. Williams (William Heinemann, London. Price 2s. 6d.) Under this very neat title the author of "Made in Germany" returns to the charge. He has compiled a most readable and suggestive book. Though a keen Protectionist, he is not above preaching the gospel of "the larger self-help called 'Co-operation" and the aid of the State in minor ways. The volume will undoubtedly have a well-deserved success

An Account of St. Austell.—By Canon Hammond (Skeffington & Son, London. Price 6s.) The author, who though a "foreigner," as he puts it, in Cornwall has lived at St. Austell for fifteen years, during which he has identified himself with the locality, on which he presents the public with a most readable though instructive book of impressions. Needless to say it is excellently written.

Naval Administrations.—(1827 to 1892). By the late Sir John Henry Briggs. Edited by Lady Briggs (Sampson Low, Marston & Co., London. Price 12s. 6d.) This is a most interesting book of memories to supplement all the strenuous work we have had on the Navy of late years. It is exceedingly well-told official gossip, covering a period of 60 years, by the well-known Chief Clerk to the Admiralty.

NOTICE.

All communications to the Editor of THE NATIONAL REVIEW should be addressed to the care of Mr. EDWARD ARNOLD, 37, Bedford Street, Strand, W.C.

The Editor cannot undertake to return rejected Manuscripts unless they are accompanied by a *properly stamped and directed envelope*, nor can he undertake to read unsolicited contributions *unless they are type-written.*

Annual Subscriptions of 30s. (including postage to any part of the world) should be sent direct to the Manager, at 37, Bedford Street, Strand, W.C.; such subscriptions may be commenced at any time.

BOUND BY
HNM

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS-URBANA
3 0112 109516002